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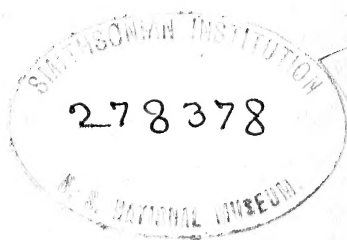
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INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDIES

Contributions to Knowledge made by Instruc-
tors and Advanced Students of
the University

VOLUME XII

Nos. 65-68, January, 1925, to December, 1925



BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

Published by the University

The UNIVERSITY STUDIES constitute a series of University publications, in which are published some of the contributions to knowledge made by instructors and advanced students of the University. At present four numbers are issued a year.

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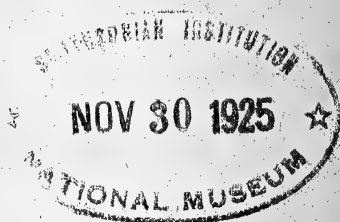
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INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDIES



STUDY No. 65

AN ETYMOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE TEN THOU-
SAND WORDS IN THORNDIKE'S
TEACHER'S WORD BOOK

By

EDWARD Y. LINDSAY, A.M.

Instructor in Latin and Greek, Indiana University

The INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDIES are intended to furnish a means for publishing some of the contributions to knowledge made by instructors and advanced students of the University. The STUDIES are continuously numbered; each number is paged independently.

Entered as second-class matter, June 14, 1918, at the post-office at Bloomington, Ind., under the act of August 24, 1912. The INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDIES are published four times a year, in March, June, September, and December, by Indiana University, from the University Office, Bloomington, Ind.

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By

EDWARD Y. LINDSAY, A.M.
Instructor in Latin and Greek, Indiana University

Teachers College
Columbia University
New York

January 24, 1925.

Mr. Mason D. Gray,
East High School Annex,
Rochester, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

We are very glad to extend to you permission to reproduce the Thorndike word lists.

Yours very truly,

C. J. Tidwell, Director,
Bureau of Publications.

[Mr. Gray is a member of the Advisory Committee of the American Classical League, at whose suggestion this study was undertaken as a part of the Classical Investigation.]

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*Because of the lack of sufficient funds to print this study in its complete form, it was found necessary, after it had been prepared for the press, to omit entirely the English List and to transliterate all Greek words.

E. Y. L.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

THIS study was undertaken at the suggestion of the Advisory Committee of the American Classical League as a part of the Classical Investigation. It was begun under the joint auspices of the Department of Latin and the School of Education of Indiana University. The School of Education thru its Bureau of Coöperative Research supplied the stenographic work involved in forming the English list. Professor S. E. Stout of the Latin Department made many suggestions, as did also Professor Lillian G. Berry of the same department. The helpfulness of these suggestions is here gratefully acknowledged. All responsibility for any shortcomings in the work, however, is reserved by the undersigned for himself alone. Miss Belle Coulter, A.M., Latin, Indiana University, 1922, prepared the half of the English list that contains the words of less frequency. She also counted the words to be attributed to each source language for this half of the English list. The results of her count are recorded in Table 4 of the statistics. All other work on this study was done and responsibility therefor is assumed by the undersigned.

EDWARD Y. LINDSAY.

Graduate School, Department of Latin,
Indiana University, 1923-1925.

An Etymological Study of the Ten Thousand Words in Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*

By EDWARD Y. LINDSAY, A.M.
Instructor in Latin and Greek, Indiana University

EXPLANATORY FOREWORD

I. Object of the Study

THE object of the study the results of which are recorded in the following pages is threefold: First, it is intended to show as nearly as possible the extent of the contribution, both in number of derivatives and frequency of their use, of each source language whose derivatives occur among the 10,000 English words in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*. Second, it is intended to establish two lists of source words: a Latin list, alphabetically arranged and with relative rank of each word in the list indicated, of the source words of the Latin derivatives among the 10,000 English words mentioned above, and a list similarly arranged of the source words of the Greek derivatives among the same English words. In the third place, it is intended to determine the value of the vocabulary presented by the traditional Latin authors (Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil) read in the secondary schools for giving acquaintance with the Latin source words of the Latin derivatives among the most commonly used English words. This is to be attained by comparing the list of Latin source words mentioned above with the words contained in Professor Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin*.

II. Results and Conclusions

To summarize the results of this study and to state briefly the conclusions, the following may be said:

First, among the 10,000 English words in the *Teacher's Word Book*, i.e., Professor Thorndike's list of words found to occur most widely in a count of 4,565,000 word occurrences¹

¹ See page iii, *Teacher's Word Book* by Professor Edward L. Thorndike, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1921, and *Word Knowledge in the Elementary School* by Professor E. L. Thorndike in *Teachers College Record* for September, 1921.

selected from forty-one different sources, ranging from the Bible and English classics thru textbooks, newspapers, and correspondence, it was found that the vast majority of the words were of native English, Latin, or Greek origin and that of these three languages the first two were far in the lead. The derivatives of these three languages comprise 88.32 per cent of the 10,000 words and, on the basis of Professor Thorndike's index numbers, 91.39 per cent of the word occurrences; in other words, the derivatives of these three languages are used 91.39 per cent of the time that the total 10,000 words are used. The figures for each of the three languages are as follows: The native English element comprises 35.15 per cent of the 10,000 words and is in use 50.52 per cent of the time that these 10,000 words are used. Words of Latin origin comprise 45.98 per cent of the words and are in use 36.11 per cent of the time. Words of Greek origin comprise 7.19 per cent of the words and are in use 4.76 per cent of the time.

The pedagogical significance of these figures seems to be as follows: The common sense policy long ago adopted of centering attention in the lower grades of the elementary school upon the simple everyday words which are mainly identical with the native English element receives confirmation from these figures. For if the 10,000 words of the *Teacher's Word Book* are the words most frequently met in his reading by a pupil in the elementary schools, he need master only 35.15 per cent of the words in the list in order to be equipped for 50.52 per cent of his reading.

Among the 500 words most commonly used of all—these are listed separately at the back of the *Teacher's Word Book*—360 are native English, 72 are of purely Latin origin, and 8 are purely of Greek origin. An inspection of these 500 seems to show them to be such as are used in expressing the simplest sense perceptions or physical wants, but ill-adapted, without aid from less used words, for expressing more complex thoughts. This circumstance would seem to tend to prove that, tho the native English words are of most frequent occurrence, they are used to express the simplest and most obvious thought-relationships. Now taking into consideration the development of the pupil in the later years of the elementary school and in the secondary school where something more is demanded than the expression of the simplest

sense perceptions, the place of Latin would seem to be amply justified. For, since even in this limited and most used vocabulary nearly half of the words (45.98 per cent) and more than one-third of the word occurrences (36.11 per cent) are of Latin origin, surely a knowledge of the parent language of these derivatives is highly desirable.

Second, it is hoped that the two lists of source words that have been formed will prove of interest in showing (a) which Latin and Greek words furnish derivatives among commonly used English words, and (b) which of these Latin or Greek words deserve most emphasis in teaching on account of the number and frequency of use of their derivatives.

Third, it has been found that the mastery of the 2,000 Latin words emphasized in Professor Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin* will give the pupil who attains it the knowledge of the source words of 74.08 per cent of the Latin derivatives among the 10,000 words of Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*.

As may be recalled, Professor Lodge recommends that the list of 2,000 Latin words printed in distinctive type in his *Vocabulary of High School Latin* be learned by the pupils at the rate of about 500 per year, during the four years of the high school course.² His reason for this recommendation is that, by actual count, these 2,000 words have been found to occur five times or more in the traditional Latin read in high school and have also been found to have a similar frequency of occurrence in Latin literature generally. Since about half the words of this list occur with especial frequency in Caesar, Professor Lodge recommends that these 1,000 words be mastered during the first two years of high school. Most of these Caesarian words are used by Cicero and Vergil also.

By the time a pupil has completed two years of secondary school Latin, provided he has been required to learn Professor Lodge's list of Caesarian words, he has learned the source words of 43.98 per cent of the Latin derivatives in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*, and these derivatives are in use 46.54 per cent of the time that any Latin derivatives among these 10,000 most frequently used English words are in use. Or, supposing these 10,000 words to be the pupil's

² See page iv, *The Vocabulary of High School Latin* by Professor Gonzalez Lodge, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1915.

total vocabulary and taking them all into the reckoning, then at the end of his study of Caesar he should have learned the source words of 20.21 per cent of his total vocabulary, and of that part of it which he uses 16.80 per cent of the time.

By the close of his year's study of Cicero the pupil should have added to his knowledge the source words of 14.81 per cent more of the Latin derivatives in his vocabulary, and by the end of his study of Vergil he should have added the source words of still 15.29 per cent more of his Latin derivatives. A pupil, then, who has had four years of high school Latin, provided he has learned the Latin words recommended by Professor Lodge and supposing the 10,000 words of Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book* to comprise his English vocabulary, has become acquainted with the source words of 74.08 per cent of the Latin element of his vocabulary and of the words that he uses 77.82 per cent of the time when he uses any Latin derivatives. Reckoning in his total vocabulary, he has learned the source words of 33.96 per cent of his 10,000 English words and of those which he uses 28.10 per cent of the time.

In the course of his high school Latin, the pupil will have met, but ordinarily would not be required to learn, the source words of still 11.71 per cent more of his Latin derivatives. These have not been taken into account in the reckoning above. If they were, at the end of his high school course in Latin the pupil would have learned the source words of 85.79 per cent of the Latin derivatives in his vocabulary.

It would seem, then, that Professor Lodge's 2,000 Latin words are of almost as much value for giving a knowledge of the Latin element among the most commonly used English words as they are for giving a ready reading ability in Latin. It would seem, further, that the vocabulary of the traditional Latin read in the secondary school is as valuable as could be hoped for in giving a knowledge of the source words of the Latin element among the most commonly used English words, since even the minimum part of it that should be memorized includes the source words of three-fourths of the Latin derivatives among the most commonly used English words, and since, taken as a whole, it includes the source words of well over four-fifths of these Latin derivatives.

III. Records

A. LISTS OF WORDS

1. *The English Word List.* The purpose of the English word list is to indicate the etymological history of each word included and the source word from which it is derived, if the source word is Latin or Greek. The 10,000 English words in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book* are arranged in alphabetical order, but following each word is a certain index number to indicate how frequently it occurred and how widely it was distributed among the sources, as compared with the other words in the list.³ Each word which is among the 5,000 words of most frequent occurrence and of widest distribution has a second number to indicate which 1,000 words it falls within, whether among the first 1,000 words of very highest frequency or among the second 1,000 of next highest frequency, and so on. Each word which is among the 5,000 words of less frequent occurrence has following it only the index number previously mentioned. This difference furnished a convenient basis for division into halves. Accordingly the English list is in two parts, one composed of the 5,000 words of higher frequency and the other composed of the 5,000 words of less frequency. The two halves of the English list were prepared by two persons. The statements in regard to the list, however, apply equally to both halves with two slight exceptions which will be noted later.

First of all it should be noted that proper names have been omitted because of the difficulty in many instances of tracing their etymological history. The number and frequency values of these proper names have been noted, however, in the tables of statistics.

The English word list has been arranged in five columns. In column one is each of the English words copied from Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*. In column two is its index number, also copied from the *Teacher's Word Book*. In column three are symbols indicating the etymological history of the English word. Columns four and five are blank unless the English word is of Latin or Greek origin. If the English word is of Latin origin, the intermediate Latin source word—if any—is placed in column four and the ultimate Latin source word in column five. If the English word is

³ See page vi, *Teacher's Word Book*, E. L. Thorndike, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1921.

of Greek origin, the fourth column contains the intermediate Latin source word—if any—and column five the immediate Greek source word. This latter is not necessarily the ultimate Greek source word.

The etymological history of the words in this list is that given in each instance in *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* by Professor Walter W. Skeat, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1910. Latin source words mentioned by Skeat were looked up in *Harper's Latin Dictionary* by Lewis and Short, American Book Company, 1907. If a Latin source word could not be found in the latter work, it was considered to be non-classical, and the fact was indicated by enclosing it in parentheses. Greek source words mentioned by Skeat were looked up in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, eighth edition, American Book Company. Any not found there were enclosed in parentheses. It should be mentioned also that parentheses were used in the fifth column of the English list to enclose a prefix before an ultimate source word. For instance, the English word "conceive" has in the fourth column as its immediate source word "concupere" and in the fifth column as its ultimate source word "(con-) capere".

The two exceptions to the uniformity in arrangement between the two halves of the list are as follows: In the latter half of the list, among the 5,000 words of less frequency, if the immediate and ultimate Latin source words are identical, the ultimate Latin source word is placed in column four instead of in column five as in the first half of the list. If the immediate and ultimate source word are not identical, the ultimate source word is enclosed in parentheses. These two slight differences are of no significance and need cause no misunderstanding.

The symbols used in column three to indicate the etymological history of the word are in the main the same as those used by Skeat and should be readily understood. It may be of assistance to state the meanings of the following symbols:

C	Celtic	Heb	Hebrew
D	Dutch	Ital	Italian
E	English	L	Latin
F	French	LL	Late Latin
Gk	Greek	ML	Medieval Latin
OHG	Old High German	Skt	Sanskrit
OLG	Old Low German	Scand	Scandinavian
Germ	German	Teut	Teutonic

The symbols F-L in the third column after an English word indicate that it came into the English thru the French from the Latin. Latin in this case is the ultimate source language. The ultimate source language of any word in the list is the one whose symbol stands at the extreme right. Some words which have more than one meaning have also more than one etymological history. For instance, the word "arm", when it means part of the body, is of native English origin; when used as a verb "to arm", it is of Latin origin and came into the English thru the French. Accordingly after it in the third column are the following symbols: 1,E; 2,F-L. Hybrid words are labeled as such and their etymological history is also indicated, e.g., "fireplace"...Hybrid E and F-L-Gk.

2. *The Latin Word List.* The purpose of the Latin word list is to present the Latin source words of the Latin derivatives among the 10,000 English words contained in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*, and so to present them that the importance of the contribution of each to the list of English words mentioned above and also the relation of each to Professor Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin* may readily be seen. The attainment of this purpose has been attempted by the following arrangement:

Each page of the Latin list has been divided into seven vertical columns. In column one is each Latin source word. This is usually an ultimate source word. In quite a number of cases, however, the ultimate Latin source word was so very different in form from its English derivative or was in such rare use in Latin literature that it seemed best to place an intermediate Latin source word rather than the ultimate one in the first column. In all such cases the ultimate source word is placed in brackets immediately below the source word given. If the Latin source word is non-classical Latin, in other words, if it is not found in *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, it is enclosed in parentheses. If the word is not a native Latin word, but was brought into Latin from some other language, the fact is noted by putting this mark (†) before the word, e.g., † carrus. Here it should be noted that any word that came into Latin from the Greek is not included in the Latin list at all, but will be found in the Greek word list. Any word that does not occur in classical Latin literature but is known from inscriptions or the grammarians is marked (§), e.g.,

‡ fendere. The infinitive forms of Latin verbs were used rather than the first person singular indicative.

In column two at the right of column one on the page, after some of the Latin source words will be noticed a capital letter, after other source words column two is left blank. If column two is left blank, it signifies that the Latin source word after which the blank space occurs is not to be found in Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin*. If a capital C occurs in column two, it signifies that the Latin source word after which it is placed occurs in the list of 1,000 Caesarian words which Professor Lodge recommends for memorizing during the first two years of high school. If a capital T (Tullius) occurs, it signifies that the Latin source word occurs in Professor Lodge's Ciceronian list. If a capital V occurs, it signifies that the source word is found in Lodge's Vergilian list. If a capital L occurs, it signifies that the source word is found in Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin*, but is not one of the 2,000 Latin words which Professor Lodge recommends for memorizing.

At the top of the page above columns three and four stands the word "Value". From the figures in these two columns an idea may be gained of the value of the Latin word after which they stand as a contributing source to the words in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*. The number in column three is the sum of the frequency index numbers assigned by Thorndike in his *Teacher's Word Book* to the derivatives of the Latin source word after which the number stands. For instance, the second word in the Latin list is "abominari". In column three following it is the number 14. This number was obtained by adding 9 and 5, the frequency index numbers assigned to "abominable" and "abomination" in the *Teacher's Word Book*. These two words are the only derivatives in the *Teacher's Word Book* from "abominari". In the case of hybrids only one-half of the index number was credited to the Latin source word. For instance, in the word "unequal", the prefix "un-" is native English but "equal" is a Latin derivative. The index number of "unequal" is 8 but only 4 was credited to "aequus", the Latin source word of "equal". In the case of such words as "arm" which may be native English, meaning a part of the body, or may be of Latin origin meaning "to arm", since it is impossible to say

how much of the index value should be credited to either source, such numbers are dropped altogether from consideration. For the reason just mentioned sometimes it happens that instead of a number in the third column the letter "i" in parentheses is found. This signifies that the number to be credited to that source word is indeterminable.

The number in column four simply shows how many derivatives the Latin source word preceding it has in Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*.

At the top of the page above the fifth column is the word "Rank". This indicates that the number in the fifth column represents the rank of the Latin source word preceding it as compared with all the other Latin source words in this list. The first basis for the ranking is the index number in column three, since this number indicates the frequency of use of the derivatives of the particular source word when taken all together. The word followed by the highest index number in column three has the first rank (rank 1), and from it the ranking proceeds from the words of higher index numbers toward those of lower numbers. If two words have the same index number but differ in the number of derivatives as indicated by the number in column four, the word with the greater number of derivatives is ranked ahead of the one with the smaller number. Since some words do not differ in either of these numbers, sometimes it happens that there are two or more words having a given rank. Columns six and seven contain the derivatives of each source word. Column six contains those derivatives that occur among the 5,000 words of higher frequency in the *Teacher's Word Book*. Column seven contains those derivatives among the 5,000 words of less frequency. In some cases a Latin derivative traces back to two Latin source words: e.g., "navigate" from "navis" and "agere". In such a case, if a verb was involved, it was assigned to the verb as its source word rather than to the noun. If two nouns were involved, the derivative was assigned to the noun that formed the first syllable of the word.

3. *The Greek Word List.* The Greek word list has been formed on absolutely the same plan as the Latin word list. It must be confessed, however, that the ultimate source words have not been sought so consistently as in the Latin list. This was due to the fact that the derivatives from any one word

were usually few, that the ultimate source word seemed often rather remote from its English derivative, and that the time that could be put upon the work was limited.

B. TABLES OF STATISTICS, 1-8

Table 1 shows the standing of source languages among the 500 words of very highest frequency.

This table shows both the number of derivative words and the sums of the frequency index numbers to be attributed to each source language in each group of 100 (approximately) words and in the total 500 words. The term "compound etymology" signifies a word such as "arm" that if taken in one sense is native English and in another sense is of Latin origin; in other words, it signifies a word that may trace back to any one of two or more source languages. The term "Other-Latin" signifies a word of Latin origin that has come into the English thru an intermediate language. The term "Latin-Other" signifies a word that came into English from the Latin, whether directly or not, but which traces to some other source language beyond the Latin other than Greek. If a word came into English thru Latin from Greek, it is classed as "Other-Greek".

Table 2 shows the sums of the frequency index numbers to be attributed to each source language in each group of 500 words (approximately) among the 5,000 words of higher frequency in the *Teacher's Word Book*.

In the column labeled "Total" is indicated the sum of the index numbers that is to be attributed to each source language for the total 5,000 words. The heading "1-A" signifies the group of 500 words (approximately) of higher frequency index numbers among the 1,000 words of very highest frequency index numbers. And so on.

Table 3 shows the actual number of derivative words to be attributed to each source language among the 5,000 words of higher frequency taken both as a whole in the column labeled "Total" and by groups of 500 words (approximately) each. This table may be compared with Table 4 following.

Table 4 shows the number of derivative words to be attributed to each source language contributing to the 5,000 words of less frequency in the *Teacher's Word Book*.

This table shows the total number of derivatives to be attributed to each source language among these 5,000 words (approximately) of less frequency and also the number in each of the groups defined by the frequency index numbers 9 to 3 inclusive. The contrast may here be noted in the range of frequency in the two halves of the 10,000 English words. Among the 5,000 words of higher frequency the range is between 211 and 10 inclusive. Among the 5,000 words of less frequency the range is only between 9 and 3 inclusive. Tables 3 and 4 may be compared.

Table 5 shows the contribution of each important source language to the 5,000 words (approximately) of highest frequency in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*.

The first two columns of figures show the contribution of each source language on the basis of the number of words among the 5,000 actually derived from it. The numbers in the first column show the number of words derived from each language. The numbers in the second column show the per cent of the words among the 5,000 that are derived from each source language.

The second two columns of figures show the contribution of each source language on the basis of the frequency and extent of use of the derivatives of each language that occur among the 5,000 words of higher frequency. Each number in the third column of figures is the sum of the frequency index numbers found in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book* after all words that are derived from the source language whose name precedes the number. For instance, in the third column of figures after the name "English" is the number 88,081. This was obtained by adding together all the frequency index numbers of all the words of native English origin among the 5,000 words of higher frequency.

For obvious reasons, some of which have been previously mentioned, the index numbers of all words involving compound etymology, of all hybrid words, and of all proper names were left completely out of the reckoning.

Table 6 shows the contribution of each important source language to the 5,000 words (approximately) of less frequency in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*.

The plan of Table 6 is the same as that of Table 5.

Table 7 shows the contribution of each important source language to the entire 10,000 English words in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*.

The plan of Table 7 is the same as that of Table 5.

Tables 5, 6, and 7 should be compared.

Table 8 shows the relation of the Latin source words contributing to the English words in Professor Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book* with the Latin words in Professor Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin*.

The table showing the relation of the Lodge Latin list to the list of the source words of the Latin derivatives among the 10,000 English words in the *Teacher's Word Book* is to be interpreted as follows: The figure 1,110 at the bottom of the first column expresses the number of Latin source words from which come the Latin derivatives in the *Teacher's Word Book*. Now reading the first line across the top of the table, we are to understand that 290 out of the 1,110 source words mentioned above are to be found among the Latin words in the Caesar list of Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin*. It should be noted that more of the 1,000 words in Lodge's Caesar list than the 290 just mentioned are really related to the source words in our list because Lodge includes "de-cipio", "incipio", re-cipio", etc., as well as the simple form "capio", while in our list compound forms are usually not separately noted, but all derivatives of the "capio" family, for example, are traced back to the simple form "capio". Continuing our reading, the 290 words common to Lodge's Caesar list comprise 26.13 per cent of the total of 1,110 Latin source words in our list. These 290 Latin words have 1,911 English derivatives among the words in Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book*. These derivatives comprise 43.98 per cent of all the Latin derivatives in the *Teacher's Word Book*. The sum of the frequency index numbers of all the English words in Thorndike's *Teacher's Word Book* that are derived from these 290 Latin words is 30,857, and this sum is 46.54 per cent of the total sum of all the frequency index numbers of all the words in the *Teacher's Word Book* that are derived from Latin.

The figures in the row following the word "Lodge" are the statistics on those words in our list that are included in Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin* but are not in his

list of 2,000 important words. The figures in the row headed "Not in High School Latin" are statistics on those words of our list that are not found in Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin*. Forty-two of these last mentioned words, whose derivatives number 68, are non-classical Latin and are not to be found in *Harper's Dictionary*.

IV. Procedure

The procedure followed in attempting to attain the three-fold object stated at the beginning of this Foreword was as follows:

1. First, the English word list, already described, was formed. For this purpose each word in the *Teacher's Word Book* was looked up in Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* and its etymological history and source word also, if of Latin or Greek origin, were written down.

Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* rather than the new *Oxford Dictionary* was used by the authors for greater convenience in handling and because the former could be used outside of a library. In the rare instances in which Skeat's judgment on a word could not be obtained, the word was looked up in the *Oxford Dictionary*.

2. The second step was to count the derivatives of each source language and to add together their frequency index numbers. The records of this step are presented in Tables 1-7 inclusive.

3. The third step was the formation of the Latin and Greek lists of source words.

For forming these lists, all words in the English word list that traced back to a common Latin source word had first to be grouped together. The same was true of Greek derivatives.

In forming these lists, for the purpose of verification, every Latin word was looked up a second time in *Harper's Latin Dictionary* and every Greek word was looked up a second time in Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*.

4. The fourth step was the compilation of the statistics in Table 8.

Tho reasonable care has been observed in this work, it is impossible that it could be free from some mistakes and inaccuracies. It is trusted and believed, however, that these

are not so serious as to invalidate any conclusions based upon these figures.

NOTE. Because of the lack of sufficient funds to print this study in its complete form, it was found necessary, after it had been prepared for the press, to omit entirely the English List and to transliterate all Greek words.

E. Y. L.

LATIN LIST

I. Alphabetical Arrangement

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
A—67 words				
abdomen.....	5...1...	500.....	abdomen	
abominari.....	14...2...	472.....	abominable	
			abomination	
accusare.....C.....	35...3...	390.....	accuse.....	accusation
[causa]				accuser
acer.....C.....	42...2...	365.....	eager.....	acid
acuere.....V.....	15...3...	469.....		acute
				ague
				cute
addere.....V.....	114...3...	171.....	add	
			addition	
			additional	
aequus.....C.....	99...7...	202.....	equal.....	adequate
				equality
				equator
				equity
				iniquity
				unequal
aes.....T.....	6...1...	498.....		era
aestimare.....L.....	81...5...	245.....	aim.....	estimation
[aes]			esteem.....	inestimable
			estimate	
aetas.....T.....	80...2...	248.....	age.....	aged
[aeuum]				
aeternus.....T.....	39...2...	376.....	eternal	
[aeuum]			eternity	
ager.....C.....	26...2...	424.....	pilgrim.....	pilgrimage
agere.....C.....	347...28...	20.....	act.....	activity
			action.....	actress
			active.....	ambiguous
			actor.....	assay
			actual.....	enact
			agency.....	essay
			agent.....	mitigate
			exact.....	navigable
			purge.....	navigate
				navigation
				navigator
				prodigal
				quail
				reaction
				squash
				squat
				transact
				transaction
				variegated
agitare.....V.....	5...1...	500.....		agitate
[agere]				
ala.....V.....	10...1...	486.....	aisle	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
alacer.....C.....3...1...505.....				alacrity
albus.....V.....16...3...465.....				album
				auburn
				daub
†(alcohol).....7...1...495.....				alcohol
alere.....T.....49...5...331.....			exalt.....	altitude
			haughty.....	alumni
				enhance
†(algebra).....6...1...498.....				algebra
alius.....C.....10...2...485.....				alien
				alienate
(almanac).....5...1...500.....				almanac
altare.....V.....22...1...442.....			altar	
alter.....C.....38...4...379.....			alter.....	adultery
				alteration
				alternate
alumen.....3...1...505.....				aluminum
amare.....T.....30...5...408.....				amateur
				amiable
				enamor
				enmity
				paramour
†ambactus.....20...2...451.....			ambassador.....	embassy
amicus.....C.....59...2...298.....			enemy.....	amity
[amare]				
amita.....40...1...374.....			aunt	
amplus.....C.....20...1...452.....			ample	
angulus.....L.....24...2...433.....			angle.....	triangle
angustus.....C.....11...1...483.....			anguish	
anima.....V.....11...2...482.....				animate
				inanimate
animal.....L.....70...1...269.....			animal	
animus.....C.....16...4...464.....				animosity
				magnanimity
				magnanimous
				unanimous
annus.....C.....44...5...357.....			annual.....	annal
				perennial
				solemnity
				solemnize
ante.....C.....139...7...122.....			advance.....	advancement
			advantage.....	advantageous
			ancient.....	vantage
			van	
antiquus.....T.....22...3...440.....			antiquity.....	antic
[ante]				antique
anxius.....34...2...395.....			anxious.....	anxiety
[angere]				

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
apere.....	62...5...	292	apt.....	adapt
			attitude.....	coupling
			couple	
aperire.....C.....	6...1...	498		aperture
[parere]				
appellare.....C.....	45...3...	354	appeal.....	repeal
[pellere]			peal	
Aprilis.....	39...1...	377	April	
aqua.....C.....	4...1...	503		aquarium
aquila.....C.....	28...1...	418	eagle	
arbiter.....L.....	5...1...	500		arbitrary
arcere.....V.....	12...1...	479	ark	
arcus.....V.....	35...2...	391	arch.....	archer
ardere.....V.....	11...2...	482		ardent
				ardor
area.....	25...1...	429	area	
arguere.....L.....	30...2...	409	argue	
			argument	
arma.....C.....	129...7...	136	alarm.....	disarm
			arm.....	firearms
			armor.....	unarm
			army	
ars.....T.....	120...7...	155	art.....	artful
			artist.....	artillery
			artistic.....	artisan
				artless
artifex.....L.....	12...1...	479	artificial	
artus.....V.....	52...1...	322	article	
†asinus.....	21...1...	447	ass	
asper.....V.....	3...1...	505		exasperate
audere.....C.....	3...1...	505		audacious
audire.....C.....	120...8...	154	audience.....	audible
			disobey.....	disobedience
			obedience.....	disobedient
			obedient	
			obey	
augere.....C.....	117...8...	164	August.....	auction
			author.....	auctioneer
			authority.....	augment
				authorize
				auxiliary
aurora.....	4...1...	503		aurora
aurum.....V.....	6...1...	498		oriole
auscultare.....	(i)...1...	508	scout	
autumnus.....L.....	39...2...	376	autumn.....	autumnal
avarus.....V.....	8...1...	492		avarice
[avere]				
avunculus.....L.....	54...1...	314	uncle	
axis.....V.....	8...1...	492		axis

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
B—44 words				
baça.....L.....	(i) . . . 1 . . .	508 . . .	bay (tree)	
(bacca).....	20 . . . 1 . . .	452 . . .	basin	
(baccalaris).....	8 . . . 1 . . .	492 . . .		bachelor
(badare).....	(i) . . . 1 . . .	508 . . .	bay (of dog)	
badius.....	(i) . . . 1 . . .	508 . . .	bay (color)	
Baiae.....	(i) . . . 1 . . .	508 . . .	bay (of sea)	
baiulus.....	6 . . . 1 . . .	498 . . .		bail
ballare.....	8 . . . 2 . . .	491 . . .	ball.....	ballad
balteus.....L.....	31 . . . 1 . . .	407 . . .	belt	
†(bannum).....	17 . . . 1 . . .	463 . . .	abandon	
barba.....L.....	12 . . . 1 . . .	479 . . .	barber	
barca.....	8 . . . 2 . . .	491 . . .	bark.....	barge
baro.....	10 . . . 1 . . .	486 . . .	baron	
(barra).....	17 . . . 2 . . .	462 . . .	barrier.....	embarrass
Bassus.....	21 . . . 5 . . .	443 . . .	base.....	basement
				baseness
				bass
				debase
bastaga.....	8 . . . 1 . . .	492 . . .		bastard
(bastire).....	(i) . . . 2 . . .	507 . . .		baste
				bastings
batuere.....	130 . . . 9 . . .	134 . . .	abate.....	battalion
			battery.....	batter
			battle.....	battleship
			combat.....	combatant
			debate	
bellum.....C.....	54 . . . 4 . . .	311 . . .	rebel.....	rebellious
			rebellion	
			revel	
bellus.....	152 . . . 5 . . .	105 . . .	beautiful.....	beau
[bonus]			beauty.....	beauteous
				belle
benignus.....L.....	5 . . . 1 . . .	500 . . .		benign
bestia.....L.....	56 . . . 1 . . .	306 . . .	beast	
beta.....	11 . . . 1 . . .	483 . . .	beet	
bibere.....T.....	11 . . . 2 . . .	482 . . .		bib
				imbibe
(bicarium).....	19 . . . 1 . . .	456 . . .	pitcher	
boare.....	4 . . . 1 . . .	503 . . .		boo
†(bonneta).....	17 . . . 1 . . .	463 . . .	bonnet	
bonus.....C.....	40 . . . 6 . . .	371 . . .	bounty.....	bonbon
				bonny
				bonus
				bounteous
				bountiful
†(borax).....	8 . . . 2 . . .	491 . . .		borax
				boric
†(bordatura).....	39 . . . 1 . . .	377 . . .	border	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
(boscus).....	15...4...	468...	bush.....	bouquet bushing bushy
botta.....	(i)....1....	508...	boot	
botulus.....	14...1....	473...	bowel	
bos.....	V....34...2...	395...	beef bugle	
(branca).....	63...1....	290...	branch	
brevis.....	C....40...3...	372...	brief.....	abridge brevity
broccus.....	13...3....	474.....		broach broker brooch
Brundisium.....	9...1....	489.....		bronze
brutus.....	28...3....	416...	brute.....	brutal brutish
bucca.....	14...2....	472.....		buckle buckler
bull.....	62...8....	291...	bill.....	boiler
			boil.....	budge
			bowl.....	bulletin
			bull	
			bullet	
(busca).....	11...1....	483...	rebuke	
(buseus).....	6...1....	498.....		ambush
(buticula).....	53...2....	318...	bottle.....	butler
C—124 words				
caballus.....	20...3....	450.....		cavalier cavalry chivalry
cadere.....	C....239...17....	46.....	accident.....	accidental
			cascade.....	casual
			case.....	casualty
			chance.....	coincidence
			cheat.....	incidental
			decay.....	mischance
			incident.....	occidental
			occasion	
			occasional	
			perchance	
caedere.....	C....133...10....	132...	cement.....	chisel
			decide.....	decidedly
			decision.....	decisive
			scissors.....	precise uncircumcised undecided
caelum.....	T....29...2....	414...	ceiling	
			celestial	
caerimonia.....	19...2....	455...	ceremony.....	ceremonial

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
Caesar.....	8...1...	492.....		czar
calamitas.....C.....	10...1...	486.....	calamity	
calere.....L.....	5...1...	500.....		scald
calvi.....	9...1...	489.....		challenge
calx.....	21...3...	445.....	chalk.....	calculate calculation
cambire.....	149...6...	110.....	change.....	changeable exchange.....
				changeable interchange unchanged
†camisia.....	6...1...	498.....		chemise
†(camphora).....	5...1...	500.....		camphor
campus.....T.....	102...7...	193.....	camp.....	camper
			campaign.....	champaign
			champion.....	encamp scamper
canalis.....	47...2...	344.....	canal channel	
cancer.....	18...3...	458.....		cancel canker chancellor
candere.....L.....	85...9...	229.....	candidate.....	candid
			candle.....	candidacy
			incense.....	candlestick candor censor chandelier
canere.....V.....	53...5...	315.....	accent.....	chanticleer
			chant.....	enchantment
			enchant	
canis.....V.....	12...2...	478.....		canary kennel
(capa).....	9...3...	487.....	cape.....	chaperon coping
(capanna).....	35...2...	391.....	cabin cabinet	
(capella).....	24...1...	434.....	chapel	
caper.....L.....	29...5...	411.....	cab.....	caper caprice capricious cheviot
capere.....C...1,084..	61.....1...		accept.....	acceptance
			cable.....	anticipate
			capable.....	capacious
			capacity.....	captivate
			captive.....	casement
			captivity.....	cashier
			capture.....	casket
			case.....	catcher
			cash.....	conception

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
			catch.....	deceitful
			caught.....	deceiver
			conceit.....	emancipation
			conceive.....	exceptional
			deceit.....	incapable
			deceive.....	intercept
			except.....	municipal
			exception.....	occupant
			occupation.....	participate
			occupy.....	perception
			perceive.....	princely
			precept.....	principality
			prince.....	purchaser
			princess.....	recapture
			principal.....	receiver
			principle.....	receptacle
			purchase.....	recipe
			receipt.....	recovery
			receive.....	staircase
			reception.....	unoccupied
			recover	
			sash	
			scarce	
(cappa).....	110...	5....176...	cap.....	madcap
			escape.....	nightcap
				'scape
caput.....	C....	295..13....31...	achieve.....	achievement
			cabbage.....	capitol
			cape.....	mischievous
			capital.....	precipice
			captain	
			cattle	
			chapter	
			chief	
			mischief	
carbo.....	20...	4....449...		carbolic
				carbon
				carbuncle
				carburetor
cardo.....	V.....	9...1....489...		cardinal
carduus.....	(i)...	1....508...	card	
carmen.....	V....	42...1...366...	charm	
caro.....	C....	17...4....461...		carnal
				carnation
				carnival
				carriion
†carpentum.....	24...1....434...		carpenter	
carpere.....	V....	20...1....452...	carpet	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
†carrus. C. 309. 10. 28.			career.	chargeable
			cargo.	charger
			carriage	
			carrier	
			carry	
			charge	
			chariot	
			discharge	
carus. T. 52. 4. 319.			caress.	charitable
			charity	
			cherish	
caseus. 32. 1. 404.			cheese	
castrum. C. 46. 1. 350.			castle	
castus. V. 32. 5. 401.			chaste.	chasten
				chastise
				chastisement
				chastity
catena. C. 49. 1. 335.			chain	
catinus. 27. 2. 421.			kettle.	teakettle
catus. 40. 2. 373.			kitten	
			kitty	
cauda. L. 31. 3. 405.			coward.	cowardice
				cue
caulis. 4. 1. 503.				cauliflower
causa. C. 82. 2. 243.			cause.	causeless
cavere. C. 19. 3. 454.				caution
				cautious
				precaution
cavus. V. 79. 6. 250.			cage.	cavern
			cave.	decoy
			jail.	jailor
cedere. C. 428. 32. 12.			access.	accessory
			ancestor.	ceaseless
			cease.	concede
			decease.	concession
			exceed.	inaccessible
			exceeding.	incessant
			excess.	intercession
			excessive.	precede
			proceed.	precedent
			process.	predecessor
			procession.	recede
			recess.	recessive
			succeed.	successor
			success.	unceasing
			successful.	unsuccessful
			succession	
			successive	
celare. C. 26. 2. 424.			conceal.	concealment

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
celeber. T. 40. 2. 373.			celebrate	
			celebration	
cella. 52. 3. 320.			cell	celluloid
			cellar	
†cellere. V. 63. 4. 287.			excel.	excellence
			excellent.	excellency
censere. T. 14. 2. 472.			censure.	census
centum. C. 102. 5. 194.			cent.	¢ or c.
			century.	percent
				percentage
Ceres. 6. 1. 498.				cereal
cernere. C. 228. 13. 50.			concern.	discreet
			concerning.	discretion
			concert.	secrecy
			crime.	unconcern
			criminal	
			decree	
			discern	
			secret	
			secretary	
certus. L. 98. 5. 207.			certain.	ascertain
[cernere]			uncertain.	certainty
				uncertainty
†ceterus. T. 15. 1. 471.			etc.	
cingere. C. 7. 1. 495.				precinct
circulus. L. 67. 2. 275.			circle	
			circular	
circus. L. 73. 6. 260.			circus.	circulate
			search.	circulation
				research
				shark
citare. L. 60. 5. 295.			excite.	cite
[cire]			excitement.	recital
			recite	
civis. T. 192. 7. 66.			citizen.	civic
			city.	civility
			civil.	civilization
				civilize
clamare. T. 137. 9. 125.			claim.	clamorous
			clamor.	disclaim
			exclaim.	exclamation
			proclaim.	proclamation
				reclaim
clangere. 10. 1. 486.			clang	
clarus. T. 146. 4. 114.			clear.	clearness
			declare.	declaration
classis. C. 76. 3. 257.			class.	classmate
			classic	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
claudere.....T....297..13....30....			clause.....	cloister
			close.....	exclude
			closet.....	seclude
			conclude	
			conclusion	
			disclose	
			enclose	
			exclusive	
			inclose	
			include	
clavus.....L....16...2....466....			clove.....	cloy
clemens.....L....3...1....505....				clemency
cliens.....C....6...1....498....				client
codex.....5...1....500....				code
cohors.....C....138...5....123....			court	
			courteous	
			courtesy	
			courtier	
			curtain	
colere.....T....123...8....147....			agricultural.....	cologne
			agriculture.....	cultivation
			colonial.....	culture
			colonist	
			colony	
collum.....V....33...1....400....			collar	
color.....T....84...1....237....			color	
colum.....3...1....505....				percolate
columna.....L....31...2....406....			column.....	colonel
communis.....C....124...8....146....			common.....	commune
[munis]			commonwealth.....	communicate
			communication.....	communion
			community.....	uncommon
concilium.....C....54...3....312....			council.....	reconciliation
			reconcile	
considerare...T....83...4....239....			consider.....	considerably
[sidus]			considerable	
			consideration	
consilium.....C....31...2....406....			counsel.....	counsellor
consuescere...C....106...6....186....			accustom.....	customary
			costume.....	custom-house
			custom	
			customer	
consul.....T....9...1....489....				consul
consulere.....C....29...2....414....			consult.....	consultation
contra.....C....160...5....94....			contrary.....	con
			counter	
			country	
			encounter	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
coquere.....	125...6...	144...	cook.....	apricot
			kitchen.....	biscuit
				cooky
				precocious
cor.....	V....263..15....	36....	accord.....	accordance
			according.....	concord
			accordingly.....	courageous
			cordial.....	discord
			courage.....	discordant
			discourage.....	encouragement
			encourage.....	recorder
			record	
corium.....	15...2....	470...	quarry	
			scourge	
cornu.....	C....154...3....	103...	corn.....	core
			corner	
corpus.....	C....45...6....	351...	corporation.....	corporal
				corps
				corpse
				corse
				corset
cortex.....	L.....10...1....	486...	scorch	
costa.....	L.....63...3....	288...	coast.....	accost
				seacoast
coxa.....	21...1....	447...	cushion	
crassus.....	L.....11...1....	483...	grease	
cratis.....	L.....5...2....	499...	grate.....	griddle
creare.....	C....108...6....	181...	create.....	creative
			creation.....	creator
			creature.....	recreation
credere.....	T....106...7....	185...	credit.....	creditor
			grant.....	credulous
				creed
				discredit
				incredible
crepare.....	L.....9...2....	488...		craven
				crevice
crescere.....	T....119...6....	158...	crew.....	concrete
[creare]			decrease.....	crescent
			increase.....	recruit
creta.....	3...1....	505...		crayon
crispus.....	19...2....	455...	crisp.....	crepe
crista.....	L....16...1....	467...	crest	
(croceus).....	18...2....	459...	crouch.....	crochet
crudelis.....	T....57...2....	303...	cruel	
			cruelty	
crudus.....	L.....8...1....	492...		crude
crusta.....	21...2....	446...	crust.....	custard
crux.....	98...4....	208...	cross.....	crosswise
				cruise
				crusade

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
cubare.....	10..2	485		cubit incubator
euculus.....	15..1	471	cuckoo	
cucumis.....	5..1	500		cucumber
cucurbita.....	5..1	500		gourd
culcita.....	12..1	479	quilt	
(cultivare).....	24..1	434	cultivate	
culus.....	8..1	492		recoil
cumulus.....L.....	3..1	505		accumulate
cuneus.....L.....	35..1	392	coin	
cupa.....	82..4	242	cup.....	cowl
			cupboard.....	goblet
(cuppa).....	18..1	460	cuff	
cupere.....C.....	17..2	462	covet.....	covetous
cura.....T.....	107..7	183	cure.....	accurate
			curiosity.....	incurable
			curious	
			procure	
			scour	
currere.....V.....	233..11	47	coarse.....	concur
			course.....	excursion
			current.....	intercourse
			discourse.....	scurry
			incur.....	succor
			occur	
curtus.....	105..3	189	short.....	shortage
				shorten
curvus.....V.....	36..2	388	curb	
			curve	
custos.....T.....	7..1	495		custody
D—34 words				
damnum.....	65..5	281	condemn.....	condemnation
			damage.....	damnation
			damn	
lare.....C.....	409..24	14	command.....	commandment
			commander.....	commendation
			commend.....	data
			date.....	dice
			demand.....	edition
			die.....	editor
			pardon.....	perdition
			recommend.....	reenter
			recommendation	
			render	
			rent	
			subdue	
			surrender	
			tradition	
			traitor	
			treason	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
debere.....C....	176...7....	81....	debt.....	debtor
[de-habere]			due.....	duly
			duty.....	indebted
			endeavor	
decem.....C....	67...4....	274....	December.....	dean
			dime.....	decimal
decere.....V....	8...1....	492....		decent
decus.....V....	21...2....	446....	decoration.....	decorate
dens.....V....	20...4....	449....		dandelion
				dental
				dentist
				indent
densus.....C....	27...2....	421....	dense.....	condense
desiderare...T....	80...3....	247....	desirable.....	desirous
[sidus?]			desire	
destinare...L....	27...2....	421....	destine	
			destiny	
deus.....T....	16...2....	466....		adieu
				deity
dicare.....L....	106...8....	184....	dedicate.....	dedication
			indicate.....	index
			preach.....	indication
			preacher.....	indicative
dicere.....C....	134...16....	129....	condition.....	benediction
			dictate.....	conditional
				contradict
				contradiction
				dictionary
				ditty
				indictment
				jurisdiction
				predict
				prediction
				prejudice
				prodigious
				prodigy
				verdict
dies.....C....	116...9....	166....	dismal.....	adjourn
			journal.....	dial
			journey.....	diary
			sojourn.....	meridian
				sojourner
dignus.....T....	89...8....	223....	dainty.....	deign
			dignity.....	disdainful
			disdain.....	indignant
			indignation.....	indignity
dilatare.....	49...2....	334....	delay.....	dilate
[ferre]				
dirus.....V....	10...1....	486....	dire	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
discipulus.....	18...2...	459...	discipline.....	disciple
[discere, puer]				
dividere.....	C...151...8...	107...	device.....	dividend
			divide.....	divider
			division.....	dividing
			individual.....	divisor
divus.....	V...41...3...	368...	divine.....	divination
				divinity
docere.....	C...87...5...	227...	doctor.....	docile
			doctrine.....	document
			Dr.	
dolere.....	C...6...2...	497...		indolence
				indolent
domare.....	L...9...2...	488...		dauntless
				undaunted
domina.....	V...72...5...	261...	dam	
			dame	
			damsel	
			madam	
			monkey	
dominus.....	V...137...12...	124...	danger.....	domain
			dangerous.....	dominate
			dominion.....	domination
			dungeon.....	domino
				don
				endanger
				predominant
				predominate
domus.....	C...40...2...	373...	dome	
			domestic	
dormire.....	L...3...1...	505...		dormitory
dos.....	27...4...	419...	endow.....	dower
[dare]				dowry
				endue
(drappus).....	13...3...	474...		drab
				drape
				drapery
dubius.....	T...98...4...	208...	doubt.....	undoubted
[duo, habere]			doubtful	
			doubtless	
ducere.....	C...272...16....	35...	conduct.....	conduit
			conductor.....	duchess
			duke.....	inducement
			induce.....	introduction
			introduce.....	redoubt
			produce.....	seduce
			product	
			production	
			reduce	
			reduction	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
duo.....C.....	48..3...	338...	combination.....	duel
			combine	
duodecem.....C.....	50..2...	330...	dozen.....	doz.
durus.....C.....	110..4...	177...	during.....	durable
				duration
				endurance
E—16 words				
ebur.....L.....	22..1...	442...	ivory	
educare.....	36..3...	387...	education.....	educate
				educational
[ducere; but see Class. Rev. vol. 35, p. 26]				
elementum.....	21..1...	447...	element	
elegans.....	17..2...	462...	elegant.....	elegance
emere.....C.....	158..11...	96...	example.....	exempt
			prompt.....	premium
			ransom.....	redeemer
			redeem.....	redemption
			resume.....	vintage
			sample	
eminere.....	19..3...	454...		eminence
				eminent
				preeminence
er.....	5..1...	500...		urchin
errare.....T.....	53..3...	317...	err.....	unerring
			error	
eruca.....	3..1...	505...		rocket
esse.....C.....	409..14...	15...	absence.....	essence
			absent.....	futurity
			essential.....	presentation
			future.....	presently
			interest	
			presence	
			present	
			represent	
			representation	
			representative	
examen.....	60..3...	296...	examination.....	examiner
[agere]			examine	
excusare.....L.....	31..1...	407...	excuse	
[causa]				
exercere.....T.....	51..1...	325...	exercise	
[arcere]				
experiri.....C.....	76..5...	256...	experience.....	inexperienced
			experiment.....	pert
			expert	
exsul.....T.....	15..1...	471...	exile	
exter.....T.....	171..8...	83...	extra.....	estrangle
[ex]			extreme.....	exterior
			strange.....	external
			stranger.....	extremity

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
			F—87 words	
faber.....L.....26...3...423....			forge.....	fabric
				forgery
facere.....C...1,019..91.....2....			affair.....	beautify
			affect.....	benefactor
			affection.....	certify
			affectionate.....	chafe
			benefit.....	classify
			certificate.....	confectioner
			defeat.....	counterfeit
			defect.....	defective
			dignify.....	deficiency
			edifice.....	discomfit
			effect.....	disinfect
			fact.....	disqualify
			factory.....	dissatisfy
			faculty.....	edify
			fashion.....	effective
			feat.....	effectual
			feature.....	efficiency
			forfeit.....	efficient
			imperfect.....	facility
			justify.....	faction
			magnificent.....	factor
			magnify.....	fashionable
			manufacture.....	forfeiture
			manufacturer.....	fortification
			pacific.....	fortify
			perfect.....	gratify
			perfection.....	identify
			profit.....	imperfection
			profitable.....	infect
			sacrifice.....	infection
			sanctity.....	infectious
			satisfaction.....	insufficient
			satisfactory.....	magnificence
			satisfy.....	modify
			signify.....	mortify
			suffice.....	olfactory
			sufficient.....	pacify
			testify.....	pluperfect
				proficient
				purify
				qualification
				qualify
				ratify
				scientific
				significant
				solidify
				specify

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
				sufficiency
				surfeit
				terrific
				terrify
				unprofitable
				verify
facies.....V....166...7....87....			face.....	bias
			surface.....	deface
				efface
				paleface
				superficial
facilis.....C....60...2....297....			difficult	
[facere]			difficulty	
fallere.....T....162...10....90....			fail.....	default
			failure.....	faucet
			false.....	faultless
			falsehood.....	faulty
			fault.....	infallible
falx.....L.....8...1....492....				falcon
fames.....T....27...2....421....			famine.....	famish
famulus.....V....113...2....174....			familiar	
			family	
farcire.....7...1....495....				farce
fari.....V....240...12....45....			fable.....	infamous
			fairy.....	infamy
			fairyland.....	infancy
			fame	
			famous	
			fatal	
			fate	
			infant	
			profane	
fascinum.....5...1....500....				fascinate
fateri.....T....95...7....214....			confess.....	confessor
			confession.....	professional
			profess	
			profession	
			professor	
fatigare.....V....8...1....492....				fatigue
favere.....C....104...4....190....			favor.....	unfavorable
			favorable	
			favorite	
febris.....L.....33...1....400....			fever	
februum.....30...1....410....			February	
fel.....5...1....500....				felon
femina.....T....34...2....395....			female.....	feminine
†fendere.....C*...191...14....67....			defend.....	defendant

*In composition.

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
			defense.....	defender
			fence.....	defenseless
			offend.....	defensive
			offense.....	fender
				infest
				inoffensive
				offender
				offensive
feria.....	(i)...	1...508...	fair	
ferire.....	9...1...	489...		interfere
ferre.....	C...591..	34...4...	confer.....	circumstance
			conference.....	defer
			differ.....	indifference
			difference.....	indifferent
			different.....	infer
			elate.....	legislate
			legislature.....	legislation
			offer.....	legislative
			prefer.....	preference
			refer.....	preferment
			reference.....	prelate
			relate.....	proffer
			relation.....	relationship
			relative.....	sufferance
			suffer.....	sufferer
			transfer.....	superlative
			translate.....	translation
ferrum.....	T.....(i)...	1...508...	fret	
fertilis.....	L.....37..	4...384...	fertile.....	fertility
[ferre]				fertilize
				fertilizer
ferus.....	C.....50..	3...329...	fierce.....	ferocious
				fierceness
fervere.....	V.....10..	2...485...		fervent
				fervor
festus.....	V.....68..	5...272...	feast.....	festal
			festival.....	festive
				festivity
fetus.....	L.....7...1...	495...		fawn
fi.....	5...1...	500...		fie
fibra.....	L.....13..	1...476...	fiber	
ficus.....	15...1...	471...	fig	
fidere.....	V.....188..	13...69...	confidence.....	confide
			confident.....	confidential
			defiance.....	faithfulness
			defy.....	faithless
			faith.....	fealty
			faithful.....	fidelity
				infidel

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
figere.....V.....	66...3...	278...	fix.....	crucify fixture
filius.....C.....	6...1...	498.....		filial
filum.....L.....	11...5...	480.....	defile.....	filer
[figere]			file.....	fillet profile
fimbriae.....	14...1...	473.....	fringe	
findere.....L.....	9...1...	489.....		vent
ingere.....C.....	140...7...	120.....	faint.....	disfigure
			feign.....	fiction
			figure.....	transfigure unfeigned
finis.....C.....	385...19...	19.....	confine.....	confiner
			final.....	define
			finally.....	definite
			financial.....	definition
			fine.....	finance
			finish.....	fineness
			infinite.....	indefinite
			refine.....	infinitive paraffin refinement unfinished
firmus.....C.....	253...12...	40.....	affirm.....	confirmation
			confirm.....	farmhouse
			farm.....	farmyard
			farmer.....	firmness
			firm.....	infirm
			firmament.....	infirmity
flagrare.....L.....	3...1...	505.....		conflagration
flagrum.....	3...1...	505.....		flag
flamma.....T.....	53...3...	317.....	flame.....	inflammation
			inflare	
flare.....L.....	14...1...	473.....	flavor	
flectere.....V.....	42...4...	364.....	reflect.....	flexible
			reflection.....	reflexive
flere.....C.....	22...1...	442.....	feeble	
figere.....	49...4...	332.....	afflict	
			affliction	
			conflict	
			inflict	
floccus.....	6...3...	496.....	flock.....	floss
			frock	
flos.....T.....	179...7...	78.....	flour.....	floweret
			flourish.....	flowerpot
			flower.....	sunflower
			flowery	
fluere.....C.....	64...6...	283.....	fluid.....	flue
			influence.....	influential superfluity superfluous

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
focus. T. 20. . 1. . . 452. . .			fuel	
foedus. T. 34. . 5. . . 393. . .			federal.	confederacy confederate confederation federation
folium. V. 9. . . 2. . . 488. . .			foil.	foliage
follis. 114. . 4. . . 170. . .			folly.	foolishness
			fool	
			foolish	
fons. V. 38. . 2. . . 381. . .			fountain.	fount
foras, foris. . V. 123. . 3. . . 150. . .			foreign	
			foreigner	
			forest	
forma. V. 261. . 16. . . 38. . .			form.	conform
			inform.	conformity
			information.	deform
			reform.	deformity
			transform.	formal
			uniform.	formation informal reformation transformer uniformity
formido. T. 5. . . 1. . . 500. . .				formidable
fornix. L. 4. . . 1. . . 503. . .				fornication
fortis. C. 262. . 12. . . 37. . .			comfort.	comfortless
			comfortable.	forcible
			comforter.	fortitude
			effort	
			enforce	
			force	
			fort	
			fortress	
			uncomfortable	
fortuna. C. 80. . 4. . . 246. . .			fortunate	
[ferre]			fortune	
			misfortune	
			unfortunate	
fragescere. 20. . 1. . . 452. . .			fragile	
[frangere]				
fragmentum. 10. . 1. . . 486. . .			fragment	
fragrare. L. 25. . 2. . . 428. . .			fragrance	
			fragrant	
frangere. V. 21. . 3. . . 445. . .			fraction.	frailty
			refrain	
frater. C. 24. . 3. . . 432. . .			friar.	fraternal fraternity
fraus. L. 16. . 2. . . 466. . .			fraud.	defraud
frenum. L. (i) . 1. . . 508. . .			refrain	
frequens. T. 37. . 1. . . 386. . .			frequent	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
fricare.....	8...1...	492.....		fray
†(fridare).....	54...1...	314.....	afraid	
frigere.....L.....	7...2...	494.....	fry.....	fried
frigus.....T.....	4...1...	503.....		refrigerator
frons.....C.....	96...5...	212.....	front.....	affront
				confront
				flounce
				frontier
frui.....T.....	99...4...	204.....	fruit.....	fruitless
			fruitful.....	unfruitful
frustra.....C.....	6...1...	498.....		frustrate
frux.....	6...1...	498.....		frugal
fugere.....C.....	32...2...	403.....	fugitive	
			refuge	
fullo.....(i).....	2...2...	508.....	foil	
			full	
fumus.....V.....	29...2...	414.....	fume	
			perfume	
fundere.....V.....	131...13...	133.....	confound.....	funnel
			confuse.....	fuse
			confusion.....	infuse
			diffuse.....	infusion
			found.....	profuse
			refuse.....	refund
				refusal
fundus.....L.....	74...6...	258.....	found.....	fundamental
			foundation	
			founder	
			fund	
			profound	
fungi.....T.....	13...1...	476.....	function	
furca.....	29...1...	415.....	fork	
furere.....T.....	43...2...	362.....	furious	
			fury	
furnus.....L.....	20...1...	452.....	furnace	
funus.....V.....	27...1...	422.....	funeral	
G—33 words				
gabata.....	24...1...	434.....	jaw	
galla.....(i).....	1...1...	508.....	gall	
gamba.....	5...1...	500.....		gambol
gaudere.....V.....	231...14...	48.....	jewel.....	enjoy
			jewelry.....	enjoyment
			jolly.....	gaudy
			joy.....	jeweller
			joyful.....	jollity
			joyous.....	joyless
			rejoice.....	overjoy
(gaugia).....	3...1...	505.....		gauge
gelum.....V.....	21...2...	446.....	jelly.....	gelatin

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
gemma.....L.....	28...1...	418...	gem	
genius.....L.....	36...3...	387...	genial.....	congenial
			genius	
gens.....T.....	156...7...	99...	gentle.....	gentile
			gentleman.....	gentlewoman
			gentleness.....	ungentle
			gently	
genuinus.....	13...1...	476...	genuine	
gerere.....C.....	105...9...	188...	jest.....	digest
			register.....	exaggerate
			suggest.....	gesture
				registration
				suggestion
				suggestive
germen.....	9...1...	489...		germ
glacies.....L.....	40...2...	373...	glance.....	glacier
glans.....L.....	3...1...	505...		gland
globus.....L.....	28...1...	418...	globe	
gloria.....T.....	89...4...	225...	glorify.....	inglorious
			glorious	
			glory	
glus.....	10...1...	486...	glue	
glutire.....	3...1...	505...		glutton
gnarus.....	36...2...	388...	ignorance	
			ignorant	
†(gobelinus).....	5...1...	500...		goblin
gradi.....V.....	90...8...	220...	congress.....	aggressive
			progress.....	congressional
				progressive
				transgress
				transgression
				transgressor
gradus.....V.....	147...9...	111...	degree.....	degrade
			grade.....	gradation
			gradual.....	graduation
			graduate.....	grail
				ingredient
grandis.....L.....	99...10...	201...	grand.....	grandchild
			grandfather.....	grandchildren
			grandma.....	granddaughter
			grandmother.....	grandeur
			grandpa.....	grandson
granum.....	100...8...	196...	grain.....	garner
			granite.....	granary
				grange
				granulate
				gravy
				pomegranate

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
gratus.....V....	283..16....	33....	agree.....	congratulation
			agreeable.....	disagree
			agreement.....	disagreeable
			congratulate.....	disgraceful
			disgrace.....	ingratitude
			grace.....	ungracious
			graceful	
			gracious	
			grateful	
			gratitude	
gravis.....C....	85...7....	230....	grave.....	aggravate
			grief.....	gravity
			grieve.....	grievance
			grievous	
grex.....T....	16...2....	466....	congregation.....	congregate
grossus.....	48...4....	337....	grocer.....	engross
			gross.....	grocery
gula.....	29...4....	412....	gorgeous.....	gorge
				gully
				gurgle
(gunna).....	33...2....	399....	gown.....	nightgown
gustus.....L....	10...1....	486....	disgust	
gutta.....L....	10...1....	486....	gutter	
H—20 words				
habere.....C....	126..12....	141....	ability.....	exhibition
			able.....	habitual
			enable.....	inability
			exhibit.....	malady
			habit.....	prohibition
			prohibit	
			unable	
habitare.....V....	39...3....	375....	habitation	
[habere]			inhabit	
			inhabitant	
haerere.....V....	3...1....	505....	adhere	
haesitare.....L....	15...2....	470....	hesitate.....	hesitation
[haerere]				
halare.....L....	10...2....	485....	exhalation	
			exhale	
haurire.....V....	20...2....	451....	exhaust.....	inexhaustible
herba.....V....	28...2....	417....	herb.....	arbor
heres.....L....	66...6....	276....	heir.....	disinherit
			inherit.....	hereditary
			inheritance.....	heritage
hirpex.....	8...1....	492....	rehearse	
Hispania.....	4...1....	503....	spaniel	
hispidus.....	8...1....	492....	hideous	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
homo.....C.....71...6...265			human.....	homage
			humanity.....	humane
				humankind
				inhuman
honor.....T....164...7...89			dishonor.....	dishonest
			honest.....	dishonesty
			honor.....	honesty
			honorable	
horrere.....V....66...4...277			abhor	
			horrible	
			horrid	
			horror	
hortari.....C....10...2...485				exhort
				exhortation
hortus.....15...1...471			orchard	
hospes.....C....71...7...264			hospital.....	hospitable
			host.....	hospitality
			hotel.....	hostess
				inhospitable
hostia.....L.....(i)...1...508			host	
hostis.....C....15...3...469			host.....	hostility
			hostile	
humus.....V....46...4...347			humble.....	humbleness
			humility.....	humiliation
I—48 words				
(1)iacēre.....T.....6...1...498				adjacent
(2)iacere.....C....100...7...197			project.....	abject
			subject.....	adjective
				conjecture
				dejected
				subjection
iactare.....T....82...5...241			jet.....	jut
[iacere]			object	
			objection	
			reject	
ianua.....V....6...1...498				janitor
Ianus.....46...2...349			Jan.	
			January	
ieiunus.....104...2...191			dine	
			dinner	
ile.....(i)...1...508				jade
illustris.....L....46...4...347			illustrate.....	illustration
[lucere]			illustrious	
			luster	
imago.....T....90...5...221			image.....	imaginable
			imagination.....	imaginative
			imagine	
imitari.....L.....17...2...462			imitate.....	imitation
imminere.....T....4...2...502				imminent

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
imperare.....C.....	93...6...	218...	emperor.....	empress
[in-parare]			empire.....	imperative
			imperial.....	imperious
in.....C.....	14...2...	472...	internal.....	intestine
indulgere.....C.....	15...2...	470...		indulge
				indulgence
industrius.....L.....	49...3...	333...	industrious.....	industrial
			industry	
inferus.....C.....	25...2...	428...	inferior.....	infernal
ingenium.....T.....	60...3...	296...	engine.....	ingenious
[gignere]			engineer	
initium.....C.....	7...1...	495...		initial
[ire]				
iniurius.....C.....	53...4...	316...	injure.....	injurious
[in-ius]			injury.....	uninjured
†(installare).....	15...2...	470...	install.....	installment
instaurare.....V.....	84...5...	235...	store.....	storage
[Cf. restaurare]			story.....	storehouse
				storekeeper
insula.....C.....	43...4...	360...	isle.....	insulate
			peninsula.....	insulator
insultare.....L.....	17...1...	463...	insult	
[salire]				
inter.....C.....	35...3...	390...	interior.....	entrails
			intimate	
interpres.....L.....	23...3...	436...	interpret.....	interpretation
				interpreter
intro.....C.....	120...4...	156...	enter.....	re-enter
			entrance	
			entry	
invitare.....C.....	68...2...	273...	invitation	
			invite	
iocus.....	33...3...	398...	joke.....	jeopardy
				jocund
ira.....V.....	4...1...	503...		ire
ire.....C.....	251...14...	41...	ambition.....	countess
			ambitious.....	sedition
			circuit.....	trance
			commence.....	transient
			commencement.....	transit
			county	
			issue	
			perish	
			sudden	
irritare.....L.....	3...1...	505...		irritable
item.....C.....	20...2...	451...	item.....	reiterate
iter [ire].....C.....	7...1...	495...		arrant
†iubilaeus.....	8...1...	492...		jubilee
iubilum.....	3...1...	505...		jubilant

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
iudex.....T.....	98...4...	208	judge.....	adjudge
[ius-dicere]			judgment	judicious
iugum.....C.....	5...1...	500		conjugation
Iulius.....	48...1...	340	July	
iuncus.....(i).....	1...508			junk
iungere.....C.....	120...8...	154	adjoin.....	conjunction
			join.....	enjoin
			joint.....	injunction
				junction
				subjunctive
iuniperus.....	13...2...	475		gin
				juniper
Iuno.....	44...1...	359	June	
Iuppiter, Iovis.....	5...1...	500		jovial
(1)ius.....	25...2...	428	juice.....	juicy
(2)ius.....C.....	224...8...	54	just.....	conjure
			justice.....	injustice
			unjust.....	jury
				perjure
				perjury
iuvare.....C.....	47...1...	345	aid	
iuvenis.....V.....	12...1...	479	junior	
iuxta.....V.....	14...2...	472		adjust
[iugis]				adjustment
K—1 word				
kalendae.....L.....	11...1...	483	calendar	
L—60 words				
labi.....V.....	18...4...	457		collapse
				elapse
				lapse
				relapse
labor.....C.....	88...5...	226	labor.....	elaborate
			laborer.....	laboratory
				laborious
lac.....C.....	10...1...	486	lettuce	
(laca).....	3...1...	505		shellac
lacere.....	122...5...	151	delicate.....	delicacy
			delicious	
			delight	
			delightful	
lacerta.....	11...2...	482		alligator
				lizard
lacus.....C.....	71...1...	267	lake	
laedere.....T.....	4...1...	503		collision
lamentum.....L.....	33...3...	398	lament	
			lamentation.....	lamentable
lancea.....	16...2...	466	lance	
			launch	
languere.....	6...1...	498		languid

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
languescere.....	12..1..	479...	languish	
[languere]				
lanx.....	31..1..	407...	balance	
lapis.....C.....	4..1..	503.....		dilapidated
laqueus.....	54..3..	312...	lace.....	necklace
			lash	
largus.....C.....	143..3..	118...	enlarge.....	enlargement
			large	
laridum.....	17..1..	463...	lard	
lascivus.....	6..1..	498.....		lascivious
lassus.....L.....	25..1..	429...	alas	
Latium.....	26..1..	425...	Latin	
[latus]				
latus.....C.....	7..1..	495.....		latitude
†(laubia).....	8..1..	492.....		lodging
Laudunum.....	(i) 1..1..	508...	lawn	
laurus.....V.....	14..1..	473...	laurel	
laus.....T.....	4..1..	503.....		laud
lavare.....L.....	33..5..	397...	laundry.....	launder
			lavish.....	lava
				lavatory
laxus.....L.....	46..6..	346...	release.....	laxative
				lease
				relax
				relay
				relish
lectus.....L.....	11..1..	483...	litter	
legere.....T.....	401..29..	16...	coil.....	cull
			collect.....	diligence
			collection.....	elector
			diligent.....	intellect
			elect.....	intellectual
			election.....	lecturer
			intelligence.....	legible
			intelligent.....	negligence
			lecture.....	negligent
			legend.....	recollect
			legion.....	recollection
			lesson.....	reelect
			neglect.....	reelection
			select.....	selection
				unintelligible
lens.....	4..1..	503.....		lens
lentus.....	8..1..	492.....		relent
levis.....C.....	100..8..	196...	elevate.....	elevation
			relief.....	elevator
			relieve.....	leaven
				lever
				levy

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
lex.....T.....140..11....119....			college.....	allege
			delegate.....	illegal
			legal.....	legacy
			loyal.....	legate
			loyalty.....	legitimate
			privilege	
(1) liber.....C.....158..8....97....			deliver.....	deliverer
			deliverance.....	liberality
			delivery	
			liberal	
			liberty	
			livery	
(2) liber.....T.....38..2....381....			library.....	libel
libra.....L.....69..4....270....			lb.....	deliberate
			level.....	deliberation
licere.....C.....28..2....417....			leisure	
			license	
ligare.....L.....99..12....200....			league.....	alliance
			obligation.....	allied
			oblige.....	ally
				liable
				rally
				reliability
				reliable
				reliance
				rely
limbus.....L.....(i) 1...508....			limb	
limen.....V.....8..1....492....				preliminary
limes.....L.....39..1....377....			limit	
(limo).....18..1....460....			lemon	
lingua.....C.....48..1....340....			language	
linire.....4..1....503....				liniment
linquere.....V.....16..2....466....			relie.....	relinquish
liquere.....L.....37..2....385....			liquid	
			liquor	
littera.....C.....121..4....153....			letter.....	unlettered
[linere]			literary	
			literature	
locus.....C.....164..8....88....			allow.....	allowable
			couch.....	allowance
			local.....	locality
			locate	
			location	
locusta.....13..2....475....				lobster
				locust
longus.....C.....28..3....416....			prolong.....	longitude
				lounge
loqui.....C.....17..2....462....			eloquence.....	eloquent

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
lubricus. L. 10. 3. 484.				lubricant lubricate lubricator
lucere. L. 4. 1. 503.				lucid
lucta. 9. 2. 488.				reluctance reluctant
ludere. V. 15. 3. 469.				delude delusion illusion
luere. L. 8. 3. 490.				deluge dilute lute
lumbus. 20. 2. 451.			loin.	sirloin
lumen. V. 19. 3. 454.				illuminate illumine luminous
[lucere]				lunatic
luna. V. 5. 1. 500.				
[lucere]				
luxus. L. 35. 3. 390.			luxury.	luxuriant luxurious
M—84 words				
macer. 6. 1. 498.				meager
macerare. 3. 1. 505.				macaroon
macula. L. (i). 1. 508.			mail	
magister. V. 248. 9. 43.			magistrate	masterpiece
			master.	mastery
			miss	
			mistress	
			Mr.	
			Mrs.	
			schoolmaster	
magnus. C. 118. 8. 160.			majestic.	magnitude
			majesty.	maxim
			major.	maximum
			majority	
			mayor	
Maia. (i). 1. 508.			May	
malleus. L. 10. 2. 485.				mallet maul
malus. T. 20. 2. 451.			malice.	malicious
manducare. 11. 1. 483.			manger	
manere. C. 153. 6. 104.			mansion.	menagerie
			permanent	
			remain	
			remainder	
			remnant	
manifestus. T. 19. 2. 455.			manifest.	manifestation
[manus-fendere]				
mantelum. L. 26. 2. 424.			mantle.	mantel

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
manus C . . .	110 . . 5 . . .	176 . . .	manage	manager
			management	manual
			manner	
mappa	93 . . 4 . . .	219 . . .	apron	mop
			map	
			napkin	
marcus	(i) . . 1 . . .	508 . . .	march	
mare C . . .	22 . . 2 . . .	441 . . .	mariner	marine
margo	17 . . 2 . . .	462 . . .	margin	marge
Mars	9 . . 2 . . .	488 . . .	March	martial
mas	125 . . 5 . . .	145 . . .	male	
			marriage	
			married	
			marry	
			masculine	
mater C . . .	22 . . 4 . . .	439 . . .	matron	maternal
				maternity
				matrimony
materia C . . .	152 . . 2 . . .	106 . . .	material	
			matter	
matta	22 . . 1 . . .	442 . . .	mat	
maturus C . . .	24 . . 3 . . .	432 . . .	mature	maturity
				premature
Matuta	4 . . 1 . . .	503 . . .		matin
Maurus	5 . . 2 . . .	499 . . .	moor	morris
mederi L . . .	66 . . 3 . . .	278 . . .	medical	
			medicine	
			remedy	
meditari L . . .	22 . . 3 . . .	440 . . .	meditate	meditation
				meditative
medius C . . .	71 . . 6 . . .	255 . . .	immediate	mediator
			mean	
			meantime	
			meanwhile	
			medium	
mel V . . .	5 . . 1 . . .	500 . . .		molasses
membrum V . . .	56 . . 2 . . .	305 . . .	member	membership
meminisse T . . .	8 . . 1 . . .	492 . . .		comment
memor V . . .	167 . . 6 . . .	86 . . .	memorial	memorable
			memory	memorize
			remember	
			remembrance	
mendum	53 . . 3 . . .	317 . . .	amend	
			amendment	
			mend	
mens T . . .	6 . . 1 . . .	498 . . .		mental
mentio	43 . . 1 . . .	363 . . .	mention	
merces L . . .	52 . . 3 . . .	320 . . .	mercy	merciful
[merere]				merciless
Mercurius	11 . . 1 . . .	483 . . .	mercury	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
merere.....C.....	84...3...	236...	commerce commercial merit	
mergere.....V.....	14...2...	472.....		emerge emergency
merus.....L.....(i)...	1...1...	508...	mere	
merx.....L.....	127...5...	140...	market.....	mart
[merere]			merchandise.....	mercenary
			merchant	
metiri.....L.....	123...5...	149...	immense.....	dimension
			measure.....	immeasurable
			measurement	
mica.....	4...1...	503.....		mica
migrare.....L.....	24...6...	430.....		emigrant emigrate emigration immigrant immigration migration
miles.....C.....	32...2...	403...	military.....	militia
mille.....C.....	135...4...	128...	mile.....	mi.
			million.....	millionaire
minae.....V.....	19...4...	453.....		demeanor menace misdemeanor promenade
minister.....L.....	79...8...	249...	administration.....	administer
[minus]			minister.....	administrator
			mystery.....	ministration ministry minstrel
minium.....	5...1...	500.....		miniature
minuere.....C.....	100...4...	199...	diminish.....	min.
			minute.....	mince
mirari.....T.....	125...7...	143...	admiration.....	admirable
			admire.....	admirer
			marvelous	
			miracle	
			mirror	
mirus.....C.....	4...1...	503.....		miraculous
miscere.....T.....	85...6...	231...	meddle.....	medley
			mix.....	miscellaneous
			mixture.....	mixer
miser.....T.....	46...3...	348...	miserable.....	miser
			misery	
mittere.....C.....	481...30...	10...	admission.....	admittance
			admit.....	compromise
			Christmas.....	emit
			commission.....	missionary
			commissioner.....	remission

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
			commit.....	remittance
			committee.....	submission
			dismiss.....	submissive
			mass.....	surmise
			mess.....	transmission
			message.....	transmit
			messenger	
			mission	
			omit	
			permission	
			permit	
			promise	
			remit	
			submit	
mobilis.....L.....10...1...486...			mob	
[movere]				
modo.....C.....33...2...399...			modern.....	modernize
[modus]				
modus.....C.....134...12...130...			accomodate.....	accomodation
			mode.....	commodious
			model.....	commodity
			moderate.....	modesty
			modest.....	moulder
			mood	
			mould	
mola.....L.....90...5...221...			mill.....	millstone
			millier.....	sawmill
			windmill	
moles.....C.....11...3...481...			mole.....	demolish
				molest
monere.....C.....100...8...196...			monster.....	admonish
			monstrous.....	admonition
			monument.....	monitor
			summon.....	monumental
Moneta.....109...2...179...			money.....	mint
[monere]				
mons.....C.....231...9...49...			amount.....	dismount
			mound.....	mountaineer
			mount.....	promontory
			mountain.....	surmount
			mountainous	
monstrare...V....32...5...401.....				demonstrate
[monere]				demonstration
				demonstrative
				muster
				remonstrate

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
mordere.	58. .6. .	300. .	amuse amusement morsel muse muzzle remorse	
mors. C.	79. .5. .	251. .	immortal.	immortality
			mortal.	mortality
				mortgage
mortarium.	4. .1. .	503. .		mortar
mos. C.	38. .4. .	379. .	moral.	moralist
				morality
				moralize
movere. C.	420. .26. .	13. .	automobile.	commotion
			emotion.	immovable
			locomotive.	momentary
			moment.	motionless
			motion.	motorist
			motive.	motorman
			motor.	movable
			move.	mover
			movement.	mutinous
			remote.	mutiny
			remove.	promote
				promotion
				removal
				remover
				unmoved
mucus.	43. .3. .	361. .	mock.	mockery
				mockery
(muffula).	19. .3. .	454. .		muff
				muffle
				muffler
multus. C.	20. .1. .	452. .	multitude	
mulus.	17. .1. .	463. .	mule	
munire. C.	7. .1. .	495. .		ammunition
[moenia]				
munis.	3. .1. .	505. .		immunity
murmur. V.	38. .1. .	382. .	murmur	
mus.	13. .2. .	475. .		muscle
				muscular
musca.	10. .2. .	485. .		mosquito
				musket
muscus.	3. .1. .	505. .		nutmeg
mustus.	45. .5. .	352. .	moist.	moisten
			moisture.	mustard
			must	
mutare. T.	18. .3. .	458. .	mew.	immutable
[movere]			mutual	
mutilus.	3. .1. .	505. .		mutilate

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
†muttum.....	7...1...	495.....		motto
mutus.....	19...1...	456.....	mute	
N—28 words				
napus.....	11...1...	483.....	turnip	
narrare.....	V.....10...2...	485.....		narrate
[gnarus]				narrative
nasci.....	C.....162...8....91...		nation.....	international
			national.....	internationalize
			native.....	nationality
				nativity
				puny
nasus.....	4...1...	503.....		nasal
natura.....	C.....114...3....171...		natural.....	unnatural
[nasci]			nature	
navis.....	C.....33...3....398...		navy.....	naval
				nave
necare.....	C.....6...1....498.....			pernicious
necesse.....	T.....90...3....222.....		necessary	
			necessity	
			unnecessary	
nectere.....	L.....63...3....288.....		connect.....	annex
			connection	
negare.....	T.....47...4....342.....		deny.....	denial
[aiere]				negate
				negative
nepos.....	V.....27...2....421.....		nephew.....	niece
nervus.....	L.....34...3....394.....		nerve.....	nervousness
			nervous	
niger.....	V.....26...1....425.....		negro	
nihil.....	C.....3...1....505.....			annihilate
nitere.....	V.....3...3....504.....		neat.....	neatness
			net	
nobilis.....	C.....65...4....282.....		nobility.....	nobleman
[noscere]			noble.....	nobleness
nocere.....	C.....47...4....342.....		innocence.....	noxious
			innocent.....	obnoxious
nodus.....	V.....3...1....505.....			noose
nomen.....	C.....45...5....352.....		renown.....	nominate
[Cf. noscere]				nomination
				noun
				pronoun
nonnus.....	15...2....470.....		nun.....	nunnery
norma.....	38...2....381.....		enormous	
			normal	
noscere.....	C.....283...16....33....		acquaint.....	denote
			acquaintance.....	ennoble
			notable.....	ignoble
			note.....	ignore
			notice.....	notebook

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
			notion.....	noticeable
			quaint.....	notorious
			recognize.....	recognition
novem.....C....143...6....117...			afternoon.....	noontide
			forenoon	
			noon	
			noonday	
			November	
novus.....C....38...4....379...			novel.....	innovation
			novelty.....	novice
nubere.....L.....7...1....495.....				nuptial
numerus.....C....153...6....104.....			number.....	innumerable
			numerous.....	no.
				numberless
				numeral
nuntius.....C....78...6....253.....			announce.....	announcement
			pronounce.....	denounce
			renounce.....	pronunciation
nutrire.....L.....69...4....270.....			nourish.....	nourishment
			nurse.....	nursery

O—28 words

obliquus.....L.....3...1....505.....				oblique
oblivisci.....T.....6...1....498.....				oblivion
[livere]				
obscenus.....L.....6...1....498.....				obscene
obscurus.....T.....19...2....455.....			obscure.....	obscurity
obstinare.....10...1....486.....			obstinate	
[stare]				
octo.....C....37...1....386.....			October	
odium.....T.....23...3....436.....			annoy.....	annoyance
[odi]				odious
odor.....L.....26...2....424.....			odor.....	odorous
officium.....C....155...4....101.....			office.....	officious
[opus, facere]			officer	
			official	
olere.....5...1....500.....				adult
olescere.....10...1....486.....			abolish	
[olere]				
omen.....V.....9...2....488.....				omen
				ominous
omnis.....C.....6...1....498.....				bus
operire.....L.....208...7....62.....			cover.....	kerchief
			covert	
			discover	
			discovery	
			handkerchief	
			uncover	
opinari.....T.....37...1....386.....			opinion	

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
opportunus....C....32...1...404...			opportunity	
[portus]				
ops.....T....38...1...382...			copy	
optare.....T....33...2...399...			adopt	
			adoption	
opus.....C....145...10...115...			opera.....	cooperate
			operate.....	cooperation
			operation.....	cooperative
			use.....	manure
			useful	
			useless	
orare [os]....C....51...6...323...			adore.....	adoration
			oracle.....	oration
				orator
				oratory
orbis.....T....16...2...466...			orb.....	orbit
ordo.....C....180...6...76...			disorder	
			extraordinary	
			ordain	
			order	
			ordinance	
			ordinary	
oriri.....C....63...5...286...			orient.....	oriental
			origin.....	originate
			original	
ornare.....T....47...3...343...			adorn.....	adornment
			ornament	
os.....T....6...1...498.....				oral
ostium.....T....6...1...498.....				usher
otium.....T....5...1...500.....				negotiate
ovum.....L....4...1...503.....				oval

P—135 words

paciscere....T....14...2...472.....			despatch
[pacere]			dispatch
pagina.....7...2...494.....			page.....
[pangere]			pageant
pagus.....C....24...2...433.....			peasant.....
Palatium.....41...1...370.....			palace
palatum.....3...1...505.....			palate
pallere.....L....6...2...497.....			pale.....
pallium.....6...1...498.....			appall
palma.....V....26...1...425.....			pall
palpus.....3...1...505.....			palm
palus.....(i)...2...507.....			palpable
			pale
pandere.....C....21...4...444.....			pole
			expand
			expanse
			expansion
			expansive

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
panis.....	174..7....	82....	accompany.....	accompaniment
			companion.....	bannock
			company.....	co.
			pantry	
pangere.....	21...3....	445....	prune.....	propagate
[pacere]			compact	
pannus.....	53...3....	317....	pane.....	panel
			penny	
papa.....	55...3....	310....	pa	
			papa	
			pope	
papaver.....	L.....	10...1....	poppy	
papilio.....	8...1....	492....		pavillion
par.....	C.....	314..14....	26...apparel.....	comparable
			comparative.....	incomparable
			compare.....	peerless
			comparison.....	umpire
			pair	
			peer	
			separate	
			separation	
			sever	
			several	
parare.....	C.....	127..11....	139...parade.....	apparatus
			preparation.....	parasol
			prepare.....	pare
			repair.....	preparatory
				rampart
				repairer
				separator
(1) parere.....	T.....	54...4....	311...parent.....	grandparents
				parentage
				viper
(2) parēre.....	T.....	167...7....	85...apparent.....	apparition
			appear.....	reappear
			appearance.....	transparent
			disappear	
pars.....	C.....	505..19....	8....apart.....	compartment
			apartment.....	impartial
			depart.....	partaker
			department.....	particle
			departure.....	partition
			impart	
			parcel	
			part	
			partake	
			partial	
			particular	
			partly	
			partner	
			party	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
parvus.....C....17...4...461.....				minimum minor minority minus
pascere.....V....53...4...316.....			pastor.....	pastoral
			pasture.....	repast
passus.....C....331...10...22.....			compass.....	encompass
			pace.....	trespass
			pass	
			passage	
			passenger	
			past	
			pastime	
			surpass	
pater.....C....52...4...319.....			patron.....	paternal
			pattern	
			repair	
patere.....C....12...1...479.....			patent	
pati.....C....128...8...137.....			compassion.....	impatience
			impatient.....	passionate
			passion.....	passive
			patience	
			patient	
patina.....25...1...429.....			pail	
[patere]				
pauper.....L....122...2...152.....			poor	
			poverty	
pavire.....29...2...414.....			pave	
			pavement	
pax.....C....275...12...34.....			paid.....	appease
			pay.....	payable
			payment.....	peaceable
			peace.....	prepaid
			peaceful.....	repaid
			repay.....	unpaid
pecus.....C....28...2...417.....			peculiar.....	peculiarity
peior.....T....7...1...495.....				impair
pellere.....C....112...11...175.....			compel.....	compulsion
			expel.....	dispel
			pulse.....	impel
			push.....	impulse
				pelt
				repel
				repulse
pellis.....C....19...3...454.....			peel.....	pelt
				plaid
(1) pendere....C....193...11...65.....			expense.....	expend
			expensive.....	expenditure
			spend.....	pension
			spent.....	perpendicular

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
			suspend.....	suspender suspense
(2) pendere.... V....	117..12....	161....	depend.....	dependant
			independence.....	dependence
			independent.....	dependency dependent impend pendant pendent pending propensity
penetrare.... L....	10...2....	485.....		impenetrable penetrate
penis.....	34...1....	396....	pencil	
penna..... L....	57...2....	303....	pen.....	pinion
pensare.....	71...8....	263....	dispense.....	compensate
[pendere]			pansy.....	compensation
			pensive.....	indispensable
			recompense.....	poise
penuria.....	6...1....	498....		penury
per..... C....	31...1....	407....	per	
periculum.... C....	29...3....	413....	peril.....	imperil
			perilous	
perna.....	36...1....	389....	pearl	
perpetuus.... C....	16...1....	467....	perpetual	
[petere]				
†Persae.....	24...1....	434....	peach	
persona..... L....	123...6....	148....	parson.....	impersonal
[sonare]			person.....	personage
			personal.....	personality
pertica..... (i)....	1...508....		perch	
pes..... C....	55...8....	307....	expedition.....	expedient
			pioneer.....	impediment pedal pedestal pedigree trivet
pestis..... T....	13...2....	475.....		pest pestilence
petere..... C....	119..10....	157....	appetite.....	compete
			petition.....	competence
			repeat.....	competent competition impetuous perpetuate repetition
†Philistinus.....	10...1....	486....	philistine	
pica.....	37...1....	386....	pie	
(1) pila.....	17...2....	462....	pile	
			pillar	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
(2) <i>pila</i>	13...1...	476...	pill	
<i>pilare</i>	3...1...	505.....		compile
<i>pilum</i>	C.....(i)...	508...	pile	
<i>pilus</i>	22...4...	439...	pile.....	pillage
			wig.....	plush
<i>pingere</i>	V....188...6....	70...	paint.....	pt.
			painter	
			picture	
			picturesque	
			pint	
<i>pinna</i>	V....50...3....	329...	pin.....	pent
				pinnacle
<i>pinsere</i>	4...1...	503.....		piston
<i>pinus</i>	L.....7...3....	493...	pine.....	pineapple
				pinnacle
<i>pipare</i>	102...5....	194...	peep.....	bo-peep
			pipe.....	fife
				piper
<i>pipio</i>	15...1...	471...	pigeon	
<i>pirum</i>	23...1...	438...	pear	
<i>pius</i>	V....113...9....	172...	piety.....	impious
			pious.....	piteous
			pity.....	pitiable
				pitiful
				pitiless
				unpitied
<i>pix</i>	(i)....1...	508...	pitch	
<i>placere</i>	T....289...11....	32...	displease.....	displeasure
			plead.....	placid
			pleasant.....	plea
			please.....	pleasantness
			pleasure.....	pleasantry
			unpleasant	
<i>plaga</i>	22...1...	442...	plague	
<i>planca</i>	13...1...	476...	plank	
<i>plangere</i>	51...4...	324...	complain.....	plaint
			complaint.....	plaintive
<i>planta</i>	L....128...5....	138...	plant.....	supplant
			plantation.....	transplant
			planter	
<i>planus</i>	C....220...7....	58...	explain.....	plainness
			explanation	
			piano	
			plain	
			plan	
			plane	
(<i>plattus</i>).....	113...6....	173...	plate.....	platinum
[<i>plateia</i> -Gk. ?]			plateau	
			platform	
			platter	
			plot	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
plaudere.....L.....	26...3...	423...	applause.....	applaud explosion
plectere.....	29...3...	413...	complexion.....	perplexity
			perplex	
plenus.....T.....	70...4...	268...	plentiful.....	plenteous
			plenty.....	replenish
†plere.....C*....	161...11...	92...	accomplish.....	accomplishment
			complete.....	complement
			compliment.....	completion
			comply.....	compliance
			implement.....	incomplete
			supply	
plicare.....L.....	393...30...	18...	application.....	appliance
			apply.....	applicant
			display.....	complicate
			double.....	complication
			employ.....	doublet
			employee.....	duplicate
			employment.....	employer
			exploit.....	imply
			multiply.....	multiplication
			plight.....	plait
			ply.....	pliers
			reply.....	redouble
				supple
				suppliant
				supplicate
				supplication
				treble
				triple
plorare.....C*....	48...5...	336...	exploration.....	deplore
			explore.....	explorer
			imply	
pluma.....L.....	21...2...	446...	plume.....	plumage
plumbum.....L.....	38...5...	378...	plump.....	plumb
			plunge.....	plumber
				plummet
plus.....	12...2...	478...		plus
				surplus
polire.....L.....	27...3...	420...	polish.....	politeness
			polite	
pollen.....	4...1...	503...		pollen
polluere.....L.....	7...1...	495...		pollute
			[Cf. lues]	
pondus.....C.....	15...3...	469...	pound.....	ponder
			[pendere]	ponderous
ponere.....C.....	298...24...	29...	composition.....	exposition
			compound.....	imposition
			deposit.....	opponent

*In composition.

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
			depot.....	postman
			disposition.....	postmaster
			opposite.....	postpone
			opposition.....	posture
			position.....	preposition
			positive.....	supposition
			post	
			postage	
			postal	
			postoffice	
			proposition	
			purpose	
(1) populus... C... 186... 6... 71...			people.....	populace
			popular.....	popularity
			population.....	populous
(2) populus..... 7... 1... 495.....				poplar
porcus..... 24... 2... 433.....			pork.....	porcelain
porta..... C... 44... 4... 358.....			porch.....	portal
			port.....	portiere
portare..... C... 318... 17... 25.....			export.....	deportment
			import.....	importation
			importance.....	importer
			important.....	portable
			porter.....	sportive
			report.....	sportsman
			sport.....	supporter
			support	
			transport	
			transportation	
portio..... 52... 2... 321.....			portion	
			proportion	
portus..... C... 10... 3... 484.....			port.....	opportune
				seaport
posse..... C... 244... 11... 44.....			impossible.....	impotent
[potis-esse]			possibility.....	omnipotent
			possible.....	overpower
			power.....	potent
			powerful.....	potentate
				powerless
possidere..... L... 85... 5... 232.....			possess.....	dispossess
[sedere]			possession.....	possessive
				possessor
post..... C... 10... 1... 486.....			posterity	
postis..... V... 2... 2... 506.....			post.....	guidepost
potare..... L... 36... 3... 387.....			poison.....	poisonous
				potion
praeda..... C... 5... 1... 500.....				pry
[prehendere]				
praegnans..... (i)... 1... 508.....				pregnant
pratium..... L... 11... 1... 483.....			prairie	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
precari. V. 85 ... 2 ... 234 ...			pray	
			prayer	
prehendere. V. 226 ... 14 ... 53 ...			comprehend.	apprehend
			enterprise.	apprehension
			imprison.	apprehensive
			prey.	comprise
			prison.	enterprising
			prisoner.	imprisonment
			prize	
			surprise	
premere. C. 158 ... 11 ... 96 ...			express.	depress
			expression.	expressive
			pressure.	expressly
			print.	footprint
			suppress.	pregnant
				printer
pressare. L. 76 ... 10 ... 254 ...			impress.	compress
[premere]			impression.	impressive
			oppress.	oppressive
			oppression.	oppressor
			press.	repress
pretium. C. 159 ... 7 ... 95 ...			appreciate.	appreciation
			praise.	appreciative
			precious	
			price	
			prize	
primus. C. 47 ... 6 ... 341 ...			primary.	premier
			prime.	primer
				primitive
				prior
privus. 64 ... 4 ... 284 ...			deprive.	privacy
			private.	privy
probus. C. 208 ... 13 ... 61 ...			approve.	approbation
			probable.	approval
			proof.	disapprove
			prove.	fireproof
			reprove.	probability
				reprobate
				reproof
				waterproof
prod-esse. T. 96 ... 4 ... 213 ...			improve.	prowess
			improvement	
			pride	
prominere. 16 ... 1 ... 467 ...			prominent	
pronus. C. 6 ... 1 ... 498 ...				prone
prope. C. 76 ... 5 ... 256 ...			approach.	approximate
			reproach.	propitious
				proximity
proprius. T. 103 ... 5 ... 192 ...			proper.	appropriate
			property.	proprietor
				propriety

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
provincia.....C.....	30	1	410	province
publicus.....C.....	106	5	187	public
[populus]				publish
				publication
				publisher
pudere.....T.....	8	2	491	impudence
				impudent
(1) pullus.....	45	2	355	pony
				poultry
(2) pullus.....(i).....	1	508	pool	
pulpa.....	6	1	498	pulp
pulpitum.....	8	1	492	pulpit
puls.....(i).....	1	508	pulse	
pulvinus.....	28	1	418	pillow
pulvis.....L.....	33	2	399	gunpowder
				powder
pumex.....L.....	3	1	505	pumice
pungere.....	217	8	59	appoint
				appointment
				disappoint
				disappointment
				point
				punch
punire.....L.....	15	2	470	penitent
[poena-Gk.]				repentance
pupus.....	58	4	301	pupil
				puppy
				puppet
purus.....V.....	119	5	159	pour
				impure
				pure
				pureness
				purity
putare.....C.....	222	13	55	account
				countless
				count
				depute
				counter
				discount
				deputy
				impute
				dispute
				recount
				reputation
				repute
				undisputed
puteus.....	23	1	438	pit

Q—12 words

quaerere.....C.....	330	15	23	acquire
				enquire
				conquer
				query
				conqueror
				requirement
				conquest
				unconquerable
				exquisite
				inquire
				inquiry
				quest
				question
				request
				require

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
qualis.....T.....38...1...382...			quality	
quantus.....C.....41...1...370...			quantity	
quassare.....L.....12...2...478.....				cask
[quatere]				casque
quatere.....V.....50...3...329...			discuss	
			discussion	
			rescue	
quattuor.....C.....178...10...79...			headquarters.....	quire
			qt.....	squad
			quarry.....	squadron
			quart	
			quarter	
			sq.	
			square	
quercus.....L.....11...1...483...			cork	
queri.....C.....39...2...376...			quarrel.....	quarrelsome
quies.....T.....197...9...63...			quiet.....	acquit
			quit.....	coy
			quite.....	disquiet
				quietness
				quietude
				requite
quinquare.....4...1...503.....				rinse
Quirites.....L.....147...5...112...			cried.....	crier
			cries.....	outcry
			cry	
quot.....T.....24...3...432...			quote.....	quotation
				quotient
R—34 words				
rabere.....53...4...316...			rage.....	enrage
			rave.....	revery
racemus.....11...1...483...			raisin	
radere.....L.....20...5...448...			rail.....	eraser
			rash.....	raze
				razor
radius.....L.....63...5...286...			radiant.....	radiator
			ray.....	radio
				radius
radix.....C.....9...3...487...			race.....	radical
				radish
rapere.....V.....108...9...180...			rapid.....	rape
			rapture.....	rapine
				rapt
				ravage
				ravenous
				ravine
				ravish
rarus.....C.....37...2...385...			rare.....	rarity
recens.....C.....26...1...425...			recent	
refutare.....L.....7...1...495.....				refute

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
regere. T. 903. 46. 3.			address.	alert
			correct.	correction
			direct.	dresser
			direction.	dressmaker
			director.	erection
			disperse.	escort
			dress.	indirect
			erect.	insurgent
			irregular.	insurrection
			rail.	rectangular
			railroad.	rector
			railway.	redress
			realm.	regent
			rectangle.	regime
			regal.	regiment
			region.	regulation
			regular.	resource
			regulate.	resurrection
			reign.	royalty
			resort.	undress
			royal.	unruly
			rule	
			ruler	
			source	
			surge	
religio. T. 50. . 2. . . . 330.			religion	
			religious	
reperere. 5. . . 1. . . 500.				reptile
rerere. V. . . 151. . 5. . . 108.			rate.	rational
			reason.	unreasonable
			reasonable	
res. C. . . 155. . 6. . . 100.			real	
			realty	
			realize	
			really	
			republic	
			republican	
restaurare. 46. . 3. . . 348.			restaurant.	restorer
[Cf. instaurare]			restore	
retro. V. . . 32. . 1. . . 404.			rear	
ridere. V. . . 25. . 4. . . 426.				deride
				derision
				ridicule
				ridiculous
rigare. L. . . 10. . 2. . . 485.				irrigate
				irrigation
rigere. L. . . 16. . 3. . . 465.				rigid
				rigor
				rigorous

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
ripa.....C.....183..4.....72			arrival.....	riverside
			arrive	
			river	
ritus.....V.....11..1.....483			rite	
rius.....V.....45..3.....354			derive.....	rivulet
			rival	
robur.....C.....3..1.....505				robust
rogare.....C.....13..3.....474				arrogant
				interrogative
				prerogative
Roma.....74..4.....259			roam.....	romance
			Roman.....	romantic
rota.....V.....251..8.....42			control.....	enroll
			roll.....	enrollment
			roller.....	role
			round.....	rotary
ruber.....10..1.....486			ruby	
rudis.....32..2.....403			rude.....	rudeness
ruere.....V.....48..2.....339			ruin.....	ruinous
rumen.....4..1.....503				ruminate
rumor.....C.....15..1.....471			rumor	
rumpere.....V.....89..8.....223			corrupt.....	abrupt
			interrupt.....	corruption
			route.....	eruption
				interruption
				rout
rus.....V.....33..2.....399			rural	
			rustic	
rusus.....6..1.....498				russet
S—106 words				
sacer.....V.....48..4.....337			consecrate.....	consecration
			sacred.....	sexton
saeta.....L.....19..2.....455			satin.....	sateen
sagire.....5..1.....500				presage
sal.....V.....83..7.....238			salad.....	saucepan
			salary.....	saucer
			sauce.....	saucy
			sausage	
salire.....94..5.....216			assail.....	exult
			assault	
			result	
			sally	
salmo.....9..1.....489				salmon
salus.....C.....27..3.....420			salute.....	salutary
				salutation
salvus.....T.....210..9.....60			safe.....	safeguard
			safety.....	saver
			sage.....	unsafe
			salvation	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
			save	
			savior	
sanctire.....T.....65...6...280...			saint.....	saintly
			sanctuary.....	sanction
			St.....	sanctity
sanus.....T.....18...4...457...			sound.....	insane
				sane
				sanitary
(sapa).....18...1...460...			sap	
sapere.....T.....8...2...491...			sage.....	savor
satis.....C.....12...3...477...			soil.....	satiate
				satire
satureia.....8...1...492.....				savory
Saturnus.....18...2...459...			Saturday.....	Sat.
[serere]				
scandere.....L.....97...9...209...			ascend.....	ascent
			descend.....	condescend
			descent.....	descendant
			scale.....	scan
				transcendant
scindere.....V.....6...1...498.....				shingle
scintilla.....L.....4...1...503.....				tinsel
scire.....C.....134...7...131...			conscience.....	conscientious
			conscious.....	consciousness
			nice	
			science	
			unconscious	
scopa.....4...1...503.....				scullion
scribere.....T.....181...18...74...			describe.....	ascribe
			description.....	descriy
			prescribe.....	indescribable
			scripture.....	inscribe
			shrine.....	inscription
				manuscript
				postscript
				prescription
				scribble
				scribe
				subscribe
				subscriber
				subscription
scrobis.....(i)...1...508...			screw	
scrofa.....(i)...1...508...			screw	
scrupus.....11...2...482.....				scruple
				unscrupulous
sculpere.....11...2...482.....				sculptor
				sculpture
scutum.....C.....23...2...437...			squire.....	escutcheon

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
secare. V. 89. . . 6. . . 224. . .			insect.	notch
			risk.	sickle
			section	
			set	
secundus. C. 99. . . 2. . . 205. . .			second.	secondary
[sequi]				
securus. V. 220. . . 9. . . 57. . .			assurance.	assuredly
[sine-cura]			assure.	insure
			insurance.	surety
			secure	
			security	
			sure	
sedere. V. 226. . 18. . . 52. . .			preside.	assess
			president.	assessment
			reside.	hostage
			residence.	presidency
			resident.	presidential
			see.	residue
			siege.	sedate
			size.	sediment
				session
				subside
senex. T. 144. . 6. . . 116. . .			senate.	grandsire
			senator.	senior
			sir	
			sire	
sentina. L. 4. . . 1. . . 503. . .				sentinel (?)
sentire. C. 226. . 20. . . 51. . .			consent.	assent
			nonsense.	dissension
			scent.	dissent
			sense.	insensible
			sensible.	resent
			sentence.	resentment
			sentiment.	sensation
				sensational
				senseless
				sensibility
				sensitive
				sensual
				sentimental
sepelire. T. 9. . . 1. . . 489. . .				sepulcher
septem. C. 48. . . 1. . . 340. . .			September	
sequi. C. 312. . 26. . . 27. . .			consequence.	executioner
			consequent.	executor
			ensue.	obsequious
			execute.	persecution
			execution.	persecutor
			executive.	prosecute
			persecute.	prosecution
			pursue.	pursuer

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
			pursuit.....	sect
			suit.....	sequel
			suitable.....	sequester
				subsequent
				sue
				suite
				suitor
serenus.....	V.....	12...1...	479....	serene
(1) serere.....	V.....	69...2...	271....	season.....
(2) serere.....	T.....	58...8...	299....	assert.....
				desert.....
				insert.....
				series.....
serius.....	32...2...	403....	serious.....	seriousness
sermo.....	T.....	12...1...	479....	sermon
serpere.....	V.....	18...1...	460....	serpent
servare.....	T.....	157...12...	98....	observation.....
				observe.....
				preserve.....
				reserve.....
				reservoir
servus.....	T.....	260...12....	39....	desert.....
				deserve.....
				servant.....
				serve.....
				service.....
				servile.....
severus.....	T.....	50...4...	328....	severe.....
				perseverance
				persevere
				severity
sexus.....	15...1...	471....	sex	
signum.....	C.....	190...13....	68....	assign.....
				design.....
				resign.....
				seal.....
				sign.....
				signal.....
				signature
silere.....	T.....	86...2...	228....	silence
				silent
silva.....	C.....	36...2...	388....	savage.....
similis.....	T.....	60...7...	294....	resemble.....
				similar.....
				semblance
				similarity
				similitude

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
simplex.....T.....	72...2...	262...	simple simplicity	
simul.....C.....	57...4...	302...	assemble.....	assemblage
sincerus.....	31...2...	406...	assembly.....	simultaneous
sinere.....T.....	54...3...	312...	sincere.....	sincerity
			site situate situation	
singuli.....C.....	66...2...	279...	single singular	
sinus.....V.....	3...1...	505...		insinuate
sistere.....V.....	193...15...	64...	assist.....	assistant
[Cf. stare]			assistance.....	consistent
			consist.....	desist
			exist.....	irresistible
			existence.....	persist
			insist.....	resistance
			resist.....	resistless
				subsist
sobrius.....L.....	23...1...	438...	sober	
soccus.....	10...1...	486...	sock	
socius.....C.....	99...6...	203...	associate.....	sociable
			association.....	socialist
			social society	
solari.....V.....	24...3...	432...	solace.....	consolation
				console
solere.....T.....	7...2...	494...		insolence
				insolent
solidus.....V.....	114...4...	170...	soldier.....	soda
			solid.....	solder
sollicitus....L.....	12...1...	479...	solicit	
[sollus-cire]				
‡sollus.....V.....	28...1...	418...	solemn	
solum.....V.....	4...3...	501...	soil.....	insole
			sole	
solus.....C.....	76...6...	255...	desolate desolation sole solitary solitude sullen	
solvere.....V.....	150...10...	109...	absolute.....	absolve
			dissolve.....	dissolution
			resolute.....	solvent
			resolution resolve solution solve	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
sonus.....L.....	25	3	427	resound.....consonant
				sonnet
sorbere.....L.....	11	2	482	absorb
				absorbent
sordere.....	5	1	500	sordid
soror.....C.....	40	1	374	cousin
sors.....C.....	79	5	251	sort.....assortment
[serere]				consort
				sorcerer
				sorcery
spatium.....C.....	63	2	289	space
				spacious
specere.....C*.....	508	37	7	aspect.....conspicuous
				despise.....expectant
				despite.....inspect
				especial.....inspection
				expect.....inspector
				expectation.....perspective
				prospect.....prospective
				respect.....respectable
				respectful.....respite
				respective.....specialist
				special.....specialty
				spectacle.....species
				spice.....specimen
				spite.....specious
				suspect.....spectator
				suspicion.....specter
				unexpected.....speculation
				spicy
				suspicious
				unsuspected
spes.....C.....	100	6	198	despair.....desperation
				desperate
				prosper
				prosperity
				prosperous
spina.....L.....	11	2	482	spinal
				spine
spirare.....V.....	179	12	77	conspiracy.....aspiration
				expire.....aspire
				inspiration.....conspire
				inspire.....perspiration
				spirit.....sprightly
				spiritual.....sprite
splendere.....	60	3	296	splendid.....resplendent
				splendor
spolium.....V.....	46	2	349	spoil.....spoiler

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
spondere.....L.....	98..11....	206....	correspond.....	correspondent
			correspondence.....	despondency
			respond.....	espouse
			response.....	responsibility
			spouse.....	responsible
				spontaneous
stagnum.....L.....	15...1....	471....	tank	
stare.....T....	450..38....	11....	arrest.....	constable
			circumstance.....	constancy
			constant.....	destination
			contrast.....	inconstant
			cost.....	reestablish
			costly.....	stanza
			distance.....	stationary
			distant.....	stationery
			establish.....	substantive
			establishment.....	superstitious
			estate.....	unstable
			instance	
			instant	
			obstacle	
			press	
			rest	
			stable	
			stage	
			state	
			stately	
			statement	
			statesman	
			station	
			stature	
			substance	
			substantial	
			superstition	
statuere.....C....	129...9....	135....	constitute.....	destitute
[stare]			constitution.....	restitution
			institute.....	statute
			institution	
			statue	
			substitute	
sterilis.....L.....	4...1....	503....		sterile
sternere.....V....	126...5....	142....	St.....	astray
			stray.....	prostrate
			street	
still.....	9...2....	488....	still.....	distil
[stiria]				
stilus.....	5...2....	499....	style.....	stylish
stinguere.....	96..10....	211....	distinct.....	distinguished
			distinction.....	extinct
			distinguish.....	extinguish

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
			instinct.....	extinguisher
				indistinct
				instinctive
stipes.....L.....7...1...495				stubble
strenuus.....7...1...495				strenuous
stringere.....V....181..14...75			constrain.....	constraint
			distress.....	restrict
			district.....	strainer
			restrain.....	straiten
			restraint.....	stress
			strain.....	unrestrained
			strait	
			strict	
struere.....V....221..14...56			construct.....	destroyer
			construction.....	destructive
			destroy.....	instructive
			destruction.....	instructor
			instruct.....	obstruct
			instruction.....	obstruction
			instrument.....	structure
struppus.....18...2...459			strap.....	stop
studere.....C....116...5...168			student.....	studied
			study.....	studio
				studious
stupere.....L....21...3...445			stupid.....	stupendous
				stupidity
suadere.....T....32...3...402			persuade.....	dissuade
				persuasion
sublimis.....V....13...1...476			sublime	
suffragium.....L....6...1...498				suffrage
sugere.....7...1...495				sewer
sulfur.....L....8...1...492				sulphur
sumere.....C....89...8...223			assume.....	consumer
			consume.....	consumption
			presume.....	presumption
				presumptuous
supare.....3...1...505				dissipate
super.....V....146..11...113			sovereign.....	sovereignty
			sum.....	summary
			summit.....	superb
			superior.....	superiority
			supreme.....	supremacy
				surname
surdus.....8...1...492				absurd
sus.....L....4...2...502			soil.....	sully

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
T—57 words				
taberna.....L.....24...2....43...			tavern.....	tabernacle
tabula.....T.....114...6....169...			table.....	tablecloth
			tablet.....	tablespoon
				tablespoonful
				tableware
taedere.....V.....12...1....479...			tedious	
talea.....L.....56...3....304...			detail.....	retail
			tailor	
talus.....10...1....486...			tassel	
tangere.....T.....50...7....326...			attain.....	attainment
				contact
				contagion
				contagious
				integrity
				tact
tardus.....C.....15...1....471...			tardy	
†(tartarum).....4...1....503.....				tartar
(taxa).....3...1....505.....				taxicab
taxare.....136...4....127...			task.....	taxation
[tangere]			taste	
			tax	
tegere.....T.....104...7....190...			protect.....	detect
			protection.....	detective
			tile.....	detector
				protector
tela.....11...1....483...			subtle	
temnere.....L.....20...2....451...			contempt.....	contemptible
templum.....T.....16...3....465...			temple.....	contemplate
				contemplation
tempus.....C.....136...12....126...			temper.....	contemporary
			temperance.....	distemper
			temperate.....	temperament
			temperature.....	tempestuous
			tempest.....	temporal
			temple	
			temporary	
tendere.....V.....493...25.....9...			attend.....	contention
			attendance.....	intense
			attendant.....	portentious
			attention.....	tendency
			attentive.....	tension
			contend	
			extend	
			extension	
			extensive	
			extent	
			intend	
			intent	
			intention	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
tendere— <i>Continued</i>			pretend pretense standard superintendent tend tender tent	
tener. L. 10. 2. 485.			tender tenderness	
tenere. C. 579. 36. 5.			contain. abstain content. abstinence continent. appertain continual. container continue. contentedly continuous. contentment countenance. continental detain. continuance discontent. continuation entertain. discontinue entertainment. maintenance lieutenant. obtainable maintain. pertain obtain. retinue rein. sustenance retain. tenement sustain. tennis tenant. tenor	
tentare. C. 87. 5. 227.			attempt. taunt tempt. tempter temptation	
[tendere]				
terere. L. 182. 5. 73.			trial. tribulation tried. untried try	
terminus. L. 97. 7. 210.			determine. determinate term. determination terminal terminate termination	
terra. C. 48. 5. 336.			territory. inter subterranean terrace terrestrial	
terrere. V. 71. 2. 266.			terrible terror	
testa. 38. 2. 381.			test. tester	
[torrere]				
testis. T. 82. 8. 240.			contest. attest protest. detest testimony. detestable protestant testament	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
texere.....L.....44...6...356			text.....	pretext
			toilet.....	textile
				texture
				tissue
timere.....C.....20...2...451			timid.....	timorous
tina.....36...1...389			tiny	
tingere.....50...6...327			stain.....	taint
				tincture
				tinge
				tint
				unstained
titio.....12...1...479			entice	
titulus.....37...1...386			title	
tolerare.....L.....23...6...435				intolerable
				intolerance
				tolerable
				tolerant
				tolerate
				toleration
tollere.....C.....8...1...491				extol
tolutim.....23...1...438			trot	
tonare.....L.....38...3...380			astonish.....	astound
			astonishment	
torpere.....8...2...491				torpedo
				torpid
torquere.....V.....82...8...241			torch.....	distort
			torment.....	retort
			tortoise.....	tart
			torture.....	tormentum
torrere.....V.....32...3...402			toast.....	torrid
			torrent	
totus.....C.....37...1...386			total	
trabes.....C.....114...3...170			travel.....	travail
			traveler	
trahere.....C.....394...24...17			attract.....	abstract
			attraction.....	contractor
			attractive.....	distraction
			contract.....	entreaty
			distract.....	portrait
			entreat.....	portray
			extract.....	retrace
			retreat.....	subtract
			trace.....	subtraction
			tract	
			trail	
			train	
			treat	
			treatment	
			treaty	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
tranquillus...L.....	17...2...	462.....		tranquil
				tranquillity
tremere.....V.....	53...3...	317.....	tremble.....	tremulous
			tremendous	
tres.....C.....	4...1...	503.....		trinity
tribuere.....T.....	41...3...	368.....	tributary.....	contribution
[tribus-tres]			tribute	
tribus.....	89...6...	224.....	attribute.....	tribunal
[tres]			contribute	
			distribute	
			distribution	
			tribe	
tricae.....	53...3...	317.....	treacherous.....	treachery
			trick	
trua.....	3...1...	505.....		trowel
trudere.....L.....	6...1...	498.....		intrude
truncus.....L.....	54...2...	313.....	trench	
			trunk	
tuber.....	22...2...	441.....	trifle.....	tuberculosis
tubus.....	16...1...	467.....	tube	
tudes.....	35...1...	392.....	toil	
tueri.....T.....	11...1...	483.....	tutor	
tumultus.....T.....	16...2...	466.....	tumult.....	tumultuous
tundere.....L.....	21...1...	447.....	pierce	
turtur.....	14...1...	473.....	turtle	
U—12 words				
ŭlter.....C.....	15...4...	468.....	utterance.....	outrage
				outrageous
				ultimate
umbra.....V.....	21...2...	446.....	umbrella.....	somber
umor.....	29...2...	414.....	humor.....	humorous
unda.....V.....	79...4...	252.....	abound	
			abundant	
			abundance	
			surround	
ungere.....V.....	18...2...	459.....	anoint.....	ointment
unus.....C.....	161...8...	93.....	onion.....	reunion
			union.....	reunite
			unite.....	unique
			unity.....	unit
urbs.....T.....	17...2...	462.....	suburb.....	suburban
urgere.....C.....	41...2...	369.....	urge.....	urgent
urna.....L.....	15...1...	471.....	urn	
usurpare.....L.....	13...2...	475.....		usurp
				usurpation
uter.....C.....	7...2...	494.....		neutral
				neutrality
uti.....C.....	116...10...	165.....	abuse.....	misuse
			unusual.....	peruse

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
			use.....	usage
			usual.....	usury
				utensil
				utility
V—79 words				
vacare.....C....107...8....182			avoid.....	unavoidable
			vacant.....	vacancy
			vacation.....	vacate
			void.....	vacuum
vacillare.....L.....4...1...503				vacillate
vadere.....V.....37...5...383			invade.....	evade
				invader
				invasion
				pervade
vagina.....L.....4...1...503				vanilla
vagus.....24...4...431				extravagance
				extravagant
				vagabond
				vague
valere.....C....177...11....80			avail.....	available
			prevail.....	equivalent
			valiant.....	invalid
			valor.....	valentine
			valuable.....	validity
			value	
vallis.....C....85...3...233			vale.....	avalanche
			valley	
vallum.....C....110...2...178			interval	
[vallus]			wall	
valva.....8...1...492				valve
vannus.....33...2...399			fan	
			van	
vanus.....V.....95...4...215			vain.....	vaunt
			vanish	
			vanity	
vapor.....L.....64...3...285			fade.....	evaporate
			vapor	
vara.....3...1...505				veranda
varius.....C....101...6...195			variety.....	invariable
			various.....	variable
			vary.....	variation
vas.....61...3...293			vessel.....	flask
				vase
vastus.....V.....90...3...222			vast.....	wasteful
			waste	
vegere.....37...2...385			vegetable.....	vegetation
vehemens.....T.....6...1...498				vehement
vehere.....V.....6...1...498				vehicle
velle.....C....27...4...419			voluntary.....	benevolence
				involuntary
				volunteer

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
velum.....C.....55...5...308...			reveal.....	revelation
			veil.....	unveil
				vail
vena.....L.....27...1...422...			vein	
venari.....L.....7...1...495.....				venison
venenum.....T.....10...2...485.....				venom
				venomous
venerari.....T.....6...1...498.....				venerable
venire.....C.....340...23...21...			adventure.....	adventurer
			avenue.....	adventurous
			convenience.....	convene
			convenient.....	eventual
			convent.....	inconvenience
			convention.....	intervene
			covenant.....	inventor
			event.....	saunter
			invent.....	venturous
			invention.....	peradventure
			prevent	
			revenue	
			venture	
ventus.....C.....4...1...503.....				ventilate
ver.....L.....4...1...503.....				vernal
verber.....L.....3...1...505.....				reverberate
verbum.....C.....24...4...431.....				adverb
				proverb
				verb
				verbal
vereri.....C.....47...4...342...			reverence.....	revere
			reverend.....	reverent
vergere.....C.....(i)...1...508...			verge	
vermis.....3...1...505.....				vermin
vertere.....C.....319...30...24...			adversary.....	adverse
			advertise.....	adversity
			anniversary.....	advertisement
			conversation.....	aversion
			converse.....	avert
			convert.....	controversy
			divorce.....	divers
			reverse.....	diverse
			traverse.....	diversity
			universal.....	divert
			university.....	invert
			verse.....	perverse
				pervert
				prose
				revert
				subvert
				universe
				vertical

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
verus.....C.....170...2...84...			very.....	verily
vesper.....C.....5...1...500.....				vesper
Vesta.....4...1...503.....				vestal
vestigare....L.....18...2...459.....				investigate investigation
vestis.....V.....45...4...353.....			invest.....	investment
			vest.....	vesture
vetare.....V.....3...1...505.....				veto
vetus.....C.....13...2...475.....				inveterate
				veteran
vexare.....C.....33...2...399.....			vex	
[vehere]			vexation	
via.....C.....81...7...244.....			convey.....	invoice
			previous.....	obvious
			voyage.....	trivial
				via
vibrare.....L.....6...1...498.....				vibrate
vicis.....V.....5...1...500.....				vicar
victima.....17...1...463.....			victim	
vicus.....C.....93...7...217.....			vicinity.....	villa
			village.....	villager
			villain.....	villainous
				villainy
videre.....C.....555...30...6...			advice.....	advisable
			advise.....	adviser
			envious.....	prudence
			envy.....	supervision
			evidence.....	supervisor
			evident.....	surveyor
			interview.....	viewless
			invisible.....	visage
			provide.....	vise
			providence.....	visionary
			provision.....	visitation
			prudent	
			review	
			survey	
			view	
			visible	
			vision	
			visit	
			visitor	
vigere.....L.....41...5...367.....			vigor.....	invigorate
				vigilance
				vigilant
				vigorous
vilis.....L.....24...2...433.....			vile.....	revile
villus.....L.....25...1...429.....			velvet	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
vincere.....C....117...9...163...			convince.....	convict
			vanquish.....	conviction
			victor.....	evince
			victorious.....	invincible
			victory	
vindicare.....T....55...4...309...			avenge.....	avenger
[vim-dicere]			revenge	
			vengeance	
vinum.....T....96...4...213...			vine	
			vinegar	
			vineyard	
			wine	
viola.....26...1...425...			violet	
vir.....C....37...2...385...			virtue.....	virtual
virere.....L.....9...2...488.....				verdant
				verdue
virga.....L.....(i)...1...508...			verge	
virgo.....T....27...2...421...			virgin.....	virginity
viriae.....4...1...503.....				environs
vis.....C....58...4...301...			violate.....	violation
			violence	
			violent	
vita.....T....10...1...486...			vital	
vitare.....T....10...1...486...			inevitable	
vitis.....(i)...1...508.....			vice	
vitium.....T....11...2...482...			vice	
			vicious	
(vitula).....12...1...479...			violin	
vitulus.....L.....5...1...500.....				veal
vivere.....T....49...5...331...			revive.....	survivor
			survive.....	victual
			vivid	
vocare.....T....154...9...102...			provoke.....	advocate
			vocal.....	provocation
			voice.....	vocabulary
				vouch
				vouchsafe
				vowel
volare.....V.....5...1...500.....				volley
Volcanus.....7...1...495.....				volcano
voluptas.....T....4...1...503.....				voluptuous
volvere.....V....117...10...162...			involve.....	evolution
			revolt.....	revolutionary
			revolution.....	revolver
			revolve.....	volt
			vault	
			volume	
vomere.....L.....6...1...498.....				vomit
vorare.....L.....18...1...460...			devour	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
vovere.....V....	116...	6....	167....	devote.....devout
				devotion.....voter
				vote
				vow
vulgus.....C....	13...	2....	475....	vulgar.....divulge
vultur.....L.....	5...	1....	500.....	vulture
				Z—1 word
†(zephyrum).....	13...	1....	476....	zero

Arrangement in the Order of Rank of Latin Source Words

1. capere	49. mons	97. (1) liber	145. mas
2. facere	50. cernere	98. servare	146. communis
3. regere	51. sentire	99. gens	147. colere
4. ferre	52. sedere	100. res	148. persona
5. tenere	53. prehendere	101. officium	149. metiri
6. videre	54. ius	102. vocare	150. foras
7. specere	55. putare	103. cornu	151. lacere
8. pars	56. struere	104. manere	152. pauper
9. tendere	57. securus	104. numerus	153. littera
10. mittere	58. planus	105. bellus	154. iungere
11. stare	59. ungere	106. materia	154. audire
12. cedere	60. salvus	107. dividere	155. ars
13. movere	61. probus	108. reri	156. intro
14. dare	62. operire	109. solvere	157. petere
15. esse	63. quies	110. cambire	158. crescere
16. legere	64. sistere	111. gradus	159. purus
17. trahere	65. (1) pendere	112. Quirites	160. magnus
18. plicare	66. civis	113. super	161. (2) pendere
19. finis	67. fendere	114. clarus	162.olvere
20. agere	68. signum	115. opus	163. vincere
21. venire	69. findere	116. senex	164. augere
22. passus	70. pingere	117. novem	165. uti
23. quaerere	71. (1) populus	118. largus	166. dies
24. vertere	72. ripa	119. lex	167. vovere
25. portare	73. terere	120. fingere	168. studere
26. par	74. scribere	121. favere	169. tabula
27. sequi	75. stringere	122. ante	170. solidus
28. carrus	76. ordo	123. cohors	170. follis
29. ponere	77. spirare	124. dominus	171. addere
30. claudere	78. flos	125. clamare	171. natura
31. caput	79. quattuor	126. tempus	171. trabes
32. placere	80. valere	127. taxare	172. pius
33. gratus	81. debere	128. mille	173. plattus
33. noscere	82. panis	129. dicere	174. famulus
34. pax	83. exter	130. modus	175. pellere
35. ducere	84. verus	131. scire	176. cappa
36. cor	85. (2) parere	132. caedere	176. manus
37. fortis	86. memor	133. fundere	177. durus
38. forma	87. facies	134. batuere	178. vallum
39. servus	88. locus	135. statuere	179. moneta
40. firmus	89. honor	136. arma	180. rapere
41. ire	90. fallere	137. pati	181. creare
42. rota	91. nasci	138. planta	182. vacare
43. magister	92. plere	139. parare	183. cura
44. posse	93. unus	140. merx	184. dicare
45. fari	94. contra	141. habere	185. credere
46. cadere	95. pretium	142. sternere	186. consuescere
47. currere	96. emere	143. mirari	187. publicus
48. gandere	96. premere	144. coquere	188. regere

189. curtus	228. silere	274. decem	314. (fridare)
190. tegere	229. candere	275. circulus	315. canere
191. ieivnus	230. gravis	276. heres	316. iniurius
192. proprius	231. miscere	277. horrere	316. pascere
193. campus	232. possidere	278. figere	316. rabere
194. centum	233. vallis	278. mederi	317. errare
194. pipare	234. precari	279. singuli	317. flamma
195. varius	235. instaurare	280. sancire	317. mendum
196. granum	236. merere	281. damnum	317. pannus
196. levis	237. color	282. nobilis	317. tremere
196. monere	238. sal	283. fluere	317. tricae
197. (2) iacere	239. considerare	284. privus	318. buticula
198. spes	240. testis	285. vapor	319. carnus
199. minuire	240. torquere	286. oriri	319. pater
200. ligare	241. iactare	286. radius	320. cella
201. grandis	242. cupa	287. cellere	320. merces
202. aequus	243. causa	288. costa	321. portio
203. socius	244. via	288. nectere	322. artus
204. frui	245. aestimare	289. spatium	323. orare
205. secundus	246. fortuna	290. branca	324. plangere
206. spondere	247. desiderare	291. bulla	325. exercere
207. certus	248. aetas	292. apere	326. tangere
208. crux	249. minister	293. vas	327. tingere
208. dubius	250. cavus	294. similis	328. severus
208. index	251. mors	295. citare	329. ferus
209. scandere	251. sors	296. examen	329. pinna
210. terminus	252. unda	296. ingenium	329. quater
211. stinguere	253. muntius	296. splendere	330. duodecim
212. frons	254. pressare	297. facilis	330. religio
213. prodesse	255. solus	298. amicus	331. alere
213. vinum	256. experiri	299. (2) serere	331. vivere
214. fateri	256. prope	300. mordere	332. fligere
215. vanus	257. classis	301. pupus	333. industrius
216. salire	258. fundus	301. vis	334. dilatare
217. vicus	259. Roma	302. simul	335. catena
218. imperare	260. circus	303. crudelis	336. plorare
219. mappa	261. domina	303. penna	336. terra
220. gradi	262. simplex	304. talea	337. grossus
221. imago	263. pensare	305. membrum	337. sacer
221. mola	264. hospes	306. bestia	338. duo
222. necesse	265. homo	307. pes	339. ruere
222. bastus	265. medius	308. velum	340. Iulius
223. dignus	266. terrere	309. vindicare	340. lingua
223. rumpere	267. lacus	310. papa	340. septem
223. sumere	268. plenus	311. (1) parere	341. primus
224. secare	269. animal	311. bellum	342. vereri
224. tribus	270. libra	312. concilium	342. negare
225. gloria	270. nutrire	312. laqueus	342. nocere
226. labor	271. (1) serere	312. sinere	343. ornare
227. docere	272. festus	313. truncus	344. canalis
227. tentare	273. invitare	314. avunculus	345. iuvare

346. laxus	380. tonare	399. vexare	421. densus
347. humus	381. fons	400. collum	421. destinare
347. illustris	381. (2) liber	400. febris	421. fames
348. miser	381. norma	401. castus	421. nepos
348. restaurare	381. testa	401. monstrare	421. virgo
349. Ianus	382. murmur	402. suadere	422. funus
349. spoliū	382. ops	402. torrere	422. vena
350. castrum	382. qualis	403. fugere	423. faber
351. corpus	383. vadere	403. miles	423. plaudere
352. mustus	384. fertilis	403. rudis	424. ager
352. nomen	385. liquere	403. serius	424. celare
353. vestis	385. rarus	404. caseus	424. mantelū
354. appellare	385. vegere	404. opportunus	424. odor
354. rivus	385. vir	404. retro	425. Latium
355. (1) pullus	386. frequens	405. cauda	425. niger
356. texere	386. octo	406. columna	425. palma
357. annus	386. opinari	406. consilium	425. recens
358. porta	386. pica	406. sincerus	425. viola
359. Iuno	386. titulus	407. balteus	426. ridere
360. insula	386. totus	407. excusare	427. sonus
361. mucus	387. educare	407. lanx	428. fragrare
362. furere	387. genius	407. per	428. inferus
363. mentio	387. potare	408. amare	428. ins
364. flectere	388. curvus	409. arguere	429. area
365. acer	388. gnarus	410. februum	429. lassus
366. carmen	388. silva	410. provincia	429. patina
367. vigere	389. perna	411. caper	429. villus
368. divus	389. tina	412. gula	430. migrare
368. tribuere	390. accusare	413. periculum	431. vagus
369. urgere	390. inter	413. plectere	431. verbum
370. palatium	390. luxus	414. caelum	432. frater
370. quantus	391. arcus	414. consulere	432. maturus
371. bonus	391. capanna	414. fumus	432. quot
372. brevis	392. cuneus	414. pavire	432. solari
373. catus	392. tudes	414. umor	433. angulus
373. celeber	393. foedus	415. furca	433. pagus
373. domus	394. nervus	416. brutus	433. porcus
373. glacies	395. anxius	416. longus	433. Taberna
374. amita	395. bos	417. herba	433. vilis
374. soror	395. femina	417. licere	434. capella
375. habitare	396. penis	417. pecus	434. carpentum
376. aeternus	397. lavare	418. aquila	434. cultivare
376. autumnus	398. iocus	418. gemma	434. gabata
376. queri	398. lamentum	418. globas	434. Persae
377. Aprilis	398. navis	418. pulvinus	435. tolerare
377. bordatura	399. (gunna)	418. sollus	436. interpres
377. limēs	399. modo	419. dos	436. odium
378. plumbum	399. optare	419. velle	437. scutum
379. alter	399. pulvis	420. polire	438. pirum
379. mos	399. rus	420. salus	438. puteus
379. novus	399. vannus	421. catinus	438. sobrius

438. tolutim	455. caerimonia	467. crista	476. genuinus
439. mater	455. crispus	467. perpetuus	476. (1) pila
439. pilus	455. manifestus	467. prominere	476. planca
440. antiquus	455. obscurus	467. tubus	476. sublimis
440. meditari	455. saeta	468. boscus	476. (zephyrum)
441. mare	456. bicarium	468. ulter	477. satis
441. tuber	456. mutus	469. acvere	478. canis
442. altare	457. labi	469. hostis	478. plus
442. ebur	457. sanus	469. ludere	478. quassare
442. flere	458. cancer	469. pondus	479. arcere
442. matta	458. mutare	470. corium	479. artifex
442. plaga	459. croccus	470. haesitare	479. barba
443. Bassus	459. discipulus	470. indulgere	479. culcita
444. pandere	459. Saturnus	470. (installare)	479. iuvenis
445. calx	459. struppis	470. nonnus	479. langiescere
445. frangere	459. ungere	470. punire	479. patere
445. pangere	459. vestigare	471. ceterus	479. serenus
445. stupere	460. cuppa	471. cuculus	479. sermo
446. crusta	460. (limo)	471. exsul	479. sollicitus
446. decus	460. (sapa)	471. ficus	479. taedere
446. gelum	460. serpere	471. hortus	479. titio
446. pluma	460. vorare	471. pipio	479. (vitula)
446. umbra	461. caro	471. rumor	480. filum
447. asinus	461. parvus	471. sexus	481. moles
447. coxa	462. barra	471. stagnum	482. anima
447. elementum	462. cupere	471. tardus	482. ardere
447. tundere	462. elegans	471. urna	482. bibere
448. radere	462. imitari	472. abominari	482. lacerta
449. carbo	462. loqui	472. bucca	482. scrupus
449. dens	462. margo	472. censere	482. sculpere
450. caballus	462. (1) pila	472. in	482. sorbere
451. ambactus	462. tranquillus	472. iuxta	482. spina
451. haurire	462. urbs	472. mergere	482. vitium
451. item	463. bannum	472. paciscere	483. angustus
451. lumbus	463. bonneta	473. botulus	483. beta
451. malus	463. insultare	473. fimbriae	483. busea
451. temnere	463. laridum	473. flare	483. crassus
451. timere	463. mulus	473. laurus	483. Kalendae
452. amplius	463. victima	473. turtur	483. lectus
452. bacca	464. animus	474. broccus	483. manducare
452. carpere	465. albus	474. (drappus)	483. Mercurius
452. focus	465. rigere	474. rogare	483. napus
452. fragescere	465. templum	475. iuniperus	483. pratum
452. furnus	466. calvus	475. locusta	483. quercus
452. multus	466. dens	475. mus	483. racemus
453. minae	466. frans	475. pestis	483. ritus
454. cavere	466. grex	475. usurpare	483. tela
454. eminere	466. lancea	475. vetus	483. tueri
454. lumen	466. linquere	475. vulgus	484. lubricus
454. (muffula)	466. orbis	476. fibra	484. portus
454. pellis	466. tumultus	476. fungi	485. alius

485. cubare	489. sepelire	495. (2) populus	500. agitare
485. fervere	490. luere	495. refutare	500. almanac
485. halare	491. ballare	495. stipes	500. arbiter
485. hortari	491. barca	495. strenuus	500. benignus
485. mallens	491. borax	495. sugere	500. calere
485. musca	491. pudere	495. venari	500. camphora
485. narrare	491. sapere	495. Volcanus	500. codex
485. penetrare	491. torpere	496. floccus	500. cucumis
485. rigare	492. avarus	497. dolere	500. cucurbita
485. tener	492. axis	497. pallere	500. er
485. venenum	492. baccalaris	498. aes	500. fascinum
486. ala	492. bastaga	498. algebra	500. fel
486. baro	492. Caesar	498. aperire	500. fi
486. calamitas	492. crudus	498. aurum	500. formido
486. clangere	492. culus	498. baiulus	500. gamba
486. cortex	492. decere	498. buscus	500. (goblinus)
486. dirus	492. falx	498. camisia	500. iugum
486. fragmentum	492. fatigare	498. Ceres	500. Iuppiter
486. glus	492. fricare	498. cliens	500. luna
486. gustus	492. hirpex	498. filius	500. mel
486. gutta	492. hispidus	498. frustra	500. minimum
486. lac	492. inbilaens	498. frux	500. olere
486. mobilis	492. (laubia)	498. (1) iacere	500. otium
486. obstinare	492. lentus	498. ianua	500. praeda
486. olescere	492. limen	498. languere	500. repere
486. papaver	492. meminisse	498. lascivus	500. sagire
486. Philistinus	492. papilio	498. macer	500. sordere
496. post	492. pulpitum	498. mens	500. vesper
486. ruber	492. satureia	498. necare	500. vicis
486. soccus	492. sulfur	498. oblivisci	500. vitulus
486. talus	492. surdus	498. obscenus	500. volare
486. vita	492. tollere	498. omnis	500. vultur
486. vitare	492. valva	498. os	501. solum
487. capa	493. pinus	498. ostium	502. imminere
487. radix	494. frigere	498. pallium	502. sus
488. crepare	494. pagina	498. penuria	503. aqua
488. domare	494. solere	498. pronus	503. aurora
488. folium	494. uter	498. pulpa	503. boare
488. lucta	495. alcohol	498. russus	503. caulis
488. Mars	495. cingere	498. scindere	503. formx
488. omen	495. custos	498. suffragium	503. frigus
488. stilla	495. farcire	498. trudere	503. Hispania
488. virere	495. fetus	498. vehemens	503. ira
489. Brundisium	495. initium	498. vehere	503. laedere
489. calvi	495. iter	498. venerari	503. lapis
489. cardo	495. latus	498. vibrare	503. laus
489. consul	495. munire	498. vomere	503. lens
489. ferire	495. muttum	499. cratis	503. linire
489. findere	495. nubere	499. Maurus	503. lucere
489. germen	495. peior	499. stilus	503. Matuta
489. salmo	495. polluere	500. abdomen	503. mica

503. mirus	505. asper	505. palatum	508. ferrum
503. mortatium	505. audere	505. palpus	508. frenum
503. nasus	505. clemens	505. pilare	508. fullo
503. ovum	505. colum	505. pumex	508. galla
503. pinsere	505. creta	505. robur	508. hostia
503. pollen	505. cumulus	505. sinus	508. ile
503. quinquare	505. dormire	505. supare	508. iuncus
503. rumen	505. eruca	505. (taxa)	507. Laudunum
503. scintilla	505. flagrare	505. trua	508. limbus
503. scopa	505. flagrum	505. vara	508. macula
503. sentina	505. (gangia)	505. verber	508. Maia
503. sterilis	505. glans	505. vermis	508. marcus
503. (tartarum)	505. glutire	505. vetare	508. merus
503. tres	505. haerere	506. postis	508. pertica
503. vacillare	505. irritare	507. bastire	508. pilum
503. vagina	505. iubilum	507. palus	508. pix
503. ventus	505. (laca)	508. auscultare	508. praegnans
503. ver	505. macerare	508. baca	508. (2) pullus
503. Vesta	505. munis	508. badare	508. puls
503. viriae	505. muscus	508. badius	508. scrobis
503. voluptas	505. mutilus	508. Baiae	508. scrofa
504. nitere	505. nihil	508. botta	508. vergere
505. alacer	505. nodis	508. carduus	508. virga
505. alumen	505. obliquus	508. feria	508. vitis

GREEK LIST

I. Alphabetical Arrangement

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
Alpha—39 words				
†abbas.....	16	2	119	abbey abbot
aggelos.....	46	2	58	angel.....angelic
agkyra.....	21	1	105	anchor
agō.....	28	4	91	agony.....antagonist stratagem synagogue
adamas.....	37	1	71	diamond
acidō.....	53	6	51	comedy.....comedian melody.....melodious tragedy.....ode
aēr.....	111	4	16	air.....aerial airy.....aeroplane
athlos.....	11	1	133	athletic
Aigyp̄tos.....	12	2	129	gipsy gypsy
aithō.....	7	1	144	ethereal
aireō.....	12	2	129	heresy heretic
Akadēmeia.....	9	1	139	academy
alabastos.....	4	1	150	alabaster
aloē.....	4	1	150	aloes
Alpha-Betos.....	5	1	148	alphabet
†amēn.....	8	1	142	amen
†ammōniakon.....	5	1	148	ammonia
amygdalē.....	7	1	144	almond
anēr.....	6	1	146	dandy
anthos.....	3	1	152	chrysanthemum
anthrax.....	3	1	152	anthracite
anti.....	5	1	148	anti
arithmos.....	6	1	146	arithmetical
arktos.....	15	2	122	arctic.....antarctic
armonia.....	28	2	93	harmony.....harmonious
†arrabōn.....	(i)	1	153	earnest
archō.....	33	3	80	monarch.....anarchy monarchy
asparagos.....	6	1	146	asparagus
aspros.....	3	1	152	diaper
astron.....	18	3	112	disaster.....aster disastrous
asphaltos.....	5	1	148	asphalt
asphodelos.....	6	1	146	daffodil
Attikos.....	10	1	137	attic
aythentēs.....	6	1	146	authentic
ayra.....	12	1	130	soar
aytomatos.....	7	1	144	automatic
aytos.....	46	2	58	auto automobile
ayō.....	6	1	146	austere

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
Beta—16 words				
ballō.....	128..10.....	9.....	devil.....	devilish
			parliament.....	emblem
			parlor.....	parable
			problem.....	parley
			symbol.....	parliamentary
†balsamon.....	20..2.....	107.....	balm.....	balmy
baptizō.....	13..2.....	127.....		baptism
				baptize
barbaros.....	18..2.....	113.....	barbarous.....	barbarian
basis.....	19..3.....	109.....	base	
			baseball	
			basis	
†bēryllos.....	16..1.....	120.....	brilliant	
bolbos.....	10..1.....	137.....	bulb	
bombos.....	10..4.....	134.....	bound.....	rebound
				bomb
				bombard
boskō.....	7..2.....	143.....		botanical
				botany
boybalos.....	17..2.....	116.....		buff
				buffalo
boytyron.....	68..3.....	42.....	butter.....	buttercup
			butterfly	
brachiōn.....	50..3.....	54.....	brace	
			bracelet	
			embrace	
brongchos.....	3..1.....	152.....		bronchitis
†byblos.....	14..1.....	125.....	bible	
byrsa.....	34..1.....	79.....	purse	
byssos (Cf. bythos).....	9..1.....	139.....		abyss
Gamma—7 words				
gagatēs.....	(i).....1.....	153.....	jet	
genos.....	157..8.....	6.....	generation.....	degenerate
			general.....	engender
			generous.....	gender
				generosity
				progeny
gigas.....	44..2.....	62.....	giant.....	gigantic
glōssa.....	(i).....1.....	153.....		gloss
grapho.....	123..16.....	13.....	geography.....	biography
			grammar.....	diagram
			program.....	geographer
			telegram.....	geographical
			telegraph.....	graft
				grammatical
				graphite
				kilogram
				paragraph

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
				photograph
				photographer
gymnos.....	13...2...	127.....		gymnasium
				gymnastics
gōnia.....	11...3...	131.....		diagonal
				hexagon
				pentagon
Delta—17 words				
daimōn.....	7...1...	144.....		demon
daktylos.....	(i)...1...	153.....	date	
deiknymī.....	3...2...	151.....	policy.....	syndicate
			(of insurance, etc.)	
deka.....	4...1...	150.....		decade
delta.....	8...1...	142.....		delta
deō.....	5...1...	148.....		diadem
dēmos.....	5...1...	148.....		epidemic
diaita.....	11...1...	133.....	diet	
diakonos.....	4...1...	150.....		deacon
didōmī.....	15...3...	121.....		anecdote
				data
				dose
diplōma.....	9...2...	138.....		diploma
				diplomat
diskos.....	94...4...	28.....	desk.....	disc
			dish.....	disk
dokeō.....	4...1...	150.....		dogma
drakōn.....	22...1...	103.....	dragon	
drassomī.....	5...1...	148.....		dram
draō.....	15...2...	122.....	drama.....	dramatic
dynamai.....	3...1...	152.....		dynamite
Epsilon—12 words				
edra.....	80...3...	32.....	cathedral	
			chair	
			chairman	
eidon.....	86...5...	31.....	idea.....	idolatry
			ideal.....	peroxide
			idol	
elaia.....	95...6...	26.....	olive.....	linoleum
			oil.....	oilcloth
				oily
				petroleum
elaynō.....	10...1...	137.....	elastic	
eleos.....	19...2...	110.....	alms.....	pantaloons
elephas.....	19...1...	111.....	elephant	
elkō.....	5...1...	148.....		hulk
epos.....	3...1...	152.....		epic
ergon.....	31...4...	84.....	energy.....	energetic
				surgeon
				surgery

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
erēmos.....	10...1...	137...	hermit	
eschara.....	14...1...	125...	scar	
echō.....	37...4...	70...	scheme.....	epoch
			sketch.....	eunuch
Zeta—4 words				
Zephyros.....	6...1...	146.....		zephyr
zēlos.....	69...4...	41...	jealous	
			jealousy	
			zeal	
			zealous	
†ziggiberis.....	16...2...	119...	ginger.....	gingerbread
zōnē.....	26...1...	95...	zone	
Eta—3 words				
ēlektron.....	36...3...	73...	electric.....	electrical
				electricity
ērōs.....	50...3...	54...	hero.....	heroism
			heroic	
ēchō.....	28...1...	94...	echo	
Theta—6 words				
theatron.....	33...2...	81...	theater.....	theatrical
theos.....	73...6...	35...	doll.....	enthusiast
			dolly.....	enthusiastic
			enthusiasm	
			Timothy	
theōros.....	11...1...	133...	theory	
thriambos.....	44...4...	60...	triumph.....	triumphal
				triumphant
				trump
thronos.....	39...2...	67...	throne.....	enthrone
thysos.....	22...2...	102...	trousers.....	truss
Iota—12 words				
†Iakōbos.....	51...2...	52...	jack	
			jacket	
†iaspis.....	4...1...	150.....		jasper
idiōtēs.....	13...1...	128...	idiot	
†Iēsous.....	11...1...	133...	Jesus	
Indos.....	8...1...	142.....		indigo
ion.....	3...1...	152.....		iodine
iris.....	9...1...	139.....		iris
isthmos.....	21...1...	105...	isthmus	
istēmi.....	9...1...	139.....		ecstasy
istōr.....	70...5...	40...	historic.....	historian
			history.....	historical
			story	
†Iōannēs.....	3...1...	152.....		jockey
iōta.....	4...1...	150.....		jot

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
Kappa—45 words				
kaiō.....	72	5	38	calmness
			ink.....	caustic
				inkwell
kamara.....	73	5	36	chamber.....
			comrade.....	camera
				chamberlain
				chum
†kamēlos.....	15	1	123	camel
kaminos.....	30	1	87	chimney
kanthos.....	5	1	148	canton
kanna.....	45	3	59	cane.....
				canon
kannabis.....	20	1	108	canvas
kara.....	110	8	17	cheer.....
				jeer
				cheerful.....
				carrot
				cheery.....
				cheerfulness
				cheerily
				cheerless
kastanon.....	22	1	103	chestnut
kastōr.....	4	1	150	castor
katarraktēs.....	9	1	139	cataract
kedros.....	19	1	111	cedar
kentron.....	105	4	20	center.....
				concentrate
				central.....
				eccentric
kerasos.....	33	1	82	cherry
kēros.....	8	1	142	kerosene
kithara.....	5	1	148	guitar
kistē.....	39	2	67	chest
				cistern
klēros.....	44	3	61	clerk.....
				clergy
				clergymen
klinō.....	104	7	22	climate.....
				declension
				clime.....
				inclination
				decline.....
				recline
				incline
kogchē.....	3	2	151	cockle
				cocoon
koimaō.....	11	1	133	cemetery
kolaphos.....	10	3	135	cope
				copse
				coupon
kolon.....	3	1	152	colic
kolpos.....	29	1	89	gulf
komē.....	7	1	144	comet
†kommi.....	10	1	137	gum
korallion.....	13	1	128	coral
korinthos.....	9	1	139	currant
korōnos.....	56	2	50	crown.....
				coronation
kophinos.....	17	2	116	coffin.....
				coffer

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
kratos.....	24...4	97		aristocratic democracy democrat democratic
krinō.....	48...7	56	critic.....	crisis critical criticise criticism hypocrisy hypocrite
kryos.....	20...2	107	crystal.....	crystalline
kryptō.....	8...2	141		grot grotesque
kybernaō.....	127...3	10	govern government governor	
kybos.....	19...2	110	cube.....	cu.
kydōnios.....	3...1	152		quince
kuklos.....	16...4	118	bicycle.....	cycle motorcycle tricycle
kylindō.....	11...1	133	cylinder	
kymbos.....	23...2	99	chime.....	cymbal
kyparissos.....	9...1	139		cypress
kypros.....	35...2	75	copper.....	copperas
kyriakon.....	89...3	30	church.....	churchman churchyard
kōmos.....	4...1	149		comical
kōnos.....	10...1	137	cone	
Lambda—13 words				
labyrinthos.....	5...1	148		labyrinth
lambanō.....	12...1	130	syllable	
lampō.....	61...2	47	lamp lantern	
laos.....	(i)...1	153	lay	
legō.....	39...6	65	catalogue.....	apology dialogue logic prologue zoological
leipō.....	8...1	142		eclipse
leirion.....	28...1	94	lily	
leopardos.....	5...1	148		leopard
lepō.....	10...2	136		leper leprosy
leō.....	55...2	51	lion.....	lioness

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
linon.....	168..10	4	line.....	lineal
			linen.....	lineament
			lining.....	lingerie
			outline.....	linseed
				lint
				underline
luō.....	11..2	132		analysis
				palsy
lōtos.....	5..1	148		lotus
Mu—25 words				
Magnēs.....	10..2	136		magnet
				magneto
†Magos.....	34..3	78	magic.....	magical
				magician
manthanō.....	8..1	142		mathematics
manna.....	4..1	150		manna
margaritēs.....	3..1	152		magpie
marmoros.....	35..1	76	marble	
martys.....	12..1	130	martyr	
massō.....	13..3	126	mass.....	massive
				massy
melas.....	4..1	150		calomel
metallon.....	47..3	57	medal.....	mettle
meteōros.....	10..1	137	meteor	
metron.....	56..9	49	metre.....	diameter
			thermometer.....	geometry
				hydrometer
				kilometer
				speedometer
				symmetrical
				symmetry
mēlon.....	15..3	121		marmalade
				melon
				watermelon
mēchos.....	92..5	29	machine.....	machinist
			machinery.....	mechanical
			mechanic	
mimos.....	6..1	146		mimic
mintha.....	(i) ..1	153		mint
mitra.....	9..1	139		miter
monos.....	21..3	104	monk.....	minister
				monastery
moschos.....	7..2	143		musk
				muskrat
Moysa.....	126..5	12	muse	
			museum	
			music	
			musical	
			musician	

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
myxa.....	(i) .1 .153	match		
myrios.....	.9 .1 .139			myriad
†myrra.....	.5 .1 .148			myrrh
†myrtos.....	.9 .1 .139			myrtle
myō.....	.20 .3 .106	mysterious		mystic
		mystery		
mōron.....	.7 .1 .144			mulberry
Nu—4 words				
nays.....	.66 .3 .44	noise		noiseless
				noisy
nektar.....	.5 .1 .148			nectar
nemō.....	.28 .6 .90			astronomy
				economic
				economical
				economist
				economy
				nomad
nymphē.....	.12 .1 .130	nymph		
Omicron—13 words				
†oasis.....	.7 .1 .144			oasis
odos.....	.71 .4 .39	method		episode
		period		periodical
oikos.....	.9 .1 .139			parish
olos.....	.15 .1 .123	catholic		
onyx.....	.3 .1 .152			onyx
optikos.....	.6 .2 .145			optic
				optical
organon.....	.64 .5 .45	organ		organist
		organization		reorganize
		organize		
oros.....	.22 .2 .102	horizon		horizontal
†oryza.....	.23 .1 .100	rice		
orphanos.....	.16 .1 .120	orphan		
orchēstra.....	.11 .1 .133	orchestra		
ostreon.....	.16 .1 .120	oyster		
oygkia.....	.98 .4 .23	in.		
		inch		
		ounce		
		oz.		
Pi—43 words				
pais.....	.3 .2 .151	page		pedant
Pamphilos.....	.5 .1 .148			pamphlet
Pan.....	.5 .2 .147	Pan		panic
pandoyra.....	.4 .1 .150			banjo
†papyros.....	.108 .2 .18	newspaper		
		paper		
†paradeisos.....	.24 .1 .98	paradise		
parallēlos.....	.15 .1 .123	parallel		

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
passō.....	22...3...	101...	paste.....	pastry
				patty
paschō.....	35...4...	74...	sympathy.....	pathetic
				sympathetic
				sympathize
patēr.....	19...2...	110...	patriot.....	patriotic
payō.....	296...17...	1...	compose.....	composure
			dispose.....	depose
			expose.....	disposal
			impose.....	exposure
			oppose.....	interpose
			pause.....	pose
			propose.....	proposal
			puzzle	
			repose	
			suppose	
peiraō.....	10...1...	137...	pirate	
polos.....	8...2...	141...	pole.....	polar
pompē.....	21...3...	104...	pomp.....	pompous
			pump	
†peperi.....	16...1...	120...	pepper	
Pergamon.....	16...2...	119...	parch.....	parchment
perdix.....	10...1...	137...	partridge	
perknos.....	(i)...1...	153...	perch	
pessō.....	3...1...	152...		pepsin
petannymi.....	9...1...	139...		petal
petra.....	12...2...	129...		petrify
				pier
petros.....	11...1...	133...	parrot	
pēdon.....	10...1...	137...	pilot	
piptō.....	4...1...	150...		symptom
pisos.....	29...2...	88...	pea.....	peanut
planē.....	14...1...	125...	planet	
plassō.....	10...1...	137...	plaster	
platys.....	188...10...	3...	fireplace.....	misplace
			place.....	piazza
			replace.....	commonplace
			plane.....	displace
				dwelling-place
				market-place
pneō.....	7...2...	143...		pneumatic
				pneumonia
poieō.....	97...6...	25...	poem.....	poetic
			poet.....	poetical
			poetry.....	posy
poinē.....	163...10...	5...	pain.....	repine
			painful.....	penalty
			pine.....	penance
			punish.....	unpunished
			punishment	
			repent	

Source Word	Value	Rank	First Group	Second Group
polis.....	97...9	24	police.....	metropolis
			policeman.....	metropolitan
			policy.....	politician
			politic.....	politics
			political	
poros.....	9...1	139		pore
porphyra.....	33...1	82	purple	
poys.....	6...1	146		pew
prassō.....	73...2	37	practical	
			practice	
presbys.....	34...3	78	priest.....	presbyterian
				priesthood
proumnon.....	25...2	96	plum	
			prune	
prōra.....	4...1	150		prow
puxos.....	35...4	74	box.....	bu.
			bush	
			bushel	
pyr.....	20...1	108	bureau	
pyramis.....	7...1	144		pyramid
pōlos.....	3...1	152		pulley
Rho—5 words				
reō.....	11...2	132		catarrh
				rheumatism
rētinē.....	4...1	150		rosin
rētōr.....	4...1	150		rhetoric
†rodon.....	105...5	19	rose.....	primrose
			rosy.....	rosebud
				rosette
rythmos.....	21...1	105	rhyme	
Sigma—39 words				
††Sabbaton.....	17...1	117	Sabbath	
†sakkos.....	33...2	81	sack	
			sachet	
†sandalon.....	7...1	144		sandal
sappheiros.....	6...1	146		sapphire
sardinē.....	4...1	150		sardine
satyros.....	6...1	146		satyr
Seirēn.....	6...1	146		siren
selinon.....	15...2	122	celery.....	parsley
sēpō.....	3...1	152		antiseptic
Sēres.....	79...4	33	silk.....	serge
				silken
				silkworm
skellō.....	6...1	146		skeleton
†sikera.....	8...1	142		cider
silphē.....	4...1	150		sylph
skandalon.....	22...2	102	slander.....	scandal
				slandorous

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
skēnē.....	45...3...	59...	scene.....	scenery scenic
skēptron.....	15...1...	123...	sceptre	
skioyros.....	26...1...	95...	squirrel	
†(Sklabos).....	59...4...	48...	slave.....	enslave
			slavery.....	slavish
skopos.....	34...4...	77...	bishop.....	archbishop scope telescope
skorpios.....	5...1...	148...		scorpion
smaragdōs.....	6...1...	146...		emerald
smyris.....	4...1...	150...		emery
sophos.....	42...4...	63...	philosopher.....	philosophic
			philosophy.....	philosophical
speira.....	3...2...	151...	spire.....	spiral
splēn.....	8...1...	142...		spleen
spoggia.....	12...1...	130...	sponge	
stellō.....	8...3...	140...	stole.....	apostle epistle
stomachos.....	18...1...	114...	stomach	
stragx.....	8...1...	142...		strangle
strephō.....	5...1...	148...		catastrophe
stroythos.....	9...1...	139...		ostrich
stylos.....	(i)...1...	153...	style	
styppe.....	95...1...	27...	stop	
sykomoros.....	6...1...	146...		sycamore
sylē.....	3...1...	152...		asylum
systema.....	41...1...	64...	system	
sphaira.....	30...3...	86...	atmosphere.....	hemisphere sphere
schizō.....	12...2...	129...		schedule zest
scholē.....	141...7...	7...	scholar.....	scholarship
			school.....	schoolboy
			schoolhouse	
			schoolmaster	
			schoolroom	
Tau—24 words				
talanton.....	18...1...	114...	talent	
tapēs.....	17...2...	116...		tape tapestry
taphos.....	6...1...	146...		epitaph
†taōs.....	12...1...	130...	peacock	
teinō.....	66...5...	43...	tone.....	monotonous
			tune.....	tonic tuneful
telos.....	7...1...	144...		toll
temnō.....	4...1...	150...		atom
terebinthos.....	7...1...	144...		turpentine

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>
†tigris.....	16...1...	120...	tiger	
tithēmi.....	76...6...	34...	theme.....	apothecary
			tick.....	treasurer
			treasury	
			treasure	
tiktō.....	11...2...	132.....		architect
				architecture
toxon.....	5...1...	148.....		intoxicate
topos.....	10...1...	137...	topic	
tornos.....	230...8...	2...	attorney.....	turnpike
			overturn.....	tour
			return.....	tourist
			turn.....	tournament
tragos.....	7...1...	144.....		tragic
trepō.....	32...4...	83...	trophy.....	contrive
				tropic
				tropical
trechō.....	13...1...	128...	truck	
trōktēs.....	12...1...	130...	trout	
tymbos.....	22...2...	102...	tomb.....	tombstone
tympanon.....	4...1...	150.....		timbrel
typtō.....	38...4...	68...	type.....	typewriting
			typewriter.....	typical
tyrannos.....	39...4...	66...	tyrant.....	tyrannical
			tyranny.....	tyrannous
tyrbē.....	126...6...	11...	disturb.....	disturbance
			trouble.....	troublesome
				turbulent
				undisturbed
tyrris.....	50...2...	55...	tower.....	turret
Upsilon—2 words				
ymnos.....	17...1...	117...	hymn	
ysterā.....	3...1...	152.....		hysterical
Phi—10 words				
phainō.....	104...8...	21...	fancy.....	emphasize
			pant.....	emphatic
				fantastic
				fantasy
				phantom
				phase
Phasis.....	4...1...	150.....		pheasant
phēmi.....	120...8...	14...	blame.....	blameless
			prophecy.....	blaspheme
			prophecy.....	blasphemy
			prophet.....	prophetic
phialē.....	5...1...	148.....		vial
phoinix.....	3...1...	152.....		phoenix
phrazō.....	19...1...	111...	phrase	

<i>Source Word</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>First Group</i>	<i>Second Group</i>	
phrēn.....	14	2	124.....	frantic frenzy	
phyō.....	44	4	60.....	physical..... physician.....	imp physics
phōnē.....	38	3	69.....	phone..... telephone	symphony
phōs.....	17	3	115.....		phosphate phosphorous photo

Chi—11 words

chaos.....	31	2	85.....	gas.....	chaos
charassō.....	64	4	46.....	character..... characteristic.....	characterize gash
chartēs.....	36	7	72.....	card..... chart..... charter.....	cardboard cartoon discard postcard
chaskō.....	5	1	148.....		chasm
chēmeia.....	7	2	143.....		chemical chemistry
chilioi.....	3	1	152.....		kilo
cholē.....	15	2	122.....	melancholy.....	choleric
chordē.....	33	3	80.....	cord.....	corduroy chord
choros.....	28	3	92.....	choir.....	carol chorus
chriō.....	136	7	8.....	Christ..... Christian..... Christmas..... cream	christen creamery creamy
chronos.....	12	1	130.....	chronicle	

Psi—1 word

psallō.....	10	1	137.....	psalm
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Omega—3 words

ōkeanos.....	51	1	53.....	ocean
ōra.....	117	3	15.....	hour..... hr.
ōps.....	4	1	150.....	canopy

II. Arrangement in Order of Rank of Greek Source Words

1. payō	50. korōnos	88. pisos	118. kyklos
2. tornos	51. aeidō	89. kolpos	119. abbas
3. platys	51. leōn	90. nemō	119. ziggyberis
4. linon	52. Iakobos	91. agō	119. Pergamon
5. poinē	53. ōkeanos	92. choros	120. bēryllos
6. genos	54. brachiōn	93. armonia	120. orphanos
7. scholē	54. ērōs	94. ēchō	120. ostreon
8. chriō	55. tyrris	94. leirion	120. peperī
9. ballō	56. krinō	95. zōnē	120. tigris
10. kybernaō	57. metallon	95. skiogyros	121. didōmi
11. tyrbē	58. aggelos	96. proumnōn	121. mēlon
12. Moysa	58. autos	97. kratos	122. arktos
13. graphō	59. kanna	98. paradeisos	122. draō
14. phēmi	59. skēnē	99. kymbos	122. selinon
15. ōra	60. thriambos	100. oryza	122. cholē
16. aēr	60. phyō	101. passō	123. kamēlos
17. kara	61. klēros	102. thyrsos	123. olos
18. papyros	62. gigas	102. orizōn	123. parallēlos
19. rodon	63. sophos	102. skandalon	123. skēptron
20. kentron	64. systēma	102. tymbos	124. phrēn
21. phainō	65. logos	103. drakōn	125. byblos
22. klinō	66. tyrannos	103. kastanon	125. eschara
23. oygkia	67. kistē	104. monos	125. planētos
24. polis	67. thronos	104. pompē	126. massō
25. poieō	68. typtō	105. agkyra	127. baptizō
26. elaia	69. phōnē	105. isthmos	127. gymnos
27. styppē	70. echō	105. rythmos	128. idiōtēs
28. diskos	71. adamas	106. mtō	128. korallion
29. mēchos	72. ēlektron	107. balsamon	128. trechō
30. kyriakon	73. chartēs	107. kryos	129. Aigyp̄tos
31. eidon	74. paschō	108. kannabis	129. aireō
32. kathedra	74. pyxos	108. pyr	129. petra
33. Sēres	75. kypros	109. basis	129. schizō
34. tithēmi	76. marmaros	110. eleos	130. ayra
35. theos	77. skopos	110. kubos	130. lambanō
36. kamara	78. Magos	110. patēr	130. martyrs
37. praktikos	78. presbys	111. elephas	130. nymphē
38. kaiō	79. byrsa	111. kedros	130. spoggia
39. odos	80. archō	111. phrazō	130. taōs
40. istōr	80. chordē	112. astron	130. trōktēs
41. zēlos	81. theatron	113. barbaros	130. chronos
42. boytyron	81. sakkos	114. stomachos	131. gōnia
43. tonos	82. kerasos	114. talanton	132. luō
44. nays	82. porphyra	115. phōs	132. reō
45. organon	83. trepō	116. boubalos	132. tiktō
46. charassō	84. ergon	116. kophinos	133. athlos
47. lampō	85. chaos	116. tapēs	133. diaita
48. (Sklabos)	86. sphaira	117. Sabbaton	133. theōros
49. metron	87. kaminos	117. ymnos	133. Iēsous

133. koimaō	142. delta	146. taphos	150. silphē
133. kylindō	142. Indos	147. Pan	150. smyris
133. orchēstra	142. kēros	148. alphabētos	150. temnō
133. petros	142. leipō	148. ammōniakon	150. tympanon
134. bombos	142. manthanō	148. anti	150. Phasis
135. kolaphos	142. sikera	148. asphaltos	150. ōps
136. lepō	142. splēn	148. deō	151. deiknymī
136. Magnēs	142. stragx	148. dēmos	151. kogchē
137. Attikos	142. chēmeia	148. drassomai	151. pais
137. bolbos	143. boskō	148. elkō	151. speira
137. elaunō	143. moschos	148. kanthos	152. anthos
137. erēmos	143. pneō	148. kithara	152. anthrax
137. komni	144. aithō	148. labyrinthos	152. aspros
137. kōnos	144. amygdalē	148. leopardos	152. brogchos
137. meteōros	144. automatos	148. lōtos	152. dynamai
137. peiratēs	144. daimōn	148. myrra	152. epos
137. perdix	144. komē	148. nektar	152. ion
137. pēdon	144. mōron	148. Pamphilos	152. Iōannēs
137. plassō	144. oasis	148. skorprios	152. kolon
137. topos	144. pyramis	148. strephō	152. kydōnios
137. psallō	144. sandalon	148. toxon	152. margaritēs
138. diplōma	144. telos	148. phialē	152. onyx
139. Akadēmeia	144. terebinthos	148. chaskō	152. pessō
139. byssos	144. tragos	149. kōmos	152. pōlos
139. iris	145. optikos	150. alabastos	152. sēpō
139. istēmi	146. anēr	150. aloē	152. sylē
139. katarraktēs	146. arithmos	150. deka	152. ystera
139. Korinthos	146. asparagos	150. diakonos	152. phoinix
139. kyparissos	146. asphodelos	150. dokeō	152. chilioi
139. mitra	146. authentes	150. iaspis	153. arrabōn
139. murios	146. ayō	150. iōta	153. gagatēs
139. myrtos	146. Zephyros	150. kastōr	153. glōssa
139. oikos	146. mimos	150. manna	153. daktylos
139. petannymī	146. pous	150. melas	153. laos
139. poros	146. sappheiros	150. pandoura	153. mintha
139. strouthos	146. satyros	150. piptō	153. myxa
140. stellō	146. Seirēn	150. prōra	153. perknos
141. kryptō	146. skellō	150. rētinē	153. stylos
141. polos	146. smaragdos	150. rētōr	
142. amēn	146. sykomoros	150. sradinē	

STATISTICS

Tables 1-8

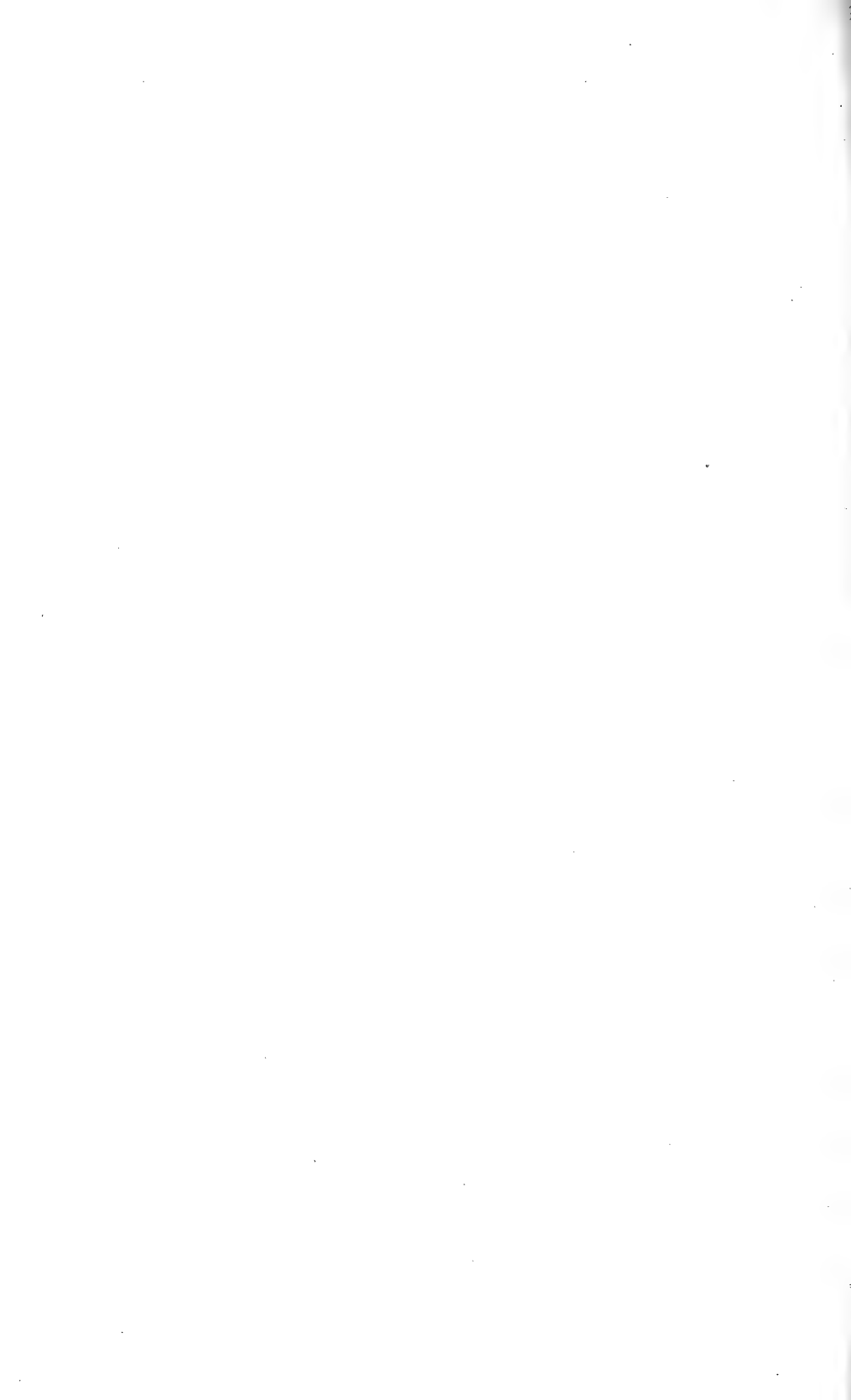


TABLE 1.—FIVE THOUSAND WORDS OF HIGHER FREQUENCY

Standing of Languages for First 500 Words.

LANGUAGE	Words by Hundreds					Total	Indices by Hundreds					Total	
	I	II	III	IV	V		I	II	III	IV	V		
Celtic.....				1	1	1				91		91	91
Non-Classical.....													
Compound.....													
Etymology.....		1	1	3	5	10		144	106	266	401	917	917
Dutch.....													
English.....	96	80	60	61	63	360	16,964	10,076	6,144	5,509	4,981	43,749	86
Old Frankish.....				1		1				86		86	160
Old High German.....					2	2						160	283
Cpd. Ety.: Greek.....			2		1	3			199		84	75	743
Other—Greek.....	1	1	3	1	1	7	156	124	297	91	81	92	311
Greek Direct.....					1	1							1,729
Greek—Other.....				1		1				92			6,122
Hybrid Non-Clas.....			3			3			311				694
Cpd. Ety. Latin.....	1	5	6	1	3	16	172	606	627	87	237	1,729	1,834
Other—Latin.....	1	7	21	12	23	64	161	897	2,152	1,078	1,834	6,122	317
Latin Direct.....			2	2	4	8			192	185	317	694	108
Latin—Other.....			1			1			108			108	77
Proper Names.....					1	1					77	77	488
Scandinavian.....	4	5	2	4	6	21	714	655	206	359	488	2,422	87
Teutonic.....				1		1				87		87	

TABLE 2.—FIVE THOUSAND WORDS OF HIGHER FREQUENCY

Standing of Languages by Index Numbers.

LANGUAGE	1-A	1-B	2-A	2-B	3-A	3-B	4-A	4-B	5-A	5-B	Total
African.....											
Arabic.....			77					14		10	24
Celtic.....	91	105	78	61	75	21		30	25	22	154
Chinese.....			46	29				57	87	42	617
Non-Classical.....											75
Compound.....											
Etymology.....	917	248	220	217	232	159	115	29	88	21	2,246
Dutch.....			80	128	77	43	67	15	98	10	518
English.....	43,749	14,689	7,889	5,482	4,176	3,637	3,002	1,898	1,728	1,831	88,081
Old Frankish.....	86					19					105
French.....		177	125	195	121	41	70	42	48	138	957
Old High German.....	160	122	124	228	205	19	111	43	89	60	1,161
Old Low German.....			21	156	115	127	43	89	13	21	618
German.....		185	168	62	23	21		43	75	31	608
Cpd. Ety.: Greek.....	283	75	266	99	51	22	16	14			826
Other—Greek.....	743	919	787	885	774	653	474	424	336	480	6,475
Greek Direct.....	81				23		16	14	25	41	200
Greek—Other.....	92	163	77	29	72		82	29	26	32	602
Hebrew.....								14			14
Hindu.....							17				17
Hungarian.....				29							29
Hybrid Non-Classical.....	311	58		65	68	41	17		86	82	728

TABLE 2.—Continued.

LANGUAGE	1-A	1-B	2-A	2-B	3-A	3-B	4-A	4-B	5-A	5-B	Total
Hybrid: Gk. or Lat. Elements.....	.....	242	127	216	103	199	162	116	112	200	1,527
N. Am. Indian.....	.....	.....	38	.....	25	.....	18	28	12	.....	121
Italian.....	.....	55	.....	.....	.....	19	16	.....	36	.....	126
Cpd. Ety.: Lat.....	1,729	239	421	229	131	63	154	42	76	21	3,105
Other—Latin.....	6,122	9,637	7,305	5,847	4,978	3,786	2,625	2,315	2,100	2,098	46,811
Latin Direct.....	694	1,468	1,584	875	1,118	784	701	570	620	668	9,082
Latin—Other.....	108	125	.....	48	.....	61	18	.....	13	10	383
Persian.....	.....	.....	91	.....	.....	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	112
Proper Names.....	77	398	500	365	404	399	387	245	431	429	3,685
Sanskrit.....	.....	55	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15	.....	.....	70
Scandinavian.....	2,422	1,008	575	607	275	355	369	232	222	254	6,319
Slavic.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	.....	.....	.....	13	10	48
Spanish.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	11
Tartar.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	28
Teutonic.....	87	292	280	125	75	64	69	29	63	61	1,045

TABLE 3.—FIVE THOUSAND WORDS OF HIGHER FREQUENCY
Standing of Languages by Derivative Words.

LANGUAGE	1-A	1-B	2-A	2-B	3-A	3-B	4-A	4-B	5-A	5-B	Total
African.....									1	1	2
Arabic.....				2					2	2	8
Celtic.....	1	2	2	2	3	1		4	7	4	26
Chinese.....			1	1							2
Non-Classical.....											
Compound.....											
Etymology.....	10	4	5	7	9	8	7	2	7	2	61
Dutch.....				2	3	2	4	1	8	1	25
English.....	360	241	188	173	165	178	178	130	137	175	1,925
Old Frankish.....	1					1					2
French.....		3	3	5	5	2	4	3	4	13	43
Old High German.....	2	2	3	7	8	1	7	3	7	6	46
Old Low German.....		1	4	4	4	2	2	6	1	2	26
German.....		3	4	2	1	1		3	6	3	23
Cpd. Ety.: Greek.....	3	1	6	3	2	1	1	1			18
Other—Greek.....	7	16	19	28	31	32	28	29	27	45	262
Greek Direct.....	1				1		1	1	2	4	10
Greek—Other.....	1	3	2	1	3		5	2	2	3	22
Hebrew.....								1			1
Hindu.....											1
Hungarian.....				1							1
Hybrid: Non-Classical.....	3	1		2	2	2	1		7	8	26

[illegible][illegible]

TABLE 5.—FIVE THOUSAND WORDS OF HIGHER FREQUENCY
COMPARISON OF LANGUAGES

Language Groups	Derivative Word Total	Percentage	Index No. Total	Percentage
English.....	1,925	40.92	88,081	53.58
Latin.....	2,038	43.32	56,276	34.23
Greek.....	294	6.25	7,277	4.42
Scandinavian.....	179	3.80	6,319	3.78
German.....	95	2.02	2,387	1.47
Teutonic.....	40	0.85	1,045	0.80
Other Indo-European.....	109	2.32	2,469	1.50
Other Languages.....	24	0.51	557	0.30
Total.....	4,704	100.00	164,411	100.00
Omitted Groups.....	431	.....	12,117	.....
Grand Total.....	5,135	.....	176,528	.....

1. The Latin group comprises the totals for Other-Latin, Latin Direct, and Latin-Other.. Similarly for the Greek group.

2. The German group comprises Old High German, Old Low German, and German.

3. The Other Indo-European group comprises Sanskrit, Hindu, Celtic, Old Frankish, French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and Slavic contributions.

4. The Other Languages are African, Arabic, Chinese, Hebrew, Hungarian, North American Indian, Persian, and Tartar.

5. The Omitted Groups are all Compound Etymologies, all Hybrids and Proper Names.

TABLE 6.—TABLE OF COMPARISON OF LANGUAGES AMONG THE
FIVE THOUSAND WORDS OF LESS FREQUENCY

Language Groups	Derivative Word Total	Percentage of Total Words	Index Number Total	Percentage of Total Occurrences
English.....	1,284	29.01	7,020	29.45
Latin.....	2,160	48.80	11,716	49.15
Greek.....	363	8.20	1,685	7.07
Scandinavian.....	197	4.45	1,146	4.80
German.....	103	2.32	522	2.19
Other Teutonic.....	50	1.13	291	1.22
Other Indo-European.....	130	2.93	708	2.97
Other Languages.....	139	3.14	747	3.13
Grand Total.....	4,426	.....	23,835	.....

TABLE 7.—SUMMARIZING TABLE: COMPARISON OF LANGUAGES AMONG THE ENTIRE TEN THOUSAND WORDS IN THORNDIKE'S TEACHER'S WORD-BOOK.

Language Groups	Derivative Word Total	Percentage of Total Words	Index Number Total	Percentage of Total Word Occurrences
English.....	3,209	35.15	95,101	50.52
Latin.....	4,198	45.98	67,992	36.11
Greek.....	657	7.19	8,962	4.76
Scandinavian.....	376	4.12	7,465	3.96
German.....	198	2.17	2,909	1.54
Other Teutonic.....	90	0.98	1,336	0.70
Other Indo-European.....	239	2.62	3,177	1.69
Other Languages.....	163	1.78	1,304	0.69
Grand Total.....	9,130	.....	188,246	.....
Omitted Words (Proper names, etc.).....	870			
Thorndike's Total.....	10,000			

TABLE 8.—TABLE SHOWING RELATION OF LODGE'S LATIN LIST TO THE SOURCE WORDS OF THE LATIN DERIVATIVES IN THE TEN THOUSAND ENGLISH WORDS IN THORNDIKE'S TEACHER'S WORD BOOK.

AUTHOR	Latin Words	Per cent of Total Latin Words	English Derivatives	Per cent of Total English Derivatives	Sums of Index Values	Per cent of Total Sums of Index Values
Caesar.....	290	26.13	1,911	43.98	30,857	46.54
Cicero.....	141	12.70	644	14.81	10,416	15.71
Vergil.....	152	13.69	665	15.29	10,325	15.57
Lodge.....	189	17.03	509	11.71	6,503	9.80
Not in High School Latin.....	338	30.45	618	14.21	8,197	12.36
Total.....	1,110	.....	4,347*	.....	66,298	.....

*The seeming discrepancy between the number of English derivatives from Latin recorded in this table and in Table VII. is due to the fact that one English word may trace back to more than one Latin source word. E. g., "bay" in its three senses is a derivative of "badare", "badus", and "Baiae". Hence in forming this Table VIII. it has been counted three times.

Vol. XII

JUNE, SEPTEMBER, AND DECEMBER, 1925

INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDIES



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Entered as second-class matter, June 14, 1918, at the post-office at Bloomington, Ind., under the act of August 24, 1912. The INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDIES are published four times a year, in March, June, September, and December, by Indiana University, from the University Office, Bloomington, Ind.

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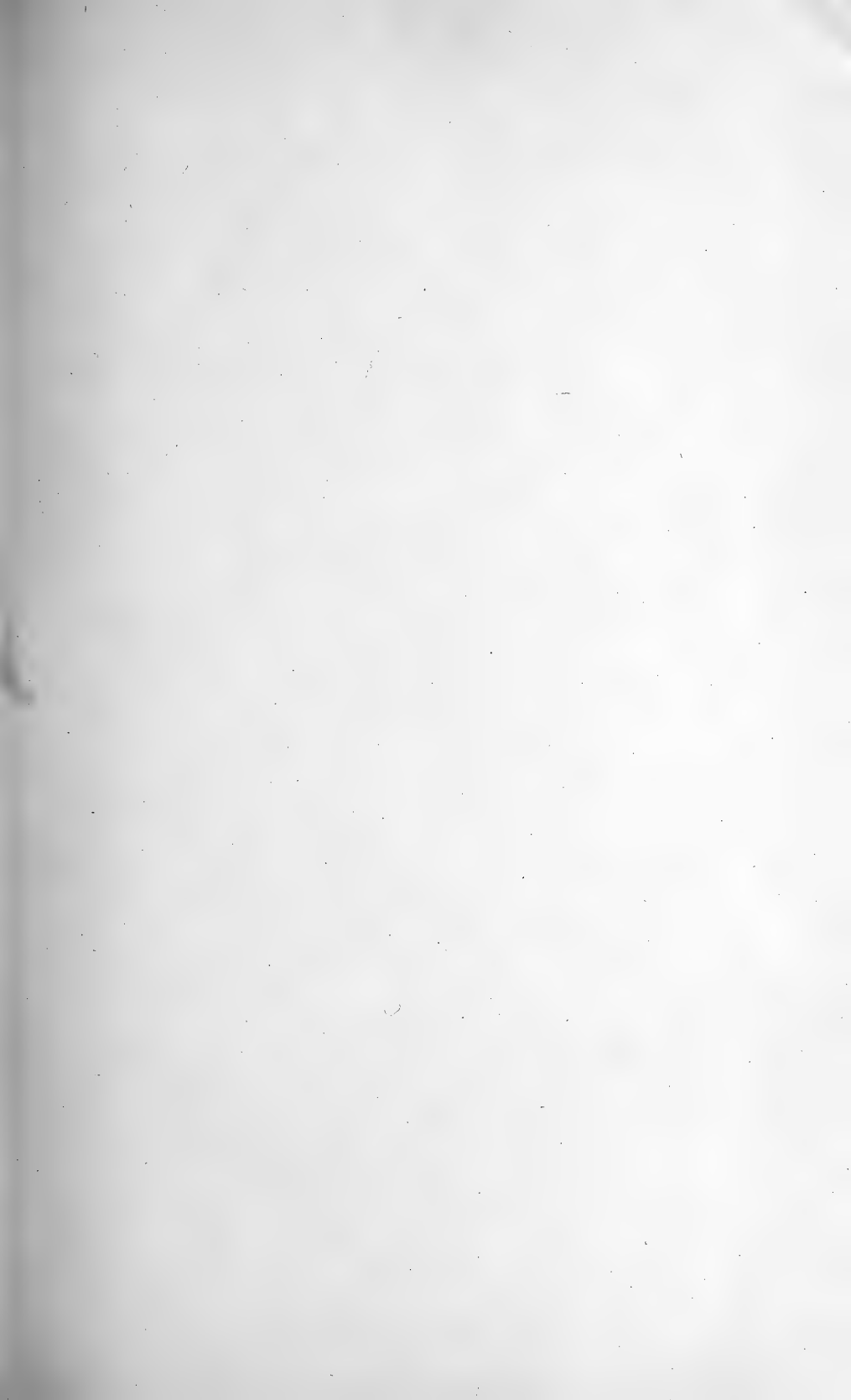
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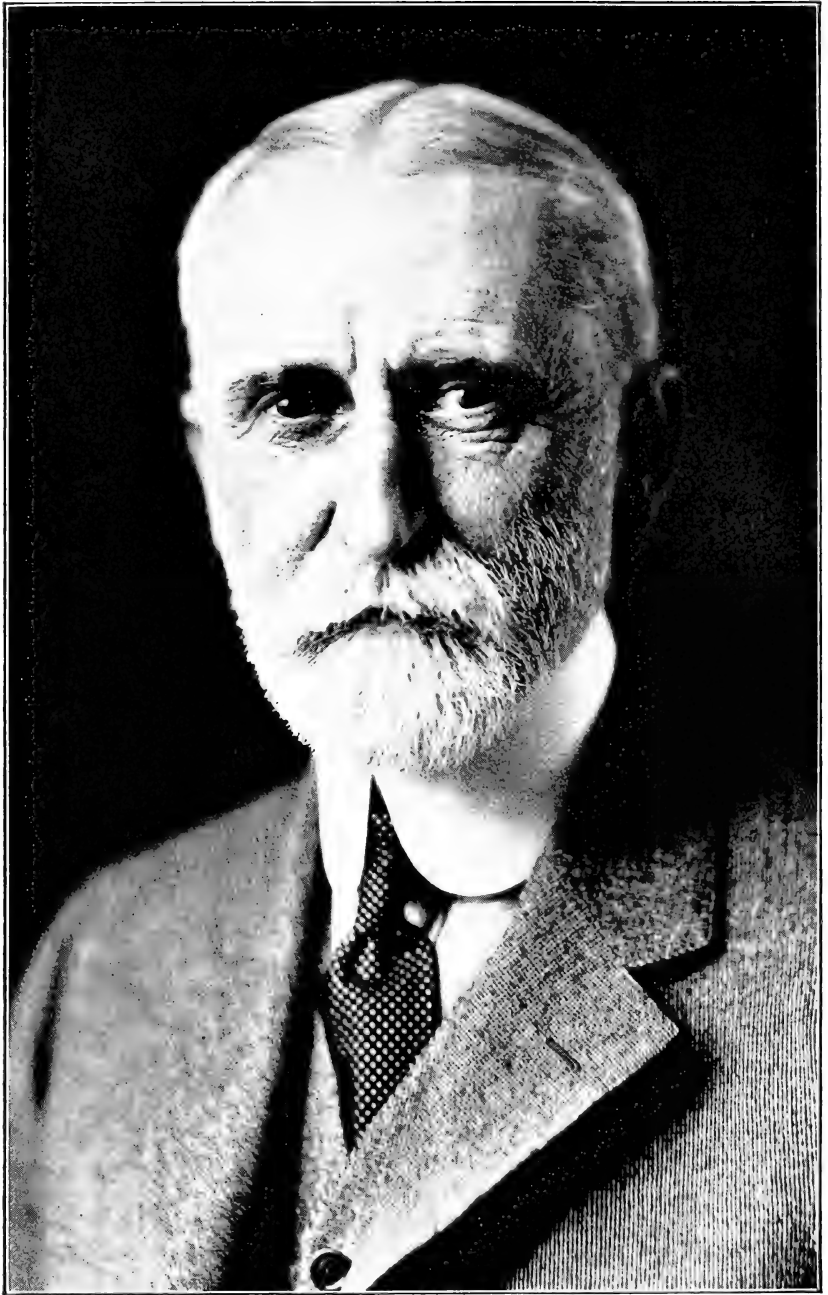
By His Former Students



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1926

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JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN

Dedication

THIS volume of *Studies in American History* is published as a tribute to the long service of Professor James Albert Woodburn to Indiana University. All of the contributors were, during their student days, privileged to sit at the feet of this inspiring teacher and scholar, and they now feel a most sincere pleasure in this opportunity to coöperate with the University in attempting to do him honor.



Preface

DR. WOODBURN'S career has been summarized in the biographical dictionary as follows:

Woodburn, James Albert, university professor; born in Bloomington, Ind., November 30, 1856; son of James and Martha Jane (Hemp-hill) Woodburn; A.B., Indiana University, 1876, A.M., 1885; Ph.D., Johns Hopkins, 1890; (LL.D., Colgate University, N.Y., 1909, and Wabash College, Ind., 1923); married Caroline Louise Gelston, of Ann Arbor, Mich., November 30, 1893. Professor of American history, Indiana University, 1890——. Member, Indiana Historical Commission. Member, American Historical Association, American Political Science Association, Indiana Historical Society (first vice-president), National Municipal League, American Peace Society, University Club of Indiana, Indianapolis Literary Club, Phi Beta Kappa (Johns Hopkins). Author: *Higher Education in Indiana*, 1890; *The American Republic and Its Government*, 1903, revised, 1914; *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States*, revised, 1914, and again in 1922; *Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in Monroe County, Indiana*, 1910; *Life of Thaddeus Stevens*, 1913. Joint author with Professor T. F. Moran of a series of school textbooks on history and civil government, 1909-23. Editor: *Select Orations of Burke and Webster* (with Professor C. W. Hodgkin, q.v.), 1892; Johnston's *Representative American Orations* (4 vols.), 1895-7; Lecky's *American Revolution* (from Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*), with bibliography and notes; Appleton's *American Political History*, from Professor Alexander Johnston's articles in Lalor's *Cyclopedia of Political Science and United States History* (4 vols.). Regular contributor to *American Year Book* on American politics and party history; has also contributed to *Encyclopedia Americana*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Cyclopedia of American Government*, history magazines, etc. Presbyterian. Address: Bloomington, Indiana.

I have heard not a few men praise Dr. Woodburn as the best teacher they had ever known—learned, lucid, rightly exacting, inspiring. He was a very wise and successful department head. He had a just conception of what should be accomplished in the undergraduate and graduate Department of History. He knew the younger and older scholars in his field and so was able to select the best available men to fill vacancies in his staff. He was no departmental tyrant. He had the wisdom to give generous freedom to the members of his staff and at the same time to secure their spirited coöperation for well-considered departmental policies. He has been

highly successful in the very difficult art of writing elementary textbooks and college textbooks and at the same time is recognized as an eminent scholar and author in the field of history.

Along with everything else he has been a citizen standing always courageously for "the truths which men accept not yet".

Teacher, executive, author, citizen, he has brought strength and honor to his university and to his country.

WILLIAM LOWE BRYAN.

Bloomington, Indiana

May 4, 1926

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THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED
STATES AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1783-1789

By

ALBERT LUDWIG KOHLMEIER, Ph.D.
Professor of History in Indiana University



THE COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE NETHERLANDS, 1783-1789

I

GENERAL CONDITIONS

CERTAIN conditions and facts both in the Netherlands and in the United States favored a relatively extensive trade between these two countries during the period between the American Revolution and the establishment of the new American federal government. These may be hastily sketched before the detailed narrative of events and facts is undertaken. The conditions in the Netherlands and on the side of the Dutch will be mentioned first. The Dutch people were a commercial people by habit and training thru a long period of historical evolution. The physical features of their country that they had in part reclaimed from the sea, their experiences in defending this country against powerful neighbors thru reliance upon sea-warfare, and their possession of the richest colonial empire had made them a seafaring people. They not only knew the "tricks of trade" as then practiced—how to exploit, how to smuggle, how to introduce their goods into foreign markets—but they were willing to go a long way toward sacrificing almost every other consideration to the end that they might make money thru their commercial activities. No doubt every nation has at some time been charged by someone with such an attitude, but the Dutch at this particular time seem to have deserved the criticism to an uncommon degree. Real patriotism, real voice in government, real national independence and honor might all go, if only they might ply their trade. Patriotism was still being talked about, and the Dutch still liked to retell the story of their struggle for independence, but there was a frightful tendency for every individual to interpret his patriotic duty in the light of his own personal interests. There was a Patriot party, but this was self-styled. The members of this party claimed to favor a

restoration of the constitution to what it had been before 1747, when the stadtholder's powers had been considerably increased.¹ In practice, however, there was no unanimity as to just what this constitution had been. For practical purposes, the Patriot party was composed of the aristocratic, bourgeoisie, pro-French, commercial and industrial elements. Opposed to them was the stadtholderate party composed of some of the nobles, most of the peasants, certain cities and localities attached to the Orange family and to the English alliance. The activities of neither party seem to have had much to do with patriotism.² But when in any way their commercial opportunities were restricted, whether by their own government or by some foreign government, whether for justifiable reasons or otherwise, they soon bestirred themselves.

The spirit of these people is well brought out in the story of their relations to the American Revolution. The details of these activities have already been set forth in exhaustive treatises, and will not be repeated here.³ The Dutch professed to see the similarity of the struggle of the Americans against England to that of the Netherlands against Spain. But they yielded less to sentiment and to the desire to see liberty triumph than did many of the subjects of the absolute king of France. To be sure, the Dutch could not well, at first, favor the American cause openly for they were embarrassed by the old treaties of alliance with England and by the connections of the stadtholder with the English government. But there is no doubt that the Dutch really preferred to make noncommittal assertions of friendship to all parties concerned and then to sell munitions to all and to fatten upon the traffic. At the beginning of the struggle between England and her colonies the Dutch professed to choose a neutral course, at the same time claiming still to adhere to their old treaties with England.⁴ By the terms of the old treaties of 1678 and 1716 they were obliged to give England military aid under certain con-

¹ C. M. Davies, *The History of Holland and the Dutch Nation* (3 vols., London, 1851), III, 373.

² *Ibid.*, III, 466; Friederich Edler, *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution* (Baltimore, 1911) (*Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*), XXIX, 12.

³ *Ibid.*; J. F. Jamieson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution", in *American Historical Review*, VIII, 683 (July, 1903).

⁴ Sir J. York to Lord Suffolk, November 25, 1777; December 24, 1776; in *Sparks MSS.*, LXXII.

ditions.⁵ The Dutch government compromised by issuing orders forbidding the export of munitions to the American colonies, but refused to lend the Scotch Brigade to England or to release the troops of Waldeck from the Dutch service. Soon it appeared, however, that the Dutch were shipping munitions and supplies to the American colonies directly and by way of France or St. Eustatius in spite of the prohibitory orders of their government.⁶ When Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane were sent to France in 1776, William Lee and Ralph Izard were sent as agents to Holland, Prussia, and Italy with the hope of securing aid in these countries. They, however, accomplished nothing except that Lee drew a treaty with Van Berckel which later gave the British a pretext for waging war on the Dutch.⁷ After France began to prepare herself to go into the struggle, the Dutch began to supply her with ship's timbers and naval stores from the north. By the treaty of 1674 between the Dutch and the British, the former had a perfect right to do this, even if England and France were at war.⁸ England, however, threatened to disregard that treaty if the Dutch did not give the aid stipulated in the alliance treaties of 1678 and 1716,⁹ while the French government of course strongly urged the Dutch to enforce their rights under the first treaty. The States-General of the Netherlands were unable to come to any decision, meeting threats with evasive answers and with stubborn delay. Meantime the Dutch merchants traded with French, English, and Americans alike. American privateers taking refuge in Dutch waters called forth further threats from the British agents, but remained undisturbed until they were ready to leave. On the other hand, the Dutch could not be induced to espouse the cause of the Americans openly, and Adams, who was in Holland most of the time from 1780, could get neither formal recognition nor money until after the English had declared war on the Dutch.¹⁰ There is no doubt that it was this commercial prosperity of the Dutch that finally

⁵ Edler, *The Dutch Republic and the American Revolution*, 29.

⁶ York to Suffolk, March 22, 1776; November 25, 1777; December 3, 1776; April 30, 1776, in Sparks MSS., LXXII.

⁷ Charles Francis Adams, *Works of John Adams* (10 vols., Boston, 1856), VII, 329.

⁸ Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, *Life of William, Earl of Shelbourne* (3 vols., London, 1875-1876), III, 112.

⁹ Suffolk to York, September 29, 1778, and April 14, 1778, in Sparks MSS., LXXII.

¹⁰ Adams, *Works of John Adams*, I, 329.

induced England to prefer open war in order that she might recoup herself for some of her losses at sea and at the same time reduce the advantages of her commercial rival. When the Dutch were at the point of getting their position as neutral traders defended by the members of the Armed Neutrality League, the British ceased their dallying at once and declared war. The Van Berckel-Laurens draft treaty was at best a pretext.¹¹ The Dutch made a sorry showing in their military endeavors against Britain.¹² The Patriot party was composed of capitalists and merchants naturally averse to a war policy. They went on debating about whether to build ships or raise an army while England seized a large part of the Dutch colonies. The Dutch allowed the French to recapture most of these possessions from the British and restore them to the Dutch. The moneyed men and merchants entered only half-heartedly into the war, and the only real engagements occurred when convoyed Dutch merchant fleets encountered British fleets. But now that the Dutch were at last at open war with the English they drew closer to the Americans. Some of them had as early as 1778 feared that if the Americans won their independence without assistance from the Dutch the latter might lose important trade advantages which the Americans would be in a position to grant. It was this idea that led Van Berckel, with the connivance of the officials of Amsterdam, to agree with Lee upon a draft treaty of commerce setting forth the trade relations that should hold between the Netherlands and the United States as soon as the latter should have their independence recognized by Britain.¹³ This treaty was ratified by neither the Continental Congress nor the States-General, and, as was stated, was only to be considered after Britain herself had recognized the independence of the United States. The British government therefore could not legally claim that the Dutch government had hereby conducted itself improperly in the conflict between England and her revolted colonies. It must, however, be said that the status in which this draft treaty had left relations between the United States and Holland was practically what the Dutch wanted. They did not have to provide for trade with the Americans

¹¹ Adams, *op. cit.*, VII, 345, 348.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 343.

¹³ Francis Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (6 vols., Washington, 1889), II, 674, 738, 739, 789.

during the war. They could carry this on just as extensively as they could evade the English. What they did want was to insure themselves against losing the American trade when America became independent by some kind of understanding. This, the terms of the treaty would provide for as soon as ratified by the Netherlands and the sovereign independent United States. Now, however, that the Dutch were already at war with the English, they could advance a step farther. The merchants of Scheidam now wrote to Adams and reminded him once more of the similarity of the American struggle for independence to that of the Dutch and incidentally called his attention to some goods that their city produced that Americans might buy.¹⁴ The clumsy, slow-working government of the Netherlands succeeded in recognizing the independence of the United States, April 19, 1782, and soon thereafter, October 8, 1782, in signing a treaty with the United States.¹⁵ The whole basis for this, the second treaty entered into by the United States, was commercial. Commerce between the United States and the Netherlands was now unrestricted and unhampered except by the English navy. Before the end of the war one-half of the shipping in some of the American ports was Dutch.¹⁶

The conduct of the Dutch at home from 1783 to 1789 was of very much the same character as during the American Revolution. The quarreling of the factions or parties continued. Fortunately they could quarrel and argue to an almost unbelievable extent without fighting, and on the one or two occasions when they got to fighting, few people indeed were hurt. The breach with England and the shrewd diplomacy of the French minister De Vauguyon had thoroly aroused the merchant, aristocratic, "Patriot", or pro-French party against the Orange, stadtholder, or pro-English party and had for the time given the ascendancy to the former party. The stadtholder's tutor and adviser, the Duke of Brunswick, was driven from the country, and the stadtholder's power was considerably reduced.¹⁷ The different factions, cities, and

¹⁴ Mathew Carey, *American Museum or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, or Annual Register* (Philadelphia, 1787-1792), VII, Appendix II, 22.

¹⁵ Adams, *op. cit.*, I, 348, 352.

¹⁶ *Boston Gazette*, June 4, 1783.

¹⁷ Davies, *The History of Holland and the Dutch Nation*, III, 495, 496.

provinces were not agreed as to their policy and went to varying extremes in their attempts to restore the constitution. But as long as Vergennes and Frederick the Great both lived, the innovations remained unchecked. Vergennes favored the party because they were pro-French and Frederick because they were anti-English, albeit his niece was the wife of the stadtholder. Frederick died in 1786 and Vergennes three months thereafter, in 1787. The Dutch Patriots now went to extremes, while the Princess of Orange began a scheme for the restoration of the stadtholderate. By violating one of their orders she provoked the Patriots to arrest her and then secured the armed intervention of her brother Frederick William II, the new king of Prussia.¹⁸ The Dutch found that the Orange party had not only the support of Prussia but the favor of England and Sweden, while their old ally France, now controlled by new statesmen, was drifting helplessly toward revolution. The Dutch as usual disagreed as to methods of resistance, and in the latter part of 1787 the little Prussian army of 20,000 men made a triumphal procession thru the Netherlands and restored the stadtholder to his power.¹⁹ The whole thing was over in fourteen days and had cost the lives of not more than eight men.²⁰ The Dutch Patriots made humble submission and promised to behave in the future. They apparently had decided that it made little difference what kind of government that they had, as long as their commerce was not interfered with. There is no evidence that their commercial activities in any way slackened during these political changes. Vessels continued to come and go from the port of Amsterdam thruout the disturbances.²¹

Desire for real voice in the government and for real national independence were subordinate in Dutchmen's minds to the opportunity to trade. While the Dutch were at war with England, Joseph II of Austria seized the opportunity in 1781 of dismantling some of the barrier fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands which had been held by Dutch garrisons since 1713.²² The Dutch ignored this tearing up of an ancient

¹⁸ Davis, *op. cit.*, III, 523.

¹⁹ *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (3 vols., Washington, 1837), III, 594.

²⁰ Davies, *op. cit.*, III, 528-540.

²¹ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, January 18, 24; February 26, 1788.

²² C. Paganel, *Histoire de Joseph II, Empereur d'Allemagne* (Paris, 1843), 391.

treaty. A little later, in 1784, Joseph took steps toward reopening the Scheldt to navigation. The Dutch did not want to see Antwerp restored as a commercial rival of Amsterdam. Immediately they protested, pleaded, and argued. Joseph ordered one of his ships to sail to the mouth of the Scheldt, at the same time warning the Dutch that any interference would be considered as an act of war. But with all of this warning, the Dutch, conscious of what their act might bring, forcibly stopped the Austrian ship and prepared for war. Fortunately for the Dutch they did not have to fight this time, for Vergennes was still living then and was willing to take their side against Joseph, which was enough to make the latter consent to live up to the treaty of 1648, by which the river Scheldt had been closed to navigation.²³ The significance of all this is that the Dutch could bestir themselves when their commercial activity was threatened. Politically the period was anything but brilliant for the Netherlands. The government was slow, cumbersome, and inefficient. At best the central government was only a confederacy of the loosest kind. Local governments and traditions, however, were strong enough to preserve order. The central government did nothing to help industry and commerce, but it also did nothing to hamper it. Thus commerce so far as the Dutch government was concerned could practically follow the channels determined by economic law. As a result, the Dutch commerce after the war with England, 1781-1783, grew to unprecedented proportions. Mr. Eden stated that the exports of Holland, of foreign goods alone, after the war amounted to £18,000,000 annually.²⁴

It has sometimes been stated that the Dutch could not or would not give credit to American merchants as freely as did the English. The fact seems to be that during a part of this period the English could not give credit, as three-fourths of their London merchants were bankrupt in 1786, because of sending great quantities of goods and extending credit recklessly²⁵ to Americans, in their effort to win back the market.²⁶ The amount of exports from England to the United States for

²³ Paganel, *Histoire de Joseph II*, 400.

²⁴ Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794), 185.

²⁵ Lord Sheffield, *Observations on the Commerce of the United States* (London, 1784), 248.

²⁶ David Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce . . . of the British Empire and Other Countries* (4 vols., London, 1805), 18.

1786, 1787, and 1788 remained only one-half of what it had been in 1784,²⁷ while the exports from the Netherlands to the United States continued to increase.²⁸ After this, Americans were compelled for some time to send specie to England to get the goods. Vessels at the worst of this period returned from England in ballast because they could not get the goods without specie. The Dutch certainly had the capital to give the credit if they wanted to. There was in the Netherlands at that time an enormous amount of wealth.²⁹ Loans were being floated there by the English, Russian, Danish, French, and Spanish governments as well as by the American government. In the twelve years from 1781 to 1793 Dutch bankers floated loans of the American government to the value of 39,450,000 florins or \$15,780,000. Of this amount 16,000,000 florins were lent between 1781 and 1788. The French and Spanish governments had lent the government of the United States money during the Revolution from purely political reasons. The Dutch capitalists lent the American government money as a purely business investment at a time when our government was unable to borrow a single dollar in any other country.³⁰ By 1786 the Dutch investors deemed the future of the American government promising enough to buy up bonds to the value of 24,000,000 livres which the French government held from the United States.³¹ By 1788 the Dutch were speculating in the certificates of the American domestic debt,³² and by 1788 the credit of the American government was better in Holland than that of any other government. The liquidated debt of the American government was freely bought in Holland in 1792 during the re-establishment of American finances.³³ These activities were evidence that the Dutch were in a position to grant credit if they chose to. Furthermore their willingness to credit the American government is some evidence that they had faith in the solvency and soundness of the American people back of this government. The Dutch, however,

²⁷ Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States* (Hartford, 1816), 30.

²⁸ *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, September 29, 1786.

²⁹ Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, II, 111.

³⁰ Rafael A. Bayley, *The National Loans of the United States* from July 4, 1776, to June 30, 1880 (Washington, 1882), 16-31; *Journals of the American Congress, 1774 to 1788* (4 vols., Washington, 1823), IV, 78, 204.

³¹ *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, II, 8.

³² *Ibid.*, II, 147.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, 319, 326.

were shrewd men of business and may have exercised caution in individual cases and in particular localities,—with good reason. They, because of precautions, seem to have escaped some of the unpleasant experiences of the English creditors.

The Dutch did give credit. Contemporary correspondence indicates that reliable Americans could get all the goods they wanted from firms in Holland.³⁴ Firms in Holland also established branch houses or representatives in America.³⁵ These Dutch houses in America extended credit to their American patrons. Some went so far as to advertise in the newspapers that they would sell on credit. All of them would take in return for their commodities American goods which were then shipped to Holland. Then the Dutch had an advantage in this matter of credit resulting from the fact that they traded with those colonies which happened to be most prosperous and surest pay. The Dutch because of acquaintance with the habits and language of the people traded most with New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Pennsylvania and Maryland suffered as little from the Revolution as any of the colonies perhaps and emerged relatively prosperous. The economic life of the people was less disturbed and they had more means of paying. Naturally the morals of the thrifty money-maker prevailed there. Quakers and Germans might not see any harm in selling provisions to British and American quartermasters alternately during the Revolution as long as they were making money out of it, but they had greater hesitation about repudiating a debt than did some of the poor patriots of western Massachusetts in 1786. Contemporaneous writers agree as to this characteristic of the people with whom the Dutch were in the habit of trading.³⁶ This of course was greatly to the advantage of the Dutch.

Finally on the side of the Dutch among the conditions favoring trade with the United States must be mentioned their possession of islands in the West Indies, off the coast of South America, which furnished an excellent means of evading the restrictive legislation of some of the other countries who owned islands there. This gave the Americans an opportunity of trading with islands which would have otherwise

³⁴ S. House to Jefferson (Philadelphia), May 28, 1785, Jefferson's MSS.; Coxe, *A View of the United States of America*, 12.

³⁵ Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, V, 467.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 112.

been more difficult of access because of restrictive legislation.

Now on the side of the Americans there were certain conditions that favored trade between the United States and the Netherlands. America contained many people of Dutch and German descent. Perhaps a majority of the people of Pennsylvania were German and Dutch.³⁷ New York and Maryland had many. These people because of their language and customs were willing to enter into business relations with Dutch ship captains and with Dutch commercial agents. Furthermore, many of them were accustomed to the kinds of goods that came from or thru Holland. Before the war these people had continued to buy these continental goods, but the greater portion of course at that time had come thru English ports and in English ships. English authorities state that the goods that they carried from the Continent to America were nearly a million dollars less in value after the Revolution than before.³⁸ Someone else was carrying them after the war. The American people, accustomed to these goods before the war, did not lose their taste for them during the war. In fact, during the Revolution while the English traders were excluded from their ports, many Americans acquired tastes for continental goods who before had preferred English goods. The French no doubt supplied some of these goods, as, for instance, the wines which the Americans had learned to like in the place of the English wines and ales.³⁹ But the more staple goods came thru the Netherlands. On May 1, 1783, out of fifty ships in the port of Philadelphia, twenty-one were Dutch.⁴⁰ What these goods were and what the Americans had to send in return will be dealt with in other chapters.

In the second place, the Americans had a commercial treaty with the Dutch thruout this period under consideration. This treaty had been signed on October 8, 1782, and had in it the most favored nation clause and other liberal provisions. It was the second treaty entered into by the United States and the first one made from purely commercial motives.⁴¹ The

³⁷ Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, II, 112.

³⁸ Coxe, *A View of the United States of America*, 153; Nathaniel Atcheson (ed.), *Collection of Reports and Papers on the Navigation and Trade* (London, 1807), 66.

³⁹ *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, I, 284.

⁴⁰ *Boston Gazette*, June 4 and 9, 1783; *London Chronicle*, May 5, 1783.

⁴¹ William Henry Trescott, *The Diplomacy of the Revolution* (New York, 1852), 57,

Dutch government at once sent Van Berckel as minister,⁴² and also appointed consuls at all the important American ports.⁴³ Sweden in 1783, Prussia in 1785, and Morocco in 1786 were the only other powers that made treaties during this period.⁴⁴ The importance of the Dutch commercial treaty must not be overemphasized, as treaties and laws in those days did little to determine the course of trade. But the fact that Great Britain and Spain had refused to sign commercial treaties with the American Revolutionists and continued to refuse during the entire period under consideration in spite of the efforts of American negotiators, left an unfriendly feeling in the Americans. For some time after the Revolution it was not considered patriotic to buy from the British agents. Patriotic associations were formed to prevent Americans buying British goods.⁴⁵ Notices in newspapers summoned "Sons of Liberty" to attend to their country's commerce and to wait upon merchants selling British goods.⁴⁶ State governments passed laws discriminating against the ships of those countries which did not have commercial treaties with America, against their goods, and against goods brought in their ships. This of course struck chiefly at the British. In some states the legislatures singled out the British specifically.⁴⁷ The effect of all of this discriminatory legislation was certainly not in proportion to the amount of legislation since the laws were enforced only about as far as the public enforced them by common consent, as the states failed to coöperate. For this reason the details of this legislation have not been incorporated here. The Dutch did not need special favors thru legislation in order to hold their own in competition with other carriers. A contemporary writer in speaking of the export of South Carolina rice states that the Dutch would be glad to contract to carry ten times the amount of the crop at a lower cost than was then charged.⁴⁸

⁴² *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, III, 389.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, 419, 420, 422.

⁴⁴ William Henry Trescott, *The Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams* (Boston, 1857), 23; *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, III, 79.

⁴⁵ George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States* (12 vols., New York, 1882), I, 188; *Journals of the American Congress*, IV, 516.

⁴⁶ *Boston Gazette*, March 8, 1784.

⁴⁷ *Report of Privy Council*, 1791, Appendix A, xi, xvi; Atcheson (ed.), *Collection of Reports and Papers on the Navigation and Trade*, 55.

⁴⁸ Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, II, 292.

English papers were complaining in 1785 that the Dutch were driving the English out of the American market by underselling them in every article.⁴⁹ James McHenry, an American, also stated that the Dutch and German mercantile houses in America were underselling British agents.⁵⁰ The restrictive legislation, together with public opinion in places, the changed tastes as well as opportunities for buying non-British goods, and the bad financial condition of the British merchants interfered considerably with their trade. The committee of the Privy Council was unanimous in declaring that the American laws had injured their trade.⁵¹ But no doubt it was only one of a number of causes of this falling off. The British exports to this country fell off by one-half during 1786-1788, over 1784-1785.⁵² Many ships returned to London from America without even breaking packages.⁵³ Other cargoes of British goods sold in the United States at half their value in London while others had to be transshipped to the British West Indies.⁵⁴ Dutch and American carriers practically alone gained by this discrimination against the British.

Finally, if the hostile feelings of the people toward the British rather than the hostile laws checked British trade, the reverse was true of the Dutch trade. The Dutch had the goodwill of the American people to a greater degree than did any other people except perhaps the French. If the Americans did not frequently help the Dutch traders to evade what little restrictions the Americans had put upon Dutch trade by their legislation, they showed no great energy in enforcing the restrictive laws. For revenue purposes most of the states had placed tonnage duties on foreign ships entering their ports. This was usually lower for Dutch ships than that paid by British vessels but higher than that paid by American-owned ships. But the Dutch were permitted to find a way of entering as American owned-ships. American laws down to 1788

⁴⁹ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, February 5, 1785; August 2, 1786, quoting London dispatches.

⁵⁰ Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, V, 467.

⁵¹ Atcheson (ed.), *Collection of Reports and Papers on the Navigation and Trade*, Appendix A, ii, v.

⁵² Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States*, 30.

⁵³ *London Chronicle*, November 1, 1783; January 22, 1785; March 28 and April 12, 1786.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, July 10, 1784; September 30, 1784; May 17, 1785; Coxe, *A View of the United States of America*, 34.

permitted the crews of American ships to be foreign.⁵⁵ Now many of the large firms in Holland had branch houses in American cities. The Austrian ambassador gives the names of seven firms in Philadelphia that handled German goods. The names of the members of these firms all appear to be Dutch or German.⁵⁶ Under the laws of the American states these agents had the rights of citizens. When a ship left Rotterdam it perhaps belonged to C. Dutilh, a citizen of that city. When it reached Philadelphia it belonged to E. Dutilh, a citizen of that city.⁵⁷ On its way back across the sea it changed back to its original ownership. In the case of the Willinks, a company of bankers in Amsterdam, the procedure was even more generous. They had no American branch, but Adams decided that since they had lent the American government money they would be treated as citizens, altho they were barely citizens of the United States.⁵⁸ "American" vessels in the coasting trade did not have to enter formally or clear.⁵⁹ Neither did Dutch vessels from Dutch ports always bother much about "entering" at American ports. There was considerable smuggling of goods into the American states during this period thru even the large ports. That is, a considerable quantity of goods came into the country thru the large ports without paying the duty that would have been paid if the state laws had been enforced. There was not a revenue-cutter or searcher at any port. "Sylvius", a contemporary, writes in 1787 that on conservative estimate one-tenth of the total imports into Philadelphia were smuggled in.⁶⁰ Even the customs officers were lax and partial. "Sylvius" speaks of the contempt of customs house officers for their oaths "which, like the tenor of their wills, were not to be examined into till after their deaths". Smuggling was so prevalent that an association of merchants was formed to bring pressure to bear on customs officers to make them check smuggling. And Philadelphia

⁵⁵ *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, I, 469; *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, January 6, 1787.

⁵⁶ Baron De Beelen von Bertholff, *Die Berichte des Ersten Agenten Oesterreichs in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, edited by Dr. Hans Schlitter (Wein, 1891), XLV, part 2, in *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Second Series, 656.

⁵⁷ *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, III, 526, 527, 530.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 531.

⁵⁹ Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, V, 250.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 112.

was perhaps the best regulated of the large ports. In such waters the Dutch were well qualified to trade. And they no doubt took advantage of the opportunity that conditions in America afforded them. One interesting method of this smuggling is brought out in the letter of a European of that day writing home from America. In his letter he gives what he calls the "latest and approved method of smuggling practiced with much success". It follows:

Buy a large stout ship of any build (except Dutch). Take your cargo, man her with men and boys of different nationalities and steer boldly to the American port as New York, Philadelphia, or Charleston. She must have several captains so she can pass as any nationality and steer boldly for American port. Americans have neither laws nor power to punish smuggling. Mark that. Say you put in for provisions. If that won't do, say for repair and that you are bound for Lord knows where. While you go on with the repairing send your men on land to mingle with the people and let it be known that you have a few choice chests of tea or some silk or 20 or 30 pieces of Nankeen purchased for a special friend but that it must be disposed of very privately, etc., etc. Meanwhile the ship lies out in the middle of the stream and you dispose of your whole cargo.⁶¹

At this kind of performance the Dutch were past masters thru long experience. Altho from what has been said above, it appears that the Dutch did not always have to go to this much trouble in American ports. Many Dutch ships evaded both tonnage dues and duties on their cargoes by putting in at small ports and landing places.⁶² So much was this practiced that land along the seacoast and rivers in certain localities had an added value on account of the opportunity of buying Flemish and French goods at from 20 per cent to 50 per cent cheaper than elsewhere. Reputable men in advertising such land for sale did not hesitate to mention the opportunities for this kind of trade.⁶³ The Dutch commerce with Virginia and to the Chesapeake and the Delaware increased, and those regions furnished some of the best opportunities for that kind of smuggling. There is no doubt that Dutch and American ship captains took full advantage of these opportunities.

⁶¹ Beelen von Bertholff, *Berichte*, 675.

⁶² Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, VII, 144.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, V, 353.

KINDS OF GOODS SENT FROM THE NETHERLANDS TO THE UNITED STATES—MERCHANDISE AND SPECIE

The kinds of goods that the United States received from the Netherlands can be definitely indicated. These things consisted of merchandise, money, and human beings. Only the first of these will be considered in this paper. There are several ways of knowing what kinds of merchandise the United States imported from the Netherlands. First, there are the advertisements in the newspapers of that time which state that in a certain named vessel just arrived from Amsterdam or Rotterdam certain named articles were imported and were on sale at the time of the advertisement. For example, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of September 15, 1786, there appears this advertisement:

John Wilcocks just imported in the Pallas from Amsterdam Russia hemp, ticklenburghs, oznabrigs, dowlas, ravens duck, gin in cases and jugs, gunpowder in quarter casks.

In the *Massachusetts Centinel* for July 16, 1785, one finds:

Just arrived in the Brig Lady Maria from Amsterdam and to be sold by Leertouwer Hayman, iron in squares and flat boxes, Petersbourg hemp, reels of yarn, Russia duck, best Bohea and Hyson tea in whole or quarter casks, gin of superior quality in cases, calicoes and chintzes, cotton colored handkerchiefs, cotton stockings, Haerlam tapes, black and colored ribbons, black laces, fans, writing paper, cambrics and lawns, bedtick patterns, Bretagnes, dowlasses, nankeens, broadcloths, tub-steel.

The *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of April 1, 1788, gives:

Robert Gilmor and Co., imported in brig Glasgow, Capt. Kerr, from Amsterdam, Ticklenburghs of 4 qualities, German oznaburgs, German dowlas, German stripes and writing paper.

Now when a merchant would insert such an advertisement in his paper, giving the name of the very ship and captain and specifying that certain-named goods that he had for sale came in that ship from Amsterdam one can be pretty sure that the goods named came from the Netherlands.

There is another kind of advertisement that is about as useful for this purpose. These are the advertisements that do not name the captain or ship in which the goods were im-

ported, but simply name certain goods and state that they were recently imported from Holland. Of course such an advertisement may not be taken as final evidence that those particular goods in every case came from Holland. It might mean that Holland goods of those descriptions were popular with the advertising merchant's buyers and that he simply says that they were from Holland in order to make them sell. Yet there is one thing certain, and that is that even if those particular goods did not come from Holland, such kinds of goods as were named must, as a rule, have been imported from Holland. That is, the people of those days knew that certain kinds of goods were ordinarily imported from Holland. The merchant would not have advertised goods as coming from Holland that people knew were ordinarily of Spanish or Irish export.

A few such advertisements taken from the contemporary newspapers to illustrate the variety are here given. The *Pennsylvania Packet* for September 14, 1786, gives:

Daniel Tyson,—Fresh assortment of Dutch goods just from Amsterdam—Boulting clothes, woolens, Dutch calicoes, Brabant sheetings, writing paper, Flanders bed-ticken.

This advertisement is repeated in almost every issue of the paper for about a month. In the *Pennsylvania Packet* for August 22, 24, September 7, 12, 21, and 24, 1786, appears the following:

J. G. Koch imported from Amsterdam—Dry Goods, Nutmegs, Black peper in bales and bbls, gin in cases, Bordeaux claret, Batavia arack, boulting clothes;—constant supply kept.

In the *Pennsylvania Packet* for September 30, 1786, one finds the following:

Peter Cromwels, floriest and seedsman, from Haarlem in Holland a very large and elegant assortment of Bulbous flowers, fit for borders, pots and glasses. He also has garden seeds and flower glasses and pots.

In the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* for November 11, 1783, appears an advertisement:

from Amsterdam, cordage, Hollands, Russian and Ravens duck, Russian sheeting, ticklenburge, oznaburgs, Harlem bookeys, silesia linen, calico, chintz, checks, stripes, Barcelona handkerchiefs, writing paper, mens hats, broad-cloth, cassimers, blankets, velvets, ruffels, moreens, German steel, window glass, gin in cases, table and tea China, Hyson tea.

In the same paper for October 7, 1783:

Imported from Rotterdam by Balck, Burger, Schouten; Delfware, glass ware, lead, white lead, cordage, sail duck, ironmongery, frying-pans, gridirons, iron pots, gin, Rhenish wine, bedticken, silks, silk stockings, writing paper, teas, gunpowder.

In the same paper for March 28, 1788:

Imported in late vessels from Holland and for sale at moderate prices by Adrian Valck, German steel in faggots and cags, cutting-knives of superior quality, sithes, Milander whetstones, vinegar in tierces, Pearl barley in bags of 30 lbs., Cologne millstones of convenient size, also gunpowder in quarter casks, gunflints, nails and spikes, gin in cases and quart bottles, Bohea tea, Hyson-skin tea, ticklenburgs, Oznaburgs, Hessians, Brittanias, and other German linnens, ravens-duck, Russia and Hollands duck, cordage, bunting, fine and second broadcloth, bedticks, checks, sundry other drygoods. Securities of United States and adjacent states taken as payment.

This is repeated on April 11 and several times thereafter. In the same paper for April 11, 1788:

F. Delaporte has imported from Holland, oznaburgs, Russia sheeting, nutmegs, cloves, mace, cinamon, black peper. Sold for tobacco, rice, wax, or country produce.

Another advertisement in the same issue enumerates:

ticklenburgs, German oznaburgs, German dowlas, German stripes and writing paper.

Another advertisement repeats the goods of Adrian Volck already enumerated above. Not one advertisement in this issue claims that any of its goods have come from London or England.

As has been said before, goods from Holland seem to have been popular in some localities. When merchants were particular to specify in their advertisements that certain-named goods had just been imported in a certain-named ship from Holland, one may infer that their customers preferred that kind of goods. Or again if merchants were particular to use certain trade names like Holland duck, English or Sheffield iron, they must have done it for a purpose. At first in the *Boston Gazette* almost all goods at Boston were called "English goods" or the paper stated that they were imported in latest ships "from London". The words "English goods" or "from London" occurred at the head of almost every advertisement in the Massachusetts papers.

There was much bitter writing in the *Massachusetts Centinel*, *Boston Gazette*, and *Salem Gazette* against English goods

and the American habit of buying them. It seems that a certain contributor was trying in vain to stir up sentiment against buying English goods. For instance in the *Boston Gazette* appeared a notice like this:

Sons of Liberty, to your country's commerce. John Adams sells garden seeds imported from London.⁶⁴

Other notices called the Sons of Liberty to visit ships taking money to England in return for goods. But it seems that these kinds of attempts had little effect. The advertisements continued to be almost entirely of "English goods" and "from London". Of course this might indicate that English merchants were dumping goods into this country and that their agents were trying to win back their old trade by advertisements. But other evidences lead one to believe that the New Englanders were buying British goods. Advertisements made much of Irish linen and duck. Advertisements of French goods were about as numerous in Massachusetts as advertisements of Dutch goods. The French goods included such things as: "anchovies, olives, window-glasses, silk thread, silk handkerchiefs, silk cloth and modes".⁶⁵ By the end of 1785, the New England papers were making far less of "English goods". The total export of Great Britain to the United States had fallen off in that year and there seems to have been a lag in the selling of British goods in America and these advertisements may reflect this.⁶⁶

In the Philadelphia papers, Dutch goods were advertised in 1783 and continued thruout to hold a considerable place. Perhaps one-half or one-third of all advertisements were of Dutch goods. In the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, Dutch goods practically monopolized the advertising space by the end of this period. Many issues of this paper contained as many as three advertisements of goods specified as coming in certain ships direct from Holland, with not a single advertisement of English goods.

⁶⁴ *Boston Gazette*, March 8, 1784.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1784.

⁶⁶ The value of the exports in pounds sterling from England to the United States, 1784-1789, was as follows:

1784	.....	3,648,007	1787	.....	2,014,111
1785	.....	2,308,021	1788	.....	1,885,142
1786	.....	1,603,465	1789	.....	2,525,298

Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, IV, 40, 68, 99, 120, 137, 182, 198; Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, IX, 125.

As stated above, another indication of the relative popularity of goods imported from certain countries is the frequency of the use of certain trade names. For example, whenever one finds salt or hides advertised, they are usually spoken of as Spanish salt and Spanish hides. Why was this? It is certain that not all hides and salt were Spanish, for the United States produced some hides,⁶⁷ and imported considerable salt from St. Martins and from Turks Island.⁶⁸ But Spanish hides and Spanish salt must have borne a good name among American purchasers. When goods were advertised by the name by which they were known to the customers they commended themselves to the purchasers. What has been said of Spanish hides might be said of English or Sheffield steel, or Holland gin, or Irish linen.

Now in looking over the newspapers one soon discovers the surpassing frequency with which goods were branded as Dutch, Holland, German, and Russian. Goods called Dutch, Holland, German, Swedish, and Russian as well as goods named after various Dutch, German, and Russian towns came very largely thru the Netherlands to the United States. England also brought goods of this description but in much smaller quantities than before the war. In the Pennsylvania and Maryland papers, at least, these trade names were used as prefixes to the names of goods more often than that of any other national designation. With the exception of Bordeaux wines, French trade names almost never occurred in the middle states. One frequently reads of Barcelona handkerchiefs as well as Spanish salt and hides and quicksilver. Irish linen and servants, and English dry goods and iron were advertised. The English trade names occurred for the most part in the Massachusetts papers. Now contrast with the above, the following list of names which have been copied exactly as they occurred in the newspapers and most of them occurred in this form over and over again, some of them hundreds of times:

Brown Hollands; Russian Duck, Dutch cord, etc.⁶⁹ Haerlem tapes threads and laces; Russia and English duck; Holland Brown, Dutch Cordage, Holland ravens duck.⁷⁰ Fine Holland and Flanders linen, best

⁶⁷ Coxe, *A View of the United States of America*, 122.

⁶⁸ The customs records of St. Martins examined by the present writer show that many American vessels cleared from that island for the United States with salt.

⁶⁹ *Massachusetts Centinel*, May 21, 1785; August 4, 1787.

⁷⁰ *Boston Gazette*, March 1, 1784; May 10, 1784.

Dutch cordage, German steel, Best Holland Geneva in cases of 12 bottles, best Dutch sealing wax; Swedish bar iron, Holland Gin in cases; Dutch lace; Best Holland gunpowder and shot of all numbers; Flanders and Holland sheeting, Holland linen, Holland duck.⁷¹ Fine Holland dry goods and linen; Dutch writing and Post-paper from Holland.⁷² German dowlas and German sithes; Dutch powder, Spanish hides, etc.⁷³

Even in the advertisements in which the merchants specifically stated that the goods came from the Netherlands in certain-named ships, these trade names were used. Following is a list taken from such advertisements:

Petersbourg Hemp, Russia Duck, Haerlem tapes,⁷⁴ Russia hemp.⁷⁵ German oznaburgs, German dowlas, German stripes and writing paper.⁷⁶ Dutch goods, Dutch calicoes, Braband sheeting, Flanders bed-ticken.⁷⁷ Batavia Arack.⁷⁸ Russia and Ravens duck, Russia sheeting, Harlem bookeys, Silesia linen, German steel.⁷⁹ Delf ware, Rhenish wine.⁸⁰ German steel, Hessians, Russia, and Holland Duck.⁸¹ Russia bedlinen, brown Holland, German dowlas.⁸²

Most of these names are repeated in the papers a good many times. As a rule only one reference has here been given.

Other sources for determining the kinds of goods imported into the United States from the Netherlands are the contemporary writers. McHenry in the *American Museum or Repository* gives such a list.⁸³ He says:

Under articles which American import cheaper from the Netherlands than England are those articles that we can import directly from Northern Europe: Superfine broadcloth made at Leyden, kerseymers or caseymers, fabrics of coarse woolen, Russia sheeting, brown and white; drillings or drabs, brown white or colored; ravensduck, ticklenburgs, oznaburgs, flaxen and hempen; dowlases and creas, huckabacks and diapers, toweling (plain narrow linen), hessians and brown rolls; Silesia linens and Hollands, brown and white; long lawns cambricks and lawns, back hollands, tandem filefias, demask and diaper table cloths and napkins, trolly lace, thread lace and edging, fine and course; Dutch,

⁷¹ *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, August 5, 11, 12, 18, 19, 29; September 2, 18, 19; October 9, 1786.

⁷² *Columbian Herald*, August 7, 10, 14, 21, 1786.

⁷³ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, March 7, April 15, 1788.

⁷⁴ *Massachusetts Centinel*, July 16, 1785.

⁷⁵ *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, September 15 and 20, 1786.

⁷⁶ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, April, 1788.

⁷⁷ *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, September 14, 16, 21, 26, 1786.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, September 12, 14, 21, 26, 1786.

⁷⁹ *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, November 11, 1783.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, October 7, 1783.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1788.

⁸² *Lancaster Zeitung*, October 3, 1787.

⁸³ Carey, *American Museum or Repository*, V, 551. The articles which are here given are practically identical with those found in the advertisements.

Dresden or beggars lace, cap and apron string tapes, plain and twisted Flander bedticken, Haerlem stripes, writing paper and quills, sealing wax and wafers, toys for children; copper in sheets, wire, iron and brass of all sorts, Dutch scythes and knives, German steel, gunpowder, drugs from Holland; painters' colors, Geneva, Arrack, Wines, Rhenish and Cordage; untarred yarns, packing, sewing and seine twine and fishing lines, bolting cloths, tobacco pipes, dressed hog skins, Leghorn or straw and chip hats; black and white peper, nutmegs, mace, cloves and cinnamon, hyson, fouchy, cosgo, green and bohea teas; muslins, plain stripes checked and wrought; nankeens plain and worked, dimothy and Dutch cord; china ware from East India, Dresden bandano, china silk.

In another place Coxe speaks of the large demand for German schoolbooks in the United States and adds that these are imported from Holland and the Hansa towns.⁸⁴

Pitkin also gives a list of imports into the United States from the Netherlands as follows:

Woolen, linen and other goods paying duty according to value, spirits from grain, nails, spikes, lead and manufactures of lead, paints, steel, cheese, glass, anchors, shot, slit and hoop iron.⁸⁵

A final source of information are the records preserved at the Hague and fully described in another chapter. Lists of goods furnished by this source confirm the statements in the earlier part of this chapter. Unfortunately quantities and values are not given. One vessel from Amsterdam for New York carried pepper, tea, linen, sail duck, paper, jugs, cellar geneva, Delft ware and "merchandise". A vessel from Amsterdam to Charleston carried "plows, pans, baskets, jugs, wooden shoes, wine, cellar geneva" and "merchandise".

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 178.

⁸⁵ Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States*, 204.

III

KINDS OF GOODS EXPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE NETHERLANDS—AND QUALITY OF THE SAME

The character and kind of goods sent from America to the Netherlands have been ascertained from an examination of lists furnished by Mr. H. T. Colenbrander, director of the Bureau of Historical Publications at the Hague. These lists were copied from written court records preserved in the Amsterdam Archives. Unfortunately these lists do not contain an inventory of the cargoes of all the ships that went from the United States to the Netherlands. The cargoes of only those ships are listed that were wrecked or damaged at a certain point at the entrance to the harbor where navigation was then hazardous. The owners of such ships and cargoes applied for insurance or damage to the insurance companies, and the cases were investigated by the municipal bureau of naval insurance of the city of Amsterdam. In such investigations complete lists of the different kinds of goods in each cargo were made out. It is these semiofficial lists that have been preserved in the Amsterdam Archives. These records show that in 1786 the cargoes of eight large ships from America for Amsterdam were the subject of adjustment. Of these eight ships, three came from Charleston, three from Philadelphia, and two from New York. The bulk of these cargoes consisted of tobacco and rice. Besides these there were considerable quantities of furs, hides, and turpentine and smaller quantities of potash, indigo, cotton, linen, iron, copper, rye, wax, sassafras, colors, and merchandise. There were also some small quantities of goods of foreign production re-exported from America such as cocoa, ginger, mahogany, guaiacum, campechie wood, redwood, and brazil wood.⁸⁶ This list agrees entirely with the list of exports from the United States to the Netherlands as given by Timothy Pitkin.⁸⁷ All of the vessels from Charleston, of course, brought rice, while all of those from Philadelphia brought tobacco as the bulk of their cargoes. But rice also came in the ships from Phila-

⁸⁶ *Amsterdam Archives*, No. 96 (Transcript, 16).

⁸⁷ Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States*, 204.

delphia, and tobacco came from New York in small quantities.⁸⁸ Since the cargoes which were passed upon by the bureau of insurance were only a small part of the total number of cargoes coming in from America, they give little clue as to the total quantity and value of imports from America into the Netherlands.

The *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* kept records of the number of ships entering from America but not of their cargoes. The shipping will be dealt with in a later chapter. A contemporaneous writer upon commercial affairs, C. Van der Oudermeulen, states that in 1785 the cargoes of the 52 ships from America to Amsterdam and the 13 ships to Rotterdam were valued at 2,225,000 Dutch florins, or a trifle less than \$1,000,000. Of this, he estimated, that four-fifths or 1,800,000 florins was the value of the cargoes entered at Amsterdam, and 450,000 florins, the value of the cargoes at Rotterdam. The cargoes at Amsterdam consisted of 5,000 casks of tobacco, 12,000 casks of rice, besides staves, wood, turpentine, and linseed. The 5,000 casks of tobacco sold at 100 florins per cask and the 12,000 casks of rice at 50 florins per cask. Thus the tobacco would account for 500,000 florins and the rice for 600,000 florins or a total of 1,100,000 florins out of 1,800,000 florins, the total value of the imports at Amsterdam from America. This would leave 700,000 as the value of the staves, wood, turpentine, linseed, and other commodities. In other words, tobacco made up one-third the total value of imports of the Netherlands from the United States; rice another third of the value; while the other third was distributed among a number of commodities such as wood, naval-stores, fur, hides, etc.

Oudermeulen does not bring his statistics beyond 1785, but from other evidence cited above, one would infer that this same proportion between tobacco, rice, and other commodities was maintained in the years following. The total shipping from America to the Netherlands had, however, gradually risen by 1788 to five times the amount of shipping in 1785. If one assumes that the quantity and value of cargoes imported from America to the Netherlands was five times as much in 1788 as in 1785, one must conclude that the total value of annual imports toward the end of this period had risen to more than 11,000,000 florins or about \$4,500,000.

⁸⁸ *Amsterdam Archives*, No. 96.

The quantity of tobacco imported from America into Amsterdam would be 25,000 casks annually or 2,500,000 florins worth, while the quantity of rice so imported annually would amount to 60,000 casks, valued at 3,000,000 florins.

Before leaving the matter, it might be of service to compare this with the value of the total annual exports from the United States to England. The exports from the United States to England in 1785 were valued at £893,594⁸⁹ sterling or \$4,333,000 as contrasted with \$1,000,000 value to the Netherlands. By 1788 the value of the exports from the United States to England had risen to only £1,023,789 sterling⁹⁰ or a little less than \$5,000,000, while the exports from the United States to the Netherlands had risen to more than \$4,000,000. It appears that the export of the 12,000 casks of rice to Amsterdam in 1785 was a part of a total of 59,000 tierces exported from the United States in the first years after the war.⁹¹ That is, Holland received a little better than one-fifth the total export of American rice. Before the Revolution and in 1792, the total export of rice was 142,000⁹² and 141,000 tierces⁹³ respectively. The 5,000 casks of tobacco exported from the United States to Amsterdam in 1785 was a part of a total export of about 36,200 casks to all Europe, or about one-seventh of the total and about one-sixth of that to England.⁹⁴ By 1787 and 1788 the proportion going to Holland had considerably increased, and the total export must have nearly doubled since the export of tobacco reached 101,350 casks by 1791. It should be noted in conclusion that the quantity and value of exports from the United States to the Netherlands was somewhat larger than the exports from the Netherlands to the United States during this period.⁹⁵ Very little of a statistical character is known concerning the quantity or value of the latter, since no records were kept at American ports of goods entering. But there are general state-

⁸⁹ Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States*, 30.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁹¹ John Drayton, *A View of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1802), 166.

⁹² David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina, from its First Settlement in 1670, to the Year 1808* (2 vols., Charleston, 1809), II, 205.

⁹³ Coxe, *A View of the United States of America*, 417.

⁹⁴ William Tatham, *An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco* (London, 1800), 304.

⁹⁵ Coxe, *op. cit.*, 409; Pitkin, *op. cit.*, 108.

ments that the carriers could find more cargo from the United States to the Netherlands than vice versa. The general statement then that American imports from the Netherlands were somewhat below the exports to the same country must here suffice. Since the exports to the Netherlands have been ascertained for some years and estimated for others, one must fix upon a slightly lower figure, than these, for the imports, and be satisfied with that result.

IV

SHIPPING BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE NETHERLANDS

When it comes to the question of the quantity or the total annual value of the goods imported by the United States from the Netherlands the statistics are incomplete. Both the United Netherlands and the United States were such loose confederations, with such weak central governments, that there was no machinery for collecting and preserving information concerning the amount and value of the commerce of either nation. In both countries customs officers of certain ports kept records. These records, were, however, kept in different ways, and no attempt was made to bring the scattered and widely separated data together. The *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, as the first part of its name indicates, was considerably concerned with commerce and shipping news. It received and published lists of vessels entered and cleared at all the principal ports in the United States. In these lists were indicated the name of each ship entered or cleared, the name of its captain, and the name of the port from which it had entered or for which it had cleared. Apparently the paper's returns for the port of Philadelphia were more accurate and exhaustive than for some of the other ports. Its reports of entrances are fuller than of clearances. Evidently, its readers were more interested in the report of incoming vessels than of outgoing ones. Probably this was because merchants wanted to know something of the arrivals of vessels in order to be able to buy newly imported goods. Curiously enough, however, nothing is ever said of what goods the cargoes were composed or how much they carried. Only in the advertisements of the merchants does one ever get any hint as to this. And then there is nothing to indicate quantity. The arrivals from and departures for Rotterdam and Amsterdam at each of the American ports as reported in the *Pennsylvania Packet* have been tabulated, and the results for each year have been collected in the form indicated below, which is the result for 1788:

TABLE I.—TABULATION FOR 1788⁹⁶

Number	Rotterdam		Amsterdam	
	Entering	Clearing	Entering	Clearing
1. Charleston.....	2	.....	5	1
2. Virginia.....	1	1	1	1
3. Philadelphia.....	1	.....	8	5
4. Maryland.....	2	3	6	6
5. New York.....	.....	.....	6	1
6. New England.....	.....	.....	5	2
7. Savannah.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Total.....	6	4	32	16

In explanation, it may be stated that the words “entering” and “clearing” refer to the American ports. Thus the first horizontal row of figures indicates two vessels entering Charleston from Rotterdam, no vessels clearing Charleston for Rotterdam, five vessels entering Charleston from Amsterdam. It might also be pointed out that the grouping of American ports was done intentionally by the writer. That is, since all ships coming to Pennsylvania entered Philadelphia, the port instead of the state was named. In the case of New England nearly all vessels entered Boston, but a few entered at other ports. When the yearly tabulations above illustrated and referred to are so arranged as to indicate the arrivals and clearances each year at Rotterdam to and from the different American ports, the result will be as is shown below:

⁹⁶ Tabulation made from ship notices in the *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*.

TABLE II.—ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF VESSELS AT ROTTERDAM FROM AND TO DIFFERENT AMERICAN PORTS AND REGIONS⁹⁷

	New England	New York	Phila- delphia	Mary- land	Vir- ginia	Char- leston	Total per Yr.		
1783—Ent. Clear				1 1			1 1	Ent. Clear	2 83
1784—Ent. Clear									84
1785—Ent. Clear									85
1786—Ent. Clear				1	1		3	Ent. Clear	3 86
1787—Ent. Clear			1 1	1 3	2 1		1 4	Ent. Clear	5 87
1788—Ent. Clear			1 1	3 2	1 1		4 6	Ent. Clear	10 88
1789—Ent. Clear			1 3	2 3	2 3	2 1	5 10	Ent. Clear	15 89
Total per city—Ent. Clear			2 6	6 8	3 7		11 24	Ent. Clear	35
Total			8	14	10	3	35		

⁹⁷ Compiled from ship notices in the *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*.

In explanation it should be stated that the words "Ent" and "Clear" refer to entrance and clearance for Rotterdam. Thus in 1783 there was one vessel entering Rotterdam from Maryland and one vessel clearing Rotterdam for Maryland. Of course, it must be remembered that the above are not the actual number of arrivals and departures, but only those that the *Pennsylvania Packet* recorded. One would, however, be safe in assuming that the newspapers would report about the same percentage of the total actual arrivals from Rotterdam as from Amsterdam. In comparing the entrances and clearances for Rotterdam as listed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* with those for Amsterdam, one can get an accurate estimate of the ratio of the commerce with America that existed between these two Dutch cities. For this purpose a tabulation of arrivals and departures of vessels at Amsterdam has been prepared in the same way in which the one for Rotterdam was made up and this table follows:

TABLE III.—ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF VESSELS AT AMSTERDAM FROM AND TO AMERICAN PORTS⁹⁸

	New England	New York	Phila- delphia	Mary- land	Vir- ginia	Char- leston	Total per Yr.		
1783—Ent.....	1	.....	2	1	.....	.....	4	Ent....	19
Clear.....	2	1	7	4	.....	1	15	Clear....	8
1784—Ent.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	3	Ent....	84
Clear.....	1	1	2	1	.....	.....	5	Clear....	.....
1785—Ent.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	3	Ent....	11
Clear.....	.....	1	5	1	.....	1	8	Clear....	85
1786—Ent.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	1	3	Ent....	18
Clear.....	4	3	3	2	.....	3	15	Clear....	86
1787—Ent.....	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	3	Ent....	33
Clear.....	2	6	13	4	.....	5	30	Clear....	87
1788—Ent.....	2	1	5	6	1	1	16	Ent....	48
Clear.....	5	6	8	6	1	6	32	Clear....	88
1789—Ent.....	1	1	4	5	2	2	15	Ent....	62
Clear.....	4	9	16	8	2	8	47	Clear....	89
Total per city—Ent.....	6	3	18	12	4	4	47	Ent....	199
Clear.....	18	27	54	26	3	24	152	Clear....	.....
Total.....	24	30	72	38	7	28	199	.....	.....

⁹⁸ Tabulations compiled from the ship notices in the *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*.

In the foregoing table the words "Ent" and "Clear" refer to entrances and clearances at Amsterdam from American ports. Thus in 1783 there entered one vessel at Amsterdam from New England and four vessels cleared from Amsterdam for New England, etc. If now the total entrances per year at Amsterdam from America from the preceding table be set by the side of the total entrances per year at Rotterdam from America and the same be done for the clearances at the same places, one is enabled to ascertain the ratio that existed between the number of ships from Amsterdam to the number of ships from Rotterdam that came to America. Likewise one will ascertain the ratio between the number of ships that entered at Amsterdam to the number of ships that entered at Rotterdam from America. The result will appear as follows:

TABLE IV—COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF SHIPS AT AMSTERDAM AND ROTTERDAM

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total
Entrances at Rotterdam from America	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4	5	11
Entrances at Amsterdam from America	4	3	3	3	3	16	15	47
Ratio between Rotterdam and Amsterdam	$\frac{1}{4}$	.....	.....	.....	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{4}$ average
Clearances Rotterdam from America	1	.....	.....	3	4	6	10	24
Clearances Amsterdam from America	15	5	8	15	30	32	47	152
Ratio between Rotterdam and Amsterdam	$\frac{1}{15}$	.....	.....	$\frac{3}{15}$	$\frac{1}{7}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{5}$	$\frac{1}{6}$ average

It appears from the foregoing results that Amsterdam received from America between three and four times the number of vessels that Rotterdam did, and that Amsterdam sent between five and seven times as many vessels to American ports as did Rotterdam. It will be observed that the ratio varies but slightly from year to year. It will be remembered that the figures upon which this ratio is based are not figures representing the actual number of ships between the United States and the Dutch ports but only those which the *Pennsylvania Packet* happened to record. This paper did not report all arrivals and departures, but it would in the course of a year fail to report the same percentage of arrivals from one

foreign port as from another. So with that as a clue to the ratio of commerce with foreign ports of the same country, it must be considered as reliable.

Now it so happens that while the Dutch records, so far, have not revealed the actual number of ships between the United States and Amsterdam, they do give the actual entrances at Rotterdam or the Maas from various ports of the United States and the clearances from Rotterdam for the same ports. These statistics appear below:

TABLE V—THE ACTUAL NUMBER OF ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES AT ROTTERDAM FROM AND TO AMERICAN PORTS⁹⁹

	New England	New York	Phila- delphia	Mary- land	Vir- ginia	Char- leston	America	Total per Year	Total ships per Year
1783—Ent.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	3	17
Clear.....	1	.....	3	6	.....	4	.....	14	.....
1784—Ent.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	7	1	13	22
Clear.....	.....	.....	.....	8	2	1	.....	9	.....
1785—Ent.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4	.....	1	9	12
Clear.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	1	.....	3	.....
1786—Ent.....	1	.....	.....	5	3	4	1	14	20
Clear.....	.....	.....	1	2	3	.....	.....	6	.....
1787—Ent.....	.....	.....	.....	5	7	1	3	16	25
Clear.....	.....	.....	2	2	3	.....	2	9	.....
1788—Ent.....	2	.....	.....	13	19	5	6	45	68
Clear.....	2	3	2	4	6	1	5	23	.....
1789—Ent.....	5	1	.....	12	22	4	2	46	93
Clear.....	3	1	.....	4	14	.....	15	37	.....
Total entries per city.....	8	1	.....	43	57	23	14	156	247
Total clearances per city.....	6	4	8	28	26	7	22	101	.....

⁹⁹ *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* (1788), 2206-2208; (1784), 1995-1997; (1785), 1759-1760; (1786), 1681-1685; (1787), 6169-6172; (1788), 1951, 1952; (1789), 2084-2086.

Now if one multiply the figures for the actual entrances and clearances at Rotterdam by the ratios existing between Rotterdam's entrances and clearances and those of Amsterdam, one arrives at the actual entrances and clearances for Amsterdam. That calculation appears below:

TABLE VI

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total
Total actual entrances at Rotterdam per year from America.....	3	13	9	14	16	45	46	156
Ratio between Rotterdam and Amsterdam.....	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	
Total actual entrances at Amsterdam per year from America.....	12	52	36	56	64	135	138	
Total actual clearances from Rotterdam per year for America.....	14	9 av.	3 av.	6	9	23	37	101
Ratio between clearances.....	15	6	6	5	7	5	5	
Total actual clearances from Amsterdam per year for America.....	210	54	18	30	63	115	185	

There are several means of at least partially checking up the above results. C. Van der Oudermeulen states that the arrivals in 1784 at Amsterdam from America were 52, which happens to correspond absolutely with the result above.¹⁰⁰ The *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* happens to give the complete list of arrivals for the one year of 1784 from America. These arrivals at Amsterdam for 1784 are as follows: from Baltimore, 3; Charleston, 18; New York, 1; Boston, 3; Philadelphia, 11; Virginia, 13; and South Carolina, 3; making a total of 52.¹⁰¹ The *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* also gives for 1783 arrivals at Amsterdam from only those ports sending as many as 10 vessels. In this list is found Baltimore with 12 vessels and Philadelphia with 10, making 22 for these two American ports.¹⁰² How many more came from American ports that sent less than 10, one cannot guess. By

¹⁰⁰ C. Van der Oudermeulen, *Recherches sur le Commerce* (4 vols., Amsterdam, 1778-1784), IV, 24.

¹⁰¹ *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken* (1784), 1998-2000.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* (1783), 2209.

the calculation on the preceding page Amsterdam was given only 12 arrivals from America in 1783.

There is still another means of checking the results of the calculation relating to Amsterdam. It has already been stated that the actual number of entrances and clearances each year for Rotterdam are known and have been given above. It has also been seen that the *Pennsylvania Packet* reported a certain number of these each year. These have already been given above. If these two sets of figures, the one indicating actual arrivals and departures at Rotterdam from and to America and the other giving the *Pennsylvania Packet* returns for the same place, be set in parallel columns or lines, one will be able to determine what proportion of the actual entrances and clearances the *Pennsylvania Packet* recorded. These two returns appear below:

TABLE VII—COMPARISON OF PENNSYLVANIA RETURNS WITH ACTUAL ENTRANCES AND CLEARANCES AT ROTTERDAM FROM AND TO AMERICA

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total
Entrances at Rotterdam from American ports—								
Packet return	1	.....	.....	.....	1	4	5	11
Actual return	3	13	9	14	16	45	46	146
Ratio	3	13	9	14	16	11	11	14
Clearances at Rotterdam to American ports—								
Packet return	1	.....	.....	3	4	6	10	24
Actual return	14	9	3	6	9	23	37	101
Ratio	14	9	3	2	2	4	4	4

From the above it appears that the actual entrances at Rotterdam from American ports were from nine to sixteen times as great as the *Pennsylvania Packet* returns would indicate, while the clearances from Rotterdam for American ports (or entrances at American ports from Rotterdam) were from two to five times as large as the *Packet* returns indicated. If now one multiply the *Packet's* returns for the entrances at Amsterdam from America by the proper ratio and the returns for clearances from Amsterdam for America by its ratio, one will arrive at a fair estimate of the actual entrances and clearances per year at Amsterdam from and for American ports. Such a calculation appears below:

TABLE VIII—ENTRANCES AND CLEARANCES AT AMSTERDAM FROM AND TO AMERICAN PORTS

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total
Pennsylvania Packet Returns—								
Entrances	4	3	3	3	3	16	15	47
Ratios	4	13	9	14	16	11	11	14 av.
Actual Entrances	12	39	27	42	48	176	165	658 av.
Pennsylvania Packet Returns—								
Clearances	15	5	8	15	30	32	47	152
Ratios	14	9	3	2	2	4	4	4
Actual Clearances	210	45	24	30	60	128	188	608

By this method of calculation one arrives at approximately the same results for the entrances and clearances at Amsterdam from and for America that was reached by the other method.

If the results from the two methods be set side by side and an average taken, the calculation will appear as follows:

TABLE IX

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total for 7 Years
Actual Entrances at Amsterdam from America—								
1st Method	12	52	36	56	64	135	138	626
2d Method	12	39	27	42	48	176	165	658
Average	12	46	32	49	56	155	151	641
Actual Clearances at Amsterdam for America—								
1st Method	210	54	18	30	63	115	185	606
2d Method	210	45	24	30	60	128	188	608
Average	210	50	21	30	62	122	187	607

If now the actual entrances and clearances for Amsterdam and Rotterdam be brought together the calculation will appear as follows:

TABLE X

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total of average
At Amsterdam.....	12	46	39	49	56	151	155	641
At Rotterdam.....	3	13	9	14	16	45	46	156
Total Entrances from America for Netherlands.....	15	60	48	63	72	196	201	797

TABLE XI—ACTUAL CLEARANCES FROM AMSTERDAM AND ROTTERDAM FOR
AMERICAN PORTS

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789	Total of average
From Amsterdam.....	210	50	25	30	62	122	187	607
From Rotterdam.....	14	9	3	6	9	23	37	101
Total Clearances from Netherlands for America.....	224	59	21	36	71	145	224	708

In explanation of the above it might be well to call attention to the fact that the above figures indicate only the number of vessels that plied each year directly between ports of the United States and the Netherlands. There were, of course, also vessels that began their voyage at a Dutch port and received part of their cargo there, but touched at a British port and unloaded a part of their cargo and then continued their voyage to an American port. The same would be true of the return voyage from America to Europe. Of course, British laws still forbade Dutch ships carrying British goods from Great Britain to the United States or American goods from the United States to Great Britain. A British ship or American ship on its way from Holland to America could stop in at an English port and augment its cargo with British goods. A Dutch ship returning home from America might stop at a British port and take on British goods for a Dutch port. British and American vessels on their way to Holland from the United States might touch at a British port, unload a part of their cargo, and then proceed to the Netherlands. The British ship might even unload a part of the goods from America, take on British goods in the place of the discharged American goods, and proceed on her way to a Dutch port.

But none of these vessels, either Dutch or American or British, which touched at a British port on their way between the United States and the United Netherlands are included in the above statistics. The *Pennsylvania Packet* and the *Nieuwe Nederlandsche Jaarboeken*, the two sources upon which the calculations in this chapter have been based, refer to ships as entering from the port at which they last touched and as clearing for the port at which they next expected to touch. What additions would have to be made to the above figures representing the number of ships sailing directly between the United States and the Netherlands in order to make those figures represent the total number of ships required to carry all the goods that passed between the United States and the United Netherlands would have to be largely a guess.

To get a clear idea of the relative importance of the commerce between the United States and the United Netherlands it might be well to compare the shipping between those two countries with the shipping between the United States and Great Britain during the same period. The *Papers on Navigation and Trade* state that for the three years, 1787-1789, the average number of American vessels annually entering Great Britain from the United States was 169 and the average number of British vessels so entering annually was 251, making a total of 420 British and American vessels per annum entering British ports from the United States. The same papers give the number of American vessels clearing out from British ports for America as 157 per year and the number of British vessels so clearing as 272, making a total of 429 British and American vessels clearing each year from British ports for the United States during 1787-1789.¹⁰³ These statistics were furnished after an exhaustive investigation by the Lords of Trade and must be considered as entirely reliable. Macpherson gives the number of vessels entering Great Britain from America in the one year of 1789 as 448 and the number of vessels clearing from Great Britain for the United States in that year as 532.¹⁰⁴ These totals for the year 1789 as given by Macpherson are a trifle larger than the average for the years 1787-1789 as given by the *Papers on Navigation and Trade*, indicating that the number of ships plying between

¹⁰³ Atcheson (ed.), *Collection of Reports and Papers on the Navigation and Trade*, 72.

¹⁰⁴ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce . . . of the British Empire and Other Countries*, IV, 198.

the United States and Great Britain during those three years was increasing.

If now these statistics for the vessels between the United States and Great Britain be set beside those giving the vessels between the United States and the Netherlands, comparison can be made.

TABLE XII

	1787	1788	1789	Average
Total number of all vessels entering the Netherlands directly from the United States.....	72	196	201	173
Total average number of British and American vessels entering ports of Great Britain directly from the United States ¹⁰⁶	420	420	420	420
or ¹⁰⁵	(406)	(406)	448	420
	1787	1788	1789	Average
Total number of all vessels clearing from the Netherlands directly for the United States....	71	145	224	147
Total average number of British and American vessels clearing from Great Britain directly for the United States ¹⁰⁷	429	429	429	429
or ¹⁰⁸	(377)	(377)	532	429

From the above it appears that the average number of all vessels entering the Netherlands *directly* from the United States annually during the three years 1787-1789 was a little over 41 per cent of the total average number of British and American vessels that entered Great Britain annually from the United States, and rising in the last year of the period to 201/448 or 45 per cent. The average number of all vessels clearing annually from the Netherlands directly for the United States during this period was 147/429 or 35 per cent, mounting in the year of 1789 to 224/532 or 42 per cent. Stat- ing these facts in general terms, one could say that the total shipping employed directly between the ports of the Netherlands and the United States varied from one-third to one-half

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 198.

¹⁰⁶ Atcheson (ed.), *Collection of Reports and Papers on the Navigation and Trade*, 72.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁰⁸ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce . . . of the British Empire and Other Countries*, IV, 199.

of the British and American shipping that passed directly between ports of the United States and Great Britain. This does, however, not indicate precisely the ratio of trade between the United States and the Netherlands on the one hand and between the United States and Great Britain on the other. This is so because of the fact that not all the ships sailed straight back and forth between British and American ports or between Dutch and American ports, but made circuits, touching at several ports in different countries. Only these British and American ships could legally under the King's proclamation or order in council carry American goods to Great Britain or British goods to America without paying alien duties.¹⁰⁹ But it does not follow that all of these American ships that entered British ports directly from the United States unloaded their entire American cargo in the British port. Some of these ships went on to the Netherlands or to France and disposed of the remainder of their cargo there, took on a part of a return cargo for America, touched at an English port, completed their return cargo and sailed for an American port, were recorded there as entering from a British port, just as they had originally cleared from an American port for a British port. These American ships that did this were counted in the British statistics of Macpherson and in the *Papers on Navigation and Trade*. They were also listed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* returns as ships sailing between the United States and Great Britain. They are not included in the statistics of Dutch-American shipping at all. These ships are all credited in the statistics entirely to British-American commerce altho engaged quite as much in Dutch-American commerce. On the other hand, because of the location of England, American ships would not clear for the Netherlands, get part of their cargo, finish in an English port, and return to the Netherlands to clear for America from a Dutch port. Of course, some American ships clearing from the United States for a British port went on to a Dutch port and returned straight home, being recorded in the statistics as a clearance for a British port and an entrance from a Dutch port. Others still cleared directly for a Dutch port, went on to a British port and returned straight home to

¹⁰⁹ King's Proclamation of May 14, 1783, in accordance with act of 23 George III, chap, xxxix. George Chalmers, *Opinions on Interesting Subjects of Public Law and Commercial Policy* (London, 1784), 28; Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, VI, 428; *London Gazette*, May 14, 1783.

America, being recorded in the statistics as a clearance for a Dutch port and an entrance from an English port. The statement that this was done is not a guess, since the evidence is abundantly present in the ship notices of the *Pennsylvania Packet*. In this paper the name of the vessel, the name of the captain, and the name of the place from which the ship entered and to which it cleared were given. So it becomes easy to trace the course of these vessels. Great numbers of vessels cleared for Amsterdam and re-entered from Amsterdam, or cleared for London and soon re-entered from London. But others cleared for Amsterdam and re-entered from a British port, or from St. Eustatius. In fewer instances they cleared for a British port and re-entered from a Netherland port. Seldom did a vessel clear for St. Eustatius and re-enter from a port in the Netherlands. The cases where ships cleared for a British port and re-entered from a Dutch port will practically neutralize the cases where ships cleared for a Dutch port and re-entered from a British port when it comes to a comparison of English-American and Dutch-American traffic. These vessels were really trading with both England and the Netherlands and in the records both countries got a fair average of the credit. This was not, however, true of the American vessel that touched at a British port both in going to and returning from the Netherlands. In this case the commerce was just as truly with both countries, but the credit in the records went entirely to British traffic.

There was still another class of vessels that must be mentioned. These were *Dutch* vessels plying between Dutch and American ports, that touched on the way at a British port. A Dutch vessel sailing from the Netherlands for America could not according to British laws carry British goods to America, but it could stop at a British port and dispose of a part of its Dutch cargo. This vessel would be listed in the Dutch records as clearing for an English port. It would not be included in the statistics of the *Navigation and Trade Papers*, and would be recorded in the *Pennsylvania Packet* as an entrance from England. Dutch ships sailing from the United States for the Netherlands could not legally carry American goods to Great Britain but they could stop at a British port and add a little British goods to their cargo. These ships would appear in the Dutch records as entering

from a British port, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* they would be listed as clearing for a British port, and in the *Papers on Navigation and Trade* they would not be counted at all. This was probably not done so very extensively, but yet frequently enough that the instances must be considered. This is evidenced by the fact that in the arrivals and clearances at American ports from and for British ports one notes the names of ships and ship captains that are unmistakably Dutch and French.

There is a method by which one can get some rough idea of the number of Dutch ships which annually made voyages between the Netherlands and the United States, but which entered the ports of the latter country from a British port and cleared again for a British port. If one take the number of entrances at American ports annually from ports of Great Britain as given in the *Pennsylvania Packet* and multiply these figures by the proper multiplier one will obtain the total number of actual entrances annually of all vessels of all nationalities into American ports from ports of Great Britain. The total actual number of British and American vessels entering the American ports from the ports of Great Britain are given for the three years, 1787-1789, by the *Papers on Navigation and Trade*. By subtracting the latter from the former one obtains the number of vessels neither American nor British which entered the United States from Great Britain. Most of these would probably be Dutch, next in order would come French, and other than these there might be a few Scandinavian, Danish, and German ships. By numerous proofs given at different places in this study, it has been shown that the figures for entrances as given in the *Pennsylvania Packet* must be multiplied by 3 or 4 in order to get the actual number of entrances for the period, 1783-1789. During the last three years the *Packet* was better than during the first part and recorded about one-third the actual number, so that "3" may be used as the multiplier for those years. Now when the total number of entrances from Great Britain into American ports as given for each year by the *Pennsylvania Packet* are multiplied in order to obtain the actual number of entrances from Great Britain, the calculation will appear as follows:

TABLE XIII

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789
Total entrances into United States from Great Britain per year as given in <i>Packet</i> ¹¹⁰	40	83	117	279	267	307	312
Multiple	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Total actual entrances into United States per year from ports of Great Britain	120	249	351	837	807	921	936

It will be recalled that the lower row of figures contains British, American, Dutch, French, and every other kind of ship that entered an American port from Great Britain. If now the number of British and American ships so entering be subtracted therefrom, the difference will indicate the number of Dutch, French, and Scandinavian ships entering American ports from Great Britain.

TABLE XIV

	1787	1788	1789	Average
Total entrances from Great Britain into ports of United States	807	921	936	888
Number of British and American vessels entering United States from Great Britain ¹¹¹	429	429	532	429
Dutch, French, and Scandinavian vessels entering United States from Great Britain	788	492	404	459

Thus it is seen that the total average number of non-British and non-American vessels entering the United States annually from Great Britain was 459, a little more than the total average number of British and American vessels entering annually from Great Britain into the United States. It must be further remembered that these Dutch, French, and Scandinavian vessels could not legally carry any British goods

¹¹⁰ Tabulated from various notices of ships' entrances appearing regularly in the *Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*.

¹¹¹ Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce . . . of the British Empire and Other Countries*, IV, 199; Atcheson (ed.), *Collection of Reports and Papers on the Navigation and Trade*, 72.

from Great Britain to the United States. They no doubt touched at a British port to unload part of their cargo of continental goods and then with the rest of their cargo they cleared for America. On the other hand, some of the British and American vessels which entered the United States from Great Britain brought other than British goods. Some of these had gathered up part of their cargoes at Dutch and French ports before clearing for the United States. That is, while some of the 429 British and American ships brought goods from Holland and France as well as from Great Britain, the 459 Dutch, French, and Danish vessels could legally bring no British goods to America, but only continental goods. What proportion of these 459 vessels were Dutch is not known. Certainly, far more than one-third were Dutch. But even at this rate there would be another 153 Dutch vessels bringing cargoes of Dutch and continental goods to the United States each year by way of Great Britain. When these are added to the "145 to 224" vessels which went annually directly from Dutch American ports, the result indicates something like 300 vessels sailing annually from the Netherlands to the United States and carrying Dutch and continental goods exclusively as compared to 429 British and American ships clearing annually from ports of Great Britain and carrying at least some goods that they had brought from a European port before touching at the British port. There is no way of comparing tonnage and cargo-carrying capacity, but one would at least be safe in saying that the quantity of goods coming from Dutch ports to America was considerably over half that of British-produced goods entering America. By the shipping it would appear to be more than three-fourths that amount. The number of vessels and the amount of goods going from the United States to the Netherlands bore about the same ratio to the vessels and to the goods going to Great Britain. There were fewer Dutch ships going to their home ports by way of Great Britain than *vice versa*, but there were more going directly from the United States to the Netherlands than directly from the Netherlands to the United States, thus balancing the account.

After this explanation it will be readily seen why a mere comparison of the number of entrances into the United States directly from Great Britain to the number of entrances directly from the Netherlands without references to complete voy-

ages or circuits of the vessels does not give a fair idea of the comparative extent of the commerce. The *Pennsylvania Packet* reports the entrances into the United States from the Netherlands and from Great Britain as follows:

TABLE XV

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789
From Great Britain.....	40	83	117	279	269	307	312
From Netherlands.....	17	6	19	29	29	39	57

But this does not indicate the ratio of the amount of trade between the United States and Great Britain to that between the United States and the Netherlands. For, in the first place, half the entrances from Great Britain were not British or American ships, and not carrying British goods. At least one-third of these non-British and non-American ships were Dutch. When this correction is made, the result appears:

TABLE XVI

	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789
Vessels bringing goods from Great Britain..	20	42	52	139	134	153	156
Vessels bringing goods from the Netherlands	17.6	6.14	19	29	29	39	57
.....	.....	.....	19	46	44	51	52
	23	20	38	75	73	90	109

The significance of all the foregoing evidence may be summed up in a few words. The amount of commerce and shipping between the United States and the United Netherlands immediately following the American Revolution was much larger than has usually been supposed. The old tradition that British shippers and merchants immediately regained almost complete control of the American market is disproved. The American trade with the Dutch was not only relatively large but an important element in the economic reconstruction of the United States during the critical period following the Revolution.

RELIEF LEGISLATION AND THE ORIGIN OF
THE COURT CONTROVERSY IN KENTUCKY

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RELIEF LEGISLATION AND THE ORIGIN OF THE COURT CONTROVERSY IN KENTUCKY¹

I

BANKING AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR OF 1812

ALL that is Kentucky territorially was born contesting. Lying as she does with the great Ohio River on her entire northern border, with many of its tributaries—the Kentucky, Green, Cumberland, and Tennessee—well distributed thru her area, making navigation within the state and down the Mississippi easy, and with gaps thru the mountains allowing connections with the East and lower South, Kentucky occupied a unique position among pioneer states. Situated between the lower South and the Ohio, this near-northern state truly served as a gateway. Emigration from the East and the South came rapidly during the last two decades of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth centuries, bringing habits, customs, and political ideas from both regions. Some of this emigration used Kentucky merely as a waiting-station and moved on across the Ohio farther north and west. Even the shifting population added to the state's cares and responsibilities. From the early days when Boone and Kenton challenged the first Indian on the chase or in the canebrakes of Kentucky, for a century every decade produced not only the problems then common to all the states but exciting, perplexing ones peculiarly hers.

No period in all Kentucky's first hundred years, not even the decade when the dangers of the Civil War and its accompanying readjustments afflicted her, was more exasperating or laden with greater peril than the decade from 1819 to 1829, especially in the decade is this true of the years from 1822 to

¹ This article, dealing mainly with bank and other debtor-relief legislation, gives the background for and the origin of the very bitter and prolonged court contest in Kentucky. It consists of the opening chapters of an unpublished monograph entitled *The Critical Court Struggle in Kentucky*.

1826, inclusive. It was during this decade that panics, too many state banks, excess of paper money, creditor-defrauding, judge-breaking, determination of state and federal government relationship, one or all of them present at the same time, harassing this pioneer community, produced a memorable epoch. For nearly five years there raged in Kentucky the bitterest state-court controversy known in America. The primary purpose here is to set forth the most important facts of only the origin of the court episode and to throw into relief the contributory influences which brought about this critical contest.²

The general chaos which the Napoleonic wars had spread over Europe, coupled with the disrupting conditions resulting from the War of 1812, had greatly hurt American trade. Europe slowly resumed both trade and specie payments. But bad harvests in England and on the Continent retarded prosperity. In America, also, the return to stable business was slow. Droughts, hot spring weather, insects, and cold summers, in the years from 1816 to 1819, kept farmers from buying new goods or paying for what they had purchased.³ When the eastern states were having an unstable, inflated period in business from 1812 to 1816, the states west of the Alleghenies had some silver and were fairly free from financial troubles.⁴ Altho Kentucky's only real bank had suspended specie payments during the war period, yet, due to good river trade, a rich annual catch of furs, and two good money crops of hemp and tobacco, she prospered better for a time than some of the western states. Between 1812 and 1819 more than forty steamboats were plying between Louisville and New Orleans. Trade with the East was more difficult, but flatboats operated on the upper Ohio, and barter with Virginia and East Tennessee was extensive.⁵ About 1820 most of the steamboats in the West were owned in Kentucky, and the trade spirit was as high as the war spirit had been a few years before.⁶ By 1812 Kentucky was sending over the mountains to the East 800,000 hogs annually, the cost of transportation on western waters had been cut by steamboats to two-

² William Graham Sumner, *Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1899), 151, 152.

³ Edward Channing, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1921), V, 314.

⁴ Sumner, *op. cit.*, 154.

⁵ General Basil W. Duke, *History of the Bank of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1895), 5.

⁶ Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth* (Boston and New York, 1884), 174, 175.

thirds, and a trip down the Ohio to New Orleans had been reduced from thirty or forty days to six or seven.⁷

Kentucky's total population in 1810 was 406,511. By 1820 she had 564,644, which gave her sixth rank in the Union. Of this population, 434,644 persons were white, 2,759 free colored, and 126,732 slaves (an increase of more than 57 per cent in the number of slaves since 1810).⁸ More than 500,000 persons lived on farms or in village settlements. Even at this early time, a sort of landed aristocracy was developing in the Blue Grass section and in the older parts of the state.

Many farmers had plenty of slaves, their farms were well cultivated, often they had coaches that were built at Lexington at a cost of \$1,000 or more, and they led an easy pioneer life. Farm products prior to the panic in 1819 brought unheard-of-prices. Common wool sold at 50 cents a pound, hemp was \$80 a ton, and flax \$15 a hundred pounds. Kentuckians had a widespread mania, often to the disadvantage of home manufacturers, for wearing the best English-made clothes. Lexington, with a population of 5,271, was then the largest city in Kentucky. Town lots there sold in speculative times at prices nearly as high as those in the large cities of the East. Even in Louisville, a smaller town, lots sold for as much as \$30,000 an acre during this time of speculation.⁹ Stocks and bonds were unknown, and speculation was chiefly in real estate. Recorded deeds show that lots in the small villages of Shepherdsville, near Louisville, and Carrollton sold on time payments at New York and Philadelphia prices. Unfortunately, the most active speculators were men of small means, and they traded almost wholly on a credit basis.¹⁰ The people of Kentucky, being far removed from eastern cities, understood little of complex financial problems, and at times when speculation abated and hard times appeared near they clamored for more banks and more circulating medium. These measures seemed easy enough to accomplish, since only corporate seals and paper mills were necessary then to start banks.

The first banking institution in Kentucky was incorporated

⁷ Robert M. McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History* (New York, 1909), 377, 378.

⁸ Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky* (2 vols., Covington, 1878), I, 29.

⁹ William E. Connelley and E. Merle Coulter (Judge Charles Kerr, ed.), *History of Kentucky* (5 vols., Chicago and New York, 1922), II, 593, 594.

¹⁰ John Mason Brown, "The Old and New Court" (a paper read before the Kentucky Bar Association, June 22, 1882), Durrett MSS., 20.

December 6, 1802, and was called the Kentucky Insurance Company. It was authorized to acquire and hold corporate property to the value of \$150,000 and to issue \$100,000 in stock. It could give and take bonds, bills, and notes and receive and pass them by assignment. In the twentieth section of its charter were these words:

And such of the notes as are payable to bearer shall be negotiable and assignable by delivery only.

The company, finding it could use and pass many of these notes, procured a modification of its charter on December 19, 1804, which allowed a great increase in its issue. The legislature pledged itself not to charter other insurance companies while this one operated, thus giving it broad privileges and a monopoly on both insurance and banking. The company prospered and soon aroused jealousy. It was denounced and branded in the legislatures as a monied aristocracy, and its charter was mutilated, impaired, and menaced. But its notes and land warrants (certificates issued by the state treasurer on the deposit of cash in the treasury which gave a claim for a given number of acres anywhere the purchaser chose on the state's vacant lands) furnished a very large portion of Kentucky's currency.¹¹ The Kentucky Insurance Company was chartered originally to expire January 1, 1818. It lived to the end of its charter, but, on account of impairment of its early privileges by the legislature, it lost its prestige and drifted into bankruptcy. Many of its notes payable to bearer were never taken up, and its early successes were eclipsed by its financial disaster in the end.¹²

Kentucky chartered her first regular bank on December 27, 1806. This institution was known as the Bank of Kentucky and had a capital stock of \$1,000,000. Half of its stock was reserved to the state, and the state named the president and six of the twelve directors. Under the charter the legislature might at any time increase the number of directors to twenty-four.¹³ The power which the legislature reserved over the bank was a dangerous one, since thru it "The bank was made a political, instead of a financial, institution and for this reason

¹¹ Duke, *op. cit.*, 14, 15.

¹² R. T. Durrett, "Early Banking in Kentucky" (a paper read before the Filson Club, November 7, 1892. The original manuscript is in possession of the Filson Club, Louisville), 10-13.

¹³ Duke, *op. cit.*, 14, 15.

more than any other failed in the end.”¹⁴ During the War of 1812, as noted before, it was forced to suspend specie payments.¹⁵ In February, 1815, the legislature increased the capital stock of the bank to \$3,000,000. At the same time, the legislature declared that executions on judgments should be stayed twelve months unless the creditor should agree by indorsement on the note that paper money issued by the Bank of Kentucky, or of any other incorporated bank in the state or of the Treasury of the United States, would be received as payment; if that condition were granted by the creditor, the stay should then be for only three months. Few money-lenders could afford to operate at the risk of receiving badly depreciated bank currency or wait twelve months after maturity for their money.¹⁶

The Bank of Kentucky was allowed thirteen branch banks, one for each of the thirteen judicial districts, and, if it had been spared from political jockeying, would no doubt have been a sound institution. The mother bank at Frankfort and its branches had capital stock amounting to \$2,726,100. Paper money became abundant, and in 1817 the legislature legalized an agreement between the mother bank and its branches that neither was bound to take the notes of the other. This of itself discredited the bank. During the panic year of 1819 the charter was extended to 1841, later limited to 1829, and finally repealed in 1822. From time to time the bank was given by the legislature an extension of its franchise so that it might continue to collect its assets and pay its liabilities, but many of its notes were never paid. The Bank of Kentucky had helped to cripple the Kentucky Insurance Company; it, in turn, was crippled by the creation of more paper money banks, and the result spelled failure in each instance.¹⁷

It has been intimated that the Bank of Kentucky aroused jealousy. New, growing communities wanted banks, and some of the older towns wanted an increased number of banks. Some Lexington business men applied to the legislature in

¹⁴ Durrett, *op. cit.*, 14.

¹⁵ Guy Carleton Lee (ed.), *The History of North America* (Philadelphia, 1903), XII, 159.

¹⁶ Samuel M. Wilson, "The Old Court and the New Court Controversy in Kentucky", in *Proceedings of the Kentucky State Bar Association*, 1913, p. 13. Also published in the *Lexington Herald*, July 11, 1915.

¹⁷ Durrett, *op. cit.*, 15-17; Duke, *op. cit.*, 17-20.

1814 for a new bank; at the session of 1815 the Green River country asked for more banks thruout that region. Immigration was coming to Kentucky rapidly, and there was not enough hard money to develop the state, especially the newer settlements. Much of the hard money came from the older eastern states in exchange for livestock. But the merchants of the East, particularly of Philadelphia, supplied Kentucky business men with enough commodities to keep the balance of trade in their favor. Naturally this situation left Kentuckians constantly indebted to people outside the state.¹⁸

The people believed that good times would come only with more paper money, and the annual pressure on the legislature for more banks bore abundant fruit in the session of 1817-1818. In January, 1818, the legislature created forty new institutions designated as independent banks; in February it added six more.¹⁹ These banks might issue their notes to bearer on demand payable in any one of three kinds of money: specie, notes of the Bank of Kentucky, or notes of the United States Bank. Few restrictions were placed on these independent banks. The aggregate capital of the forty-six banks was \$8,420,000. The amount any individual bank could have as capital varied from \$1,000,000 in Lexington and Louisville to a minimum of \$100,000 in each of the twenty-one towns such and Greenville, Shepherdsville, Mt. Sterling, and Morgantown. To show how insistent the newer communities were for banking privileges at that time, it may be noted that a number of towns granted a bank, such as Bowling Green, Bardstown, Richmond, and Shelbyville had fewer than one thousand persons; while in some places, such as Barbourville and Greenville, there were fewer than one hundred. These banks were chartered to do business until December 31, 1837. They were authorized to issue notes amounting to three times their capitalization less indebtedness, which totaled \$26,000,000, and they proceeded to issue them freely.²⁰ The first of the independent banks was opened for business May

¹⁸ John C. Doolan, "The Old Court—New Court Controversy", in *The Green Bag*, XI, 178 (1899).

¹⁹ *Kentucky Acts of 1818*, 375, 491; also see *Kentucky Gazette*, February 7, 1818, for full text of the law creating the new banks. The best file of this, the oldest and most reliable paper in early Kentucky, may be found in the Lexington Public Library.

²⁰ Good accounts of the founding and operations of the forty-six banks may be found in Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 28; Doolan, in *The Green Bag*, XI, 179 (1899); Durrett, *op. cit.*, 17; Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 176, 177; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 155; Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 596-599.

8, 1818.²¹ During 1818 about half of the banks began operations and issued their notes. Town lots bought on borrowed capital were favorite investments with every line of business. Speculation ran riot and it can easily be seen how this inflation would culminate.²²

Everyone wanted to get rich. High prices and cheap paper money drove out what little specie there was. Long-time contracts were entered into, and incurring debts seemed "the only way to get rich or to save one's self from ruin".²³ Niles, a fairly reliable editor and always conservative, after reviewing the paper money epidemic all over the country, proved a wise prophet when he took sorrowful notice of the many new banks of recent origin in Maryland, New Jersey, Ohio, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Virginia, and from fifty to one hundred more projected elsewhere in the United States, for he predicted that it could mean in the end only

* * * mammoth fortunes for the wise, wretched poverty for the foolish. Wealth to the speculating drones—misery to the productive poor. Lands, lots, houses, stock, farming utensils, and household furniture under custody of the Sheriff—Speculation in a coach, Honesty in the jail.²⁴

Not all the independent banks authorized in the state were put into operation, owing to hard times which came in 1819. The bank at Richmond withdrew its stock and dissolved its charter without beginning business.²⁵ But adding to the independent banks the thirteen branches of the Bank of Kentucky, there were fifty-nine state banks actually authorized to do business in 1818.²⁶ The Bank of Kentucky was in good repute when the independent banks began to organize, but it soon began to suffer from the inexperience, mismanagement, and dishonesty of the new institutions.²⁷ It is interesting to note in this connection that between 1811, when the First United States Bank ended, and 1816, when the Second Bank began, the number of banks in the country trebled, their issues of bank notes expanded from \$45,000,000 to \$100,000,000, and most of them were misman-

²¹ *Kentucky Gazette*, May 8, 1818.

²² *Autobiography of Amos Kendall* (New York, 1872), 202.

²³ Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 155.

²⁴ *Niles' Register*, XIV, 110.

²⁵ *Kentucky Gazette*, June 18, 1819.

²⁶ Doolan, in *The Green Bag*, XI, 179 (1899).

²⁷ Zachariah Frederick Smith, *History of Kentucky* (Centennial edition, Louisville, 1892), 509.

aged. Thus Kentucky was by no means alone in her thoughtless and lavish chartering of banks and in laying a good foundation, as did most of the other states, for widespread ruin.²⁸

In addition to the state banks mentioned, there were two branches of the United States Bank in Kentucky, one at Lexington, the other at Louisville. These branch banks at once became actively identified with the business life of the commonwealth. It was thought that the United States Bank and its branches would aid the resumption of specie payments in state banks, bring about deflation quickly, and preserve and stabilize all our currency and exchange. But this bank was itself badly managed for the first four or five years. Channing says that

Undoubtedly the attempt to bring about deflation in so short a time and by means of a national financial institution was most unwise and accounted for the great unpopularity of the Second Bank in large portions of the country; and also did something at least to bring about the hard times of the next few years.²⁹

There is little doubt that these branch banks in their early history in Kentucky did help to hasten rather than retard the impending ruin, and that they themselves were in a large measure to blame for the hatred heaped on them during and after the financial and political crisis which soon struck the state. United States Bank notes were redeemable in specie, and Kentuckians exchanged large quantities of state bank paper for them at a great discount. This helped to reduce the value of the state bank notes and at the same time put these banks more heavily in debt to the federal bank.³⁰ As hard times began to appear in the East in the latter part of 1818, the branches of the Bank of the United States in Kentucky began to demand specie and to bring pressure to bear on the state banks, which in turn passed it to their debtors.³¹ In spite of the fact that the Kentucky legislature had only a short time before invited the United States Bank to bring branches into the state, that institution was soon denounced as a mammoth monster, a swindling institution, a mighty

²⁸ Carl Russell Fish, *The Development of American Nationality* (New York, 1913), 148.

²⁹ Channing, *History of the United States of America*, V, 313.

³⁰ Frederick J. Turner, *The Rise of the New West* (New York, 1906), 137; Doolan, in *The Green Bag*, XI, 179 (1899); Richard Hildreth, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1877), VI, 631.

³¹ James Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution, 1783-1865* (6 vols., New York, 1880-1894), III, 118.

serpent that would swallow up all the state banks, a strangler of liberty, and other things even more uncomplimentary.³² The Bank of the United States was bitterly attacked in the Kentucky legislature in the fall of 1818, but it was also defended and praised by part of the press for the aid it had given, and the *Kentucky Gazette* in its editorials charged openly again and again that the prejudices and enmity aroused against the United States Bank were due largely to the presence in the legislature of too many members interested in the state banks, too many presidents and directors who inspired this hatred for selfish reasons. It inquired where Kentucky people would get nearly \$3,000,000 which had been lent to them by the two branch national banks if they insisted on their removal from the state.³³ However, hardly an issue of the *Gazette* appeared during 1819 which did not have a letter or article sent to the editor denouncing the United States Bank. The branch banks in Kentucky made the mistake of encouraging speculation by regulating certain state banks which needed little checking and by leaving paper circulation to the least capable and least sound institutions; also by being harsh, drastic, and relentless in their collections to save themselves. Therefore, it was inevitable that in Kentucky, as elsewhere, there were created enemies who in their appeals to ignorance and blind state prejudices invited serious trouble for the United States Bank locally, and, later, for the nation at large.³⁴ Viewed from any standpoint, the United States Bank was an important factor in precipitating the problems with which Kentucky was struggling.³⁵

Kentucky had still another important problem to meet, the beginnings of which she inherited from Virginia when about ready to enter statehood. It was the question of land grants to individuals by the mother state and the rights and privileges of the occupying claimant when another claim for priority to his land was presented to him. Altho the trouble over what became known as the occupying-claimant laws did not become acute until the period of severe financial distress

³² *Kentucky Gazette*, October 2, 1818.

³³ *Ibid.*, December 25, 1818, January 8, 1819, February 5, 1819, February 19, 1819.

³⁴ *Autobiography of Amos Kendall*, 202; Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 136; Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution, 1783-1865*, III, 117, 118; Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 595-599; Channing, *History of the United States of America*, V, 314, 315.

³⁵ Doolan, in *The Green Bag*, XI, 179 (1899); McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History*, 383.

from 1819 to 1823, and afterward when on account of its decisions on land claims the powers of the Supreme Court of the United States became an issue, nevertheless, there was constant friction and irritation on account of them almost from the time Kentucky became a state. Virginia made few accurate preliminary surveys before granting land to would-be settlers or land companies, virtually allowing them to make their own. This led to many difficulties. A poor man, perhaps, wanted but a small farm, which he promised to pay for at an agreed price an acre. He would survey the land, build a cabin, and start a clearing. A land speculator, planning to seize all unappropriated land in a given area, would survey many thousands of acres at once, get a patent for the land, and encompass several settlers' claims. Collins says that sometimes as many as five or six patents were granted for the same piece of land, and an occupant-settler often had to buy two or three times more land than he wanted from speculators and other claimants or lose his home and labor.³⁶

Of the innumerable conflicts over land titles, and of all the peculiar shapes, sizes, and boundaries these titles defined, neither the Virginia nor Kentucky land-offices took any notice. Kentucky only guaranteed the land entry if there was no previous valid title. A vast amount of litigation was caused by this quick but careless system of land disposal. Each holder of a land warrant located his claim virtually where he wished. Shaler asserts there is still land in Kentucky which has never been surveyed and which is without ownership, but there is probably little such land now and that in the most remote places.³⁷ Particularly since the recent coal and oil developments in the state, it has frequently happened that thru this early land-granting medley, much land never owned by anyone has been seized in time without title by owners of contiguous land; also, on account of perishable markers like trees and stumps, many farms today have no exact boundaries and have, therefore, only an approximate acreage. Kentucky had no federal aid or control, as other states had, in procuring an effective land-survey system and good land laws, except in the comparatively small area purchased west of the Tennessee River, and lacking these the land survey system of today, Topsy-like, just grew up.

³⁶ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 633.

³⁷ Shaler, *Kentucky, a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 49-52.

Kentucky, when about to become a separate state in 1789, signed articles of agreement with Virginia promising that all private rights and interests in the lands within her boundary which were derived from Virginia law prior to the time of separation should be secure and be regulated by the laws of the mother state. In October, 1797, Kentucky passed the first occupying-claimant law to protect her settlers. It provided that when an occupant was evicted by someone having a previous title, the evicted settler should be exempt from the payment of all rents and profits prior to the day of notice of contested legal title; also, if the new claimant proved a better title, he should pay for the valuable and lasting improvements made on the land prior to eviction, less only the damage done to the soil by waste and deterioration.³⁸

While this law was fairly liberal it did not satisfy the settlers, and in 1812 Kentucky provided further that the occupying claimant should be paid for all improvements made, whether valuable and permanent or not, up to the day judgment was entered against him; also, no damages could be collected from the evicted occupant for waste of the soil except for the time elapsing between the notice of adverse title and the granting of judgment by the court.³⁹ It is easily understood, in a rapidly growing pioneer state with a large annual emigrant population seeking lands for new homes, what a problem each county had in protecting its citizens in their land titles. "The laws of Virginia for the appropriation of lands were the greatest curse that ever befell Kentucky."⁴⁰

³⁸ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 24.

³⁹ John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (8 vols., New York, 1883-1910), V, 414, 415.

⁴⁰ Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 633.

II

THE PANIC OF 1819 AND RELIEF MEASURES

The federal government had aided business men and manufacturers in 1816 by establishing the first protective tariff and creating the Second United States Bank. These measures had probably helped some, but neither the weather at home nor political conditions in Europe were conducive to good crops or good business.⁴¹ The United States had had several successive bad harvests. It is true there was an artificial prosperity caused by the creation of many banks in almost all the states, the reckless issuing of paper money, the undertaking of unnecessary frontier developments and improvements that could not be paid for, and by senseless speculation everywhere, but it soon became evident that real, material progress rested on a foundation of sand. As early as August, 1818, financial troubles began to appear in the eastern states. In Virginia, for example, there were many failures, and it was declared that property would bring only as many hundreds as it would have commanded thousands of dollars eighteen months earlier. Eastern banks were calling loans and western banks were closing their doors. Hard times spread westward rapidly and continued in parts of the country as late as 1825.⁴²

Conditions in Kentucky probably were not worse than in many other states, but, as has been previously shown, they were bad and could not stand a prolonged period of financial stress. Tobacco and wheat prices began to fall rapidly early in 1819, and soon pressure came from the United States Bank. There was due at this time to the two branch banks in Kentucky \$2,690,760, and calls came from them for payment in specie. Besides this there was considerable money due the government land offices. Doubt was expressed whether all the specie and federal and state paper money in Kentucky would be sufficient to redeem this debt. The *Kentucky Gazette* at this time said "Our extravagance in the importation and consumption of foreign luxuries must be checked, or we are a ruined people."⁴³ The amount due the

⁴¹ Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution, 1783-1865*, III, 118, 119.

⁴² Channing, *History of the United States of America*, V, 314.

⁴³ Editorial, May 21, 1819; *Niles' Register*, XV, 385.

federal branch banks and federal land offices was not all that Kentuckians owed. It was estimated that \$5,000,000 was due the Bank of Kentucky, \$2,000,000 due the independent banks of the state, and \$4,000,000 due from the merchants of the state to eastern business firms. The whole state grew restless, and county meetings to consider relief were held everywhere. Summed up, these assemblages recommended a suspension of specie payments, more paper money, and an extra session of the legislature to pass laws dealing with the emergency.⁴⁴ The paper quoted above took notice of the universal financial distress of Europe and America and declared, "We feel the effects of this pressure, but we should feel at a loss how to search out and combine the different causes."⁴⁵

There may have been and were different ideas about causes, but there could be no difference in opinion about the serious financial and social happenings which occurred in the state during 1819 and 1820. Prices on staple crops dropped almost to nothing. Land was sold around Lexington and Frankfort for one-sixth of the price of a few years earlier. Town lots which had brought fabulous prices in villages like Shepherdsville and Carrollton became unsalable.⁴⁶ Slaves sold for almost nothing, laborers were out of employment, and forced sales were noted everywhere. Manufacturing interests suffered so severely that many industries were ruined, especially in the newer parts of the state, where they were never replaced. The hard times, coupled with cheap slave labor, drove thousands of white laborers into Ohio, Indiana, and Missouri.⁴⁷ John Bradford, the able editor of the *Gazette*, in illuminating and reliable comment on conditions in the state early in 1819 said:

It is well known that the people of Kentucky are writhing under agonies of the severest pressure—that their produce is commanding but a mere nominal price abroad—that their property will not command one-third of its value—that sacrifices of this species of property are daily making to a few monied speculators, whilst others, who would give a fair, honorable price, owing to the peculiar situation of the country, cannot raise the necessary funds to purchase—that a valuable estate now dreads the appearance of an execution for the trifling sum of two

⁴⁴ *Niles' Register*, XVI, 261.

⁴⁵ *Kentucky Gazette*, May 7, 1819.

⁴⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, 22.

⁴⁷ Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 597-602.

or three hundred dollars—that a constant decrease of the circulating medium is becoming more and more visible—and that the gold and silver brought here by the industry of the farmers, is finding its way to the eastward without anything to show for it.⁴⁸

While this is a rather gloomy picture, there was even worse distress to come.

When individuals and communities become financially embarrassed, at that same instant they look for someone other than themselves to blame, and then demand relief from the source where it appears easiest to obtain and costs least. Reference has already been made to the fact that the United States Bank was not popular even before the panic of 1819, and it may readily be guessed that that institution became a target almost everywhere as soon as the pinch of hard times came. Indiana attempted by its constitution in 1816 to keep any bank not chartered by the state outside its bounds; Illinois put similar terms in its constitution in 1818. Between 1817 and 1819 Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee all passed acts taxing the United States Bank.⁴⁹ In Ohio a tax of \$50,000 on each of the two branch banks of that state was voted by the legislature, and when the Chillicothe branch refused payment, the money was forcibly seized on a warrant issued by state authorities in contempt of an injunction from the circuit court of the United States.⁵⁰ This happened during the very year when the United States Bank was hard-pressed financially, and was saved, as was maintained by a committee of the Kentucky legislature, only by the fortunate arrival of \$250,000 in specie from Ohio and Kentucky.⁵¹

Kentucky's open hostility took form when the legislature in December, 1818, voted a tax of \$400 a year on each of the two branch banks in the state. The same legislature, seemingly surprised and aggrieved at its earlier leniency, had the temerity to pass a law in January, 1819, to tax each of the United States branch banks \$5,000 a month, ordering the sergeant of the state's highest court to collect it by force if necessary. It is evident that the friends of the local banks in the legislature, aided by state-wide hostility to what was called

⁴⁸ *Kentucky Gazette*, May 29, 1819.

⁴⁹ Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 137.

⁵⁰ *Kentucky Gazette*, editorial, September 24, 1819; Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution, 1783-1865*, III, 120, 247.

⁵¹ *Niles' Register*, XXIII, 234, 235; Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 609.

foreign corporations, now augmented by hard times, were determined to drive the hated federal institutions from the commonwealth. Again, the branch banks were not without some friends in the state, especially among the more prominent business and professional men, but these were a small minority.⁵² An echo of the legislature's last hostile act reached Washington, and Representative Trimble from Kentucky introduced a resolution to annul the United States Bank's charter. The federal court in Kentucky saved the branch banks by enjoining the state from collecting the confiscatory tax the legislature had voted, and the Supreme Court on March 6, 1819, declared in its decision in the case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland* that the United States Bank was constitutional and that a state could not tax it. It took a long time, however, for the full effect of a court decision from the seat of the federal government to reach the West and convince state officials, even state supreme court judges. Hence, as late as December, 1819, the court of appeals of Kentucky unanimously decided the United States Bank was unconstitutional and upheld the state's right to tax its branches. Two of the judges, however, advocated yielding to the Supreme Court.⁵³

Slowly it dawned on some of the people of Kentucky that the United States had authority over them. The Supreme Court was then vigorously asserting the new doctrine that the powers of Congress were above those of the states, and between 1809 and 1824 it set aside fourteen acts of eleven different states.⁵⁴ These decisions were nowhere less popular than in Kentucky, but the state reluctantly yielded its sovereignty ideas in the bank-tax case. In doing so, however, in no measure did the hatred against the United States Bank abate among the masses as being one of the chief causes of their financial troubles.⁵⁵ Again, the Supreme Court's decision on the bank case was so unpopular in Kentucky that it caused almost as much feeling against the federal court as there was against the federal bank and laid the foundation for suspicion against all courts and their authority in the state. The United States Bank's own conduct thru its

⁵² *Kentucky Gazette*, February 5, 1819.

⁵³ *Autobiography of Amos Kendall*, 205; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 160.

⁵⁴ McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, V, 412, 413.

⁵⁵ Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution, 1783-1865*, III, 120.

branches in Kentucky, as it proved later, hastened its downfall.⁵⁶

Continued distress and gloom pervaded the country generally from 1819 to 1821 inclusive. The cry for aid and stays in paying public land debts was heard by Congress.⁵⁷ The credit system then prevailed even in sales of public lands, and the debt to the government for lands so purchased from the public domain had accumulated to \$23,000,000, an enormous sum when it is considered that the purchasers were inhabitants of the frontier states. Their situation was desperate, and the opening of Congress in 1820 brought petitions for relief from all the new states. References to the financial condition of the country also were made in President Monroe's message.⁵⁸ The federal government came to the rescue with a system which authorized purchasers in arrears "to secure a portion of their lands by relinquishing the remainder to the government".⁵⁹ Since the government previously had done many similar things to aid its debtors, it was partly responsible for the deluge of requests for aid which swamped the state legislatures, when true relief lay only with the petitioners themselves. Many states besides Kentucky passed relief measures, among them being Illinois, Missouri, and Tennessee.⁶⁰ In Kentucky where the great mass of the people were in the debtor class, there was no improvement in economic conditions. Trade was demoralized in spite of attempted relief, with scarcely any improvement before 1822 and no great improvement until later. Niles quotes a traveler in Illinois as saying at this time of Kentucky that

Nothing is to be seen but a boundless expanse of desolation! Wealth is impoverished, enterprise checked, commerce at a stand, the currency depreciated—and all that was indicative of state prosperity and advancement, plunged into the great vortex of irremediable involvement.⁶¹

James Weir was a native of Ireland who came to Kentucky about 1788. He was one of the wealthiest and most prosperous merchants of Lexington. Besides having a general store he had a bagging factory, a rope walk, and, in Woodford

⁵⁶ Carl Schurz, *Henry Clay* (2 vols., Boston, 1899), II, 26.

⁵⁷ Wilson, *op. cit.*, 41.

⁵⁸ James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902* (10 vols., Washington, 1907), II, 78; see also Thomas Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (2 vols., New York, 1865), I, 11, 12.

⁵⁹ Lee (ed.), *The History of North America*, XII, 159.

⁶⁰ Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 139.

⁶¹ *Niles' Register*, XVII, 19.

County, a cotton mill. In a letter dated July, 1820, he appealed to a customer to remit his account as soon as possible. He said:

I have had and still have many engagements to meet for others who are unable to refund me for advances made. This together with the difficulties of the time presses grievously at this moment and threatens serious consequences if I am unable to meet my own engagements. You will therefore see the necessity of exerting yourself to place me in funds for what advances I have made which would be to me at present extremely desirable.⁶²

With the wealthier elements in distress and pressing their debtors, it is not surprising that loud and frequent cries for relief came to the legislature. The encroachments of the banks, the note-shaving establishments, the continual shrinkage of paper money, the pitiless forced sales, and daily dispossession of small farmers not only by debt but thru the operation of the occupying-claimant laws made relief a chief issue in the annual elections.⁶³ In 1819 all questions except relief were ignored. The relief party wanted help to escape the consequences of its debts, some unavoidable and legitimate, others the results of unbridled speculation; the anti-relief faction, comprising largely the creditor class, wanted nothing done that would imperil its securities.⁶⁴ The relief party won by a large majority.

The legislature of Kentucky in December, 1819, passed over the veto of the Governor a law to suspend sales under execution for sixty days if the defendant would give bonds that the goods levied on should be ready for release at the end of that time.⁶⁵ This was but a gentle beginning of relief legislation and intended as such.⁶⁶ Bills affording every sort of aid for persons in financial trouble came before the legislature during 1820 and a number became laws, some of the more important of which will be noted here. With thousands of debtors eligible for jail, it does not appear that the old laws were rigorously enforced; in fact, it seems that the very situation, except in a few instances, appalled the authorities, and a sentiment arose that imprisonment for debt should be abolished.⁶⁷ First a law was passed forbidding the imprisonment

⁶² Draper MSS., 22CC85, in the University of Wisconsin Library.

⁶³ *Kentucky Gazette*, December 3, 1819.

⁶⁴ Doolan, in *The Green Bag*, XI, 179 (1899).

⁶⁵ *The National Intelligencer*, January 1, 1820.

⁶⁶ *Kentucky Gazette*, quoted by *National Intelligencer*, January 1, 1820.

⁶⁷ *Kentucky Gazette*, January 3, 1820.

of women for debt; also a peculiar law was enacted confining imprisonment for debt to the limits of each county town.⁶⁸ On December 17, 1821, a law forbidding any and all imprisonment for debt was enacted. The federal government still allowed imprisonment, and the repeal law by the state was opposed by many of the creditor class.⁶⁹ It is interesting to note that the United States Bank tried to imprison in Kentucky one of its debtors as late as 1822. The federal court, however, upheld the practice and procedure of the state's courts and refused the bank's request.⁷⁰

Owing to the pressure on debtors passed down from the two federal branch banks to the thirteen branches of the Bank of Kentucky and to the forty-six independent banks, failures among the state banks were inevitable. The "Forty Thieves", as the independent banks were known, had been in bad repute from the time of their creation. They were now in hard straits and early began closing their doors. The press began to warn farmers against receiving their notes; the United States Bank stopped accepting them; merchants, butchers, hotel men, even cab-drivers refused their paper in various parts of the state, and even counterfeiterers ceased trying to imitate them.⁷¹ Certainly half of all these banks were defunct or were winding up their affairs by the end of 1819.⁷² The feeling became general that the independent banks had not fulfilled the objects of their creation. The charge

. . . that they have operated as a curse and not as a blessing on the state, is confessed and declared aloud by the whole country, who with one voice demand the repeal of their charters—and the revocation of the destructive powers with which they have been invested.⁷³

In January, 1820, the independent banks which had been only recently created to foster good times had their charters repealed by the legislature as a relief measure because they could not pay their demand notes in any sort of money the people would have. They were given time to wind up their affairs satisfactorily, but they never did.⁷⁴ The state still had

⁶⁸ *Niles' Register*, XXIII, Supplement, 160, 161; see also Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 29.

⁶⁹ *Kentucky Gazette*, December 14, 1821.

⁷⁰ *Niles' Register*, XXII, 291, 292.

⁷¹ *Kentucky Gazette*, July 16 and August 19, 1819.

⁷² Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 602-606; McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History*, 382-384.

⁷³ *Kentucky Gazette*, editorial, January 3, 1820.

⁷⁴ Durrett, *op. cit.*, 17; Collins, *op. cit.*, I, 29.

within its bounds the Bank of Kentucky with its thirteen branches, and the two federal branch banks.

Very soon after the legislature repealed the independent bank charters, it continued its relief work and passed an act extending the power of replevying judgments from three months to twelve months; if the plaintiff should refuse notes of the Bank of Kentucky in discharge of the debt, the defendant could replevy for two years.⁷⁵ This act greatly alarmed the creditor classes, and if they could not collect their money on the dates they had expected to, it was obvious that they could not lend, nor would they if they could under the legal restrictions set up. Everything tended to further stagnation.⁷⁶ When the election of state officers was held in August, 1820, candidates for governor and for the state legislature loudly demanded relief for debtors and, in the absence of other issues, "relief" won. General John Adair was elected the "relief" governor by a small margin.⁷⁷ On November 3 additional time was granted to pay debts due the state for vacant lands.

As before stated, the Bank of Kentucky was doing well before it was crippled by the creation of the forty-six independent banks. The United States Bank held large sums of its paper, and by forcing collection it drove the Bank of Kentucky to temporary suspension and to compromise in the late fall of 1818.⁷⁸ Its notes were at 15 per cent discount by the beginning of 1820.⁷⁹ Soon the stockholders voted to suspend specie payments, and the vaults were permanently closed.⁸⁰ The legislature finally repealed its charter in 1822, but gave it time to wind up its affairs.

Another banking experiment, which, thru no fault of its own, involved the Bank of Kentucky, must be considered. When the Bank of Kentucky had finally suspended specie payments, the two national branch banks had the whole banking business of the state under control. In an effort to control the Bank of Kentucky and furnish a supply of cheap money, the politicians of the state induced the legislature, November 29, 1820, to create the Bank of the Commonwealth. The new bank,

⁷⁵ *Kentucky Gazette*, January 31, 1820.

⁷⁶ McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History*, 384.

⁷⁷ Doolan, in *The Green Bag*, XI, 180 (1899).

⁷⁸ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 29.

⁷⁹ Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 160.

⁸⁰ *National Intelligencer*, January 25, 1820.

having a capital of \$2,000,000 which was to belong exclusively to the state, was issued a charter for twenty years. Its president and twelve directors were to be chosen annually on joint ballot by both houses of the legislature. The main bank was to be at Frankfort, and it might have a branch in each judicial district. The notes of this bank were virtually a legal tender for all debts.⁸¹

Since the Bank of the Commonwealth had pledged to it all funds received for state lands west of the Tennessee River, all the income from the stock of the Bank of Kentucky owned by the state, and any unexpended balances in the state treasury at the end of the year, it was thought by many that it would be a safe experiment. Loans were to be made on mortgage security; the president and directors might have discounts for \$2,000, but all others were not to exceed \$1,000; and all borrowers were required to make oath that they would use the amount procured from the bank during 1821 in payment of their just debts or to purchase for exportation the produce of the country.⁸² The bank's chief function at the beginning was to issue plenty of paper money.⁸³ It was allowed to issue \$3,000,000 in paper notes, but the state would be responsible for only the \$2,000,000 which was its legally authorized capital. It seems the bank's capital was scarcely more than nominal.⁸⁴ The legislature appropriated \$7,000 to buy books, and paper and plates for printing notes. Sumner says that this was all the real capital the bank ever had, and that it was just one more of the grand swindling concerns common at that period.⁸⁵ It must be remembered that this bank was created as a relief measure, thus showing that a strong motive in the minds of the legislators was undoubtedly to allow debtors to pay their obligations in cheap money, altho it clearly meant that creditors would be defrauded.⁸⁶ It was foreseen by some members of the legislature that the notes of the Bank of the Commonwealth would soon depreciate, and they opposed the project vigorously, but the debtor classes desired depreciation, and the legislature, listening to public

⁸¹ Durrett, *op. cit.*, 18; Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 177, 178.

⁸² *National Intelligencer*, November 28, 1820.

⁸³ Charles B. Elliott, in *Political Science Quarterly*, V, 251.

⁸⁴ Sophonisba Preston Breckinridge, "Administration of Justice in Kentucky". Type-written thesis in the University of Chicago Library, 1897.

⁸⁵ Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 162.

⁸⁶ McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History*, 385.

clamor instead of to reason, yielded easily.⁸⁷ Those who expressed the opinion that this new banking scheme would prevent speculation or help the general economic situation were soon disillusioned.⁸⁸

The stay on execution of notes for twelve months, which had been granted in February, 1820, stopped payments on many notes, but by February, 1821, these same notes were again due. In the single county of Franklin, where Frankfort is located, the Bank of Kentucky in two days began 275 suits for the collection of \$887,154, which was about \$400 per capita in that county.⁸⁹ In the Bank of Kentucky, as before noted, half the capital was owned by the state, and the legislature had the right to choose half the directors. The old directors were now turned out on the charge of meddling in politics, and more pliant men were put in their places.⁹⁰ The new president and board of directors stood pledged before their election to accept the paper of the Bank of the Commonwealth in payment of debts due the Bank of Kentucky.⁹¹ The legislature took the stock, money, and business away from the Bank of Kentucky as rapidly as possible and put all into the Bank of the Commonwealth. It seems that the state had a childish idea that its action would bolster up the already depreciated notes and stock of the old bank, and at the same time help to keep Bank of the Commonwealth notes at par. Neither of these things happened. The Bank of the Commonwealth in one year after its origin had lent \$2,400,000 and had issued more than \$2,300,000 in paper notes.⁹² It was doing business without real money and, after nearly two years of operation, it had only \$2,633.25 in specie.⁹³ As to the gradual winding up of the affairs of the Bank of Kentucky, the legislature gave it seven years to make all its settlements. It was to do this by uniform and regular calls on its debtors not exceeding two per cent per month.⁹⁴ Early in 1824 the paper notes of this bank were called in at the rate of one per cent per month.⁹⁵

⁸⁷ George Robertson, *Scrap Book on Law, Politics, Men, and Times* (Lexington, Ky., 1885), 48.

⁸⁸ *National Intelligencer*, November 28, 1820.

⁸⁹ Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky* (quoting from *Niles' Register*, XX, 85), II, 613.

⁹⁰ Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 178.

⁹¹ Smith, *History of Kentucky*, 509.

⁹² *Niles' Register*, XXI, 178.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, XXIII, 181.

⁹⁴ *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, December 17, 1822.

⁹⁵ *Niles' Register*, XXV, 368.

A study of the various attempted relief measures, as seen thus far in the bank legislation and replevin laws, almost convinces one that as soon as the time-serving legislatures passed an act that might afford some relief, they soon afterward did something that counteracted it. In December, 1820, the replevin law referred to above was passed, by which the debtor was allowed two years in which to redeem a debt due and for which execution had been ordered, unless the creditor should indorse on the execution his willingness to take notes of the then suspended Bank of Kentucky, or those of the newly created Bank of the Commonwealth in payment of his obligations; if this were agreed to, the stay for payment was for only three months. Owing to the loss of the capitol building in November, 1824, by fire, and the destruction of the original records in the matter, it is not certainly known who was the author of this relief law, but it is believed to have been Judge George Bibb, one of the state's ablest lawyers. Altho the act might be considered legal, it cast further suspicion on all the paper money of the state, infuriated creditors, and, instead of helping, made matters worse. In addition to this, in December, 1821, an act was passed which prohibited the sale of property on an order from the court for less than three-fourths of its appraised value by a jury of neighbors, unless the plaintiff would consent to receive notes of the Bank of the Commonwealth or the Bank of Kentucky as payment in discharge of the execution; if these bank notes were accepted as payment, the property could be sold without a formal appraisalment.⁹⁶ While this act deferred payment for a given debtor, it will be seen at once that it nevertheless ultimately put the property under execution at the mercy of the few men in each community who had saved some money to invest when good opportunities should come.

This last replevin law marks the supreme effort of the Kentucky legislature in trying to aid the debtor classes.⁹⁷ That it may be clear what the creditor who had lent good money would get in return if he took Commonwealth Bank notes as payment of his obligation, or submitted to a long vexatious delay without knowing then what he would get, it may be stated that Commonwealth Bank notes, worth only 70 cents on the dollar in specie from the very beginning, were worth

⁹⁶ Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 161.

⁹⁷ Wilson, *op. cit.*, 47.

62½ cents in March, 1822, and but little more than 50 cents by May. A correspondent from Louisville said: "Statements have been made in several papers, that the paper of our banks was on the rise. This is not the fact, as yet. Specie is now from 80 to 83 per cent advance in this market."⁹⁸ By October of 1822, a dollar of paper money had declined to less than 50 cents in specie, and all signs pointed to yet lower falls instead of any gains in value.⁹⁹ The creditor, if he had lent specie, was put in a serious position; if he accepted the paper money of the state's banks, he lost half of what he had lent; refusing that, he lost the chance of getting his money before the end of two years, when matters might be worse. It is little wonder that a legal way to protect property and hold men to their contracts was eagerly sought by both home and non-resident creditors.¹⁰⁰

The lowest point of business depression in the United States at large came at the end of 1820. The people in most of the states were slowly cured of the paper money delusion. For example, as early as 1821 the Tennessee courts declared the whole attempted relief system, somewhat similar to Kentucky's, unconstitutional in that state.¹⁰¹ The financial condition of the country generally was improved by 1822.¹⁰² With this view Schouler agrees but says that "in Kentucky alone was the delirium of discredit prolonged for many years to come."¹⁰³ But even in Kentucky, while the worst of the political struggle was yet to come, there were signs of financial improvement. It is noticeable that there is a searching for markets outside the state, and this is especially true concerning live stock. Markets for the first time for Kentucky hogs were extended as far as Raleigh, N.C., where they brought high prices.¹⁰⁴ A correspondent from Kentucky wrote to *Niles' Register* early in 1823 that the Bank of the Commonwealth had nearly destroyed the commerce of the state and broken down confidence between man and man, and that the people were getting tired of it; he admitted, however, that

⁹⁸ *National Gazette*, May 4, 1822; Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 30.

⁹⁹ McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History* (quoting *Niles' Register*, XXXIII, 96); Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 165.

¹⁰⁰ McElroy, *op. cit.*, 386.

¹⁰¹ Sumner, *op. cit.*, 159.

¹⁰² Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 140.

¹⁰³ Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution, 1783-1865*, III, 247.

¹⁰⁴ *National Gazette*, December 21, 1822.

the poorest people in the state owed it \$2,500,000 or \$3,000,000.¹⁰⁵ All during his term of office Governor Adair, whom Shaler calls "weak-minded", was in sympathy with the so-called relief measures.¹⁰⁶ In his annual message in October, 1822, Adair favored the gradual retirement of the Commonwealth Bank's notes.¹⁰⁷ Soon the legislature began to retire the notes of both state banks. Several million dollars in paper were called in during 1823 and either burned or boxed up and held in reserve. In the one month of January, 1823, the Bank of Kentucky burned \$1,398,924 of its notes.¹⁰⁸ After the Bank of the Commonwealth retired half the \$3,000,000 in notes it had outstanding, the remainder gradually approached par.¹⁰⁹ Teaching a frontier state the intricate problems of finance and sound economic principles thru experience was hard, but teaching Kentucky her proper relations to the federal government, that constitutions are written to protect minorities, and that her legislature was not supreme in all things was harder.

¹⁰⁵ Sumner, *Andrew Jackson* (citing *Niles' Register*, XXIII, 337), 163.

¹⁰⁶ Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 179.

¹⁰⁷ *Niles' Register*, XXIII, 171.

¹⁰⁸ *National Intelligencer*, February 5, 1823.

¹⁰⁹ Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 617, 618.

III

COURT DECISIONS AND THEIR RECEPTIONS

Banking and relief legislation had all been opposed, measure by measure, by a small but vigorous minority in each community in the state and at each session of the legislature. This minority argued vehemently that it was not a state's business either to put a citizen into debt or to aid him directly to get out; common sense, hard work, and thrift were the only real remedies for poverty. But the relief majority contended that a government existed to help its citizen at all times and especially when they were in financial distress. They even declared that depreciated currency was a blessing. It would not be accepted outside Kentucky as payment for products, and therefore home industries would be built up; the government land offices would not take it, but that would keep Kentuckians on the land they already had and dissuade them from migrating—plausible theories for the time being, but all false in practice.¹¹⁰ If the relief laws could have helped anyone, the assistance would have come to the army of small debtors of the state who owed more than \$2,000,000. Governor Adair in his message in 1823 said that if the property of this class of small debtors had been exposed for sale in a short period of time, it would not have brought more than a tenth, perhaps not a twentieth of its value. The relief party argued that its recent bank legislation had saved this class by furnishing cheap depreciated currency and forcing it by the replevin laws on the unwilling creditor. But there was a class of debtors who were so heavily involved that the banks could help them but little. Their aid came almost wholly from the baffling policy of the replevin and stop laws.¹¹¹ It was from the ranks of the more extensive creditors and money-lenders, who had shown great patience and forbearance, that the opposition movement to the relief measures slowly arose. From all over the state the creditor class began to insist that it was the province of the courts to protect their property and that the recent replevin laws were violations of contracts, the sanctity of which was guaranteed in both the federal and state constitutions.¹¹² The larger creditors had never, as it was hoped

¹¹⁰ *Niles' Register*, XXIII, 181.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, XXV, 204.

¹¹² Doolan, in *The Green Bag*, XI, 177 (1899).

they would, acquiesced willingly to a stay of two years or yielded to a general air of compulsory confidence which the replevin laws attempted to force.¹¹³

In the August term of 1821, in the Bourbon County circuit court, one Williams was given judgment against one Blair for \$219.67½ plus costs of the suit. Blair, by the stop-collection law, replevied the debt for two years. In the November term of court of the same year, Williams moved the quashing of the replevin bond and the awarding of an execution to collect the debt. Judge James Clark, before whom the case was argued, reserved his opinion on the matter until May 13, 1822. After considerable hesitancy and a full appreciation of the importance and far-reaching effect of his decision, he declared the replevin law of December 25, 1820, regulating indorsements on executions and deferred payments, null and void. He cited Section 108 of Article I of the United States Constitution, which forbade the passing of an *ex post facto* law or a law impairing the obligation of contracts, and showed that Section 18 of Article X of the Kentucky constitution was in agreement. He therefore predicated his decision on both constitutions. He then defined a legal contract and said that each party acquired reciprocal right to what was promised the other, and a law to release one party without the consent of the other relative to the payment of a sum of money, in whole or in part, or changing the date of payment, impaired the obligation of a contract. The replevin law in question stayed collection of this debt and denied justice to the creditor for two years unless he agreed to accept certain state bank notes instead of coin as payment. He argued that the court was well within its right to declare an act of the legislature null and void and therefore so pronounced the stay laws.

Only the replevin law directly in question was decided in Judge Clark's court, but he indicated what might happen to other relief laws if they came up for judicial review.¹¹⁴ This decision seemed to imply that the Bank of the Commonwealth act was also unconstitutional.¹¹⁵ While the constitutionality of this bank law is somewhat related to this subject, it is not

¹¹³ Brown, *op. cit.*, 23.

¹¹⁴ Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 179.

¹¹⁵ The full decision may be found in a pamphlet of Judge James Clark on "The Constitutionality of the So-called Endorsement Law, the Proceedings of the General Assembly of Kentucky against the Judge, and his Defense", Durrett, MSS., University of Chicago. The Clark decision in full may also be found in *Niles' Register*, XXIII, Supplement, 153-155.

purposed to say more than that the Kentucky court of appeals finally upheld the act without expressing a judgment of its own. The judges merely deferred to opinions of their predecessors and to the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Craig vs. Missouri*, a decision which was questioned by many leading lawyers.¹¹⁶ The question was not definitely settled by the Supreme Court until 1837 in the case of John Briscoe and others *vs.* the President and Directors of the Bank of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. This decision, which pronounced the Bank of the Commonwealth legal, allowed the issuance of paper from a state-owned bank, a practice which continued until the Civil War when Congress imposed a heavy tax on state bank notes.¹¹⁷

The decision of Judge Clark in *Williams vs. Blair* was soon followed by one from Judge Blair of Fayette County in *Lapsley vs. Brashear*. This case involved the same points of law and Judge Blair rendered a similar opinion. These decisions were widely copied and read outside Kentucky as well as in the state. *Niles' Register* in publishing the entire decision said:

Though it is true that this case is immediately concerning the interests of that state only, it is of so much importance to the general principles it embraces as to bring it home to the bosom of all. It is for this reason we allot so much space to it.

Prior to this, and even afterward, the great mass of people had believed the relief laws constitutional simply because the legislature had passed them. What the legislature did was supreme, in the minds of the people, and a mere circuit court's decision to the contrary seemed as preposterous as it was novel and startling. Only a few people had believed the replevin laws of 1820-1821 to be unconstitutional.¹¹⁸

The shock given the radical leaders who favored relief was not long in bearing fruit. By the action of Congress, following the census returns of 1820, two additional members of the House of Representatives were allotted to Kentucky in 1822. Governor Adair called a special session of the legislature to provide for and arrange twelve districts in the state. As soon as the legislature met, the lower house took notice of

¹¹⁶ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 495, gives the opinion of Judge George Robertson.

¹¹⁷ Henry Burnett, in *Proceedings of Kentucky State Bar Association*, 1909, p. 60; Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 619, 620.

¹¹⁸ Lucius P. Little, *Ben Hardin* (Louisville, 1887), 102; Brown, *op. cit.*, 23.

Judge Clark's recent decision and adopted a resolution which declared:

Whereas, This house is informed that Judge James Clark has at the present session of the Bourbon Circuit court given a decision in contravention of the laws of this Commonwealth, called the endorsement and replevin laws, and therein has grossly transcended his judicial authority, and disregarded the constitutional powers of the legislature of the Commonwealth—therefore,

Resolved that a committee be appointed to inquire into the decision of said Judge and report thereon to this house.

A committee of leading members was at once appointed.¹¹⁹ The Kentucky constitution of 1799, in force at this time, allowed judges of the supreme and inferior courts to hold office during good behavior; but for "any reasonable cause, which shall not be sufficient ground of impeachment", the governor should remove any of them on the address of two-thirds of each house of the General Assembly. It provided that the causes for such removal should be stated at length in such address and spread on the *Journal* of each house.¹²⁰ The legislative committee reviewed Clark's opinion and pronounced it as subversive of the best interests of the people and calculated to disturb the tranquility of the country and shake public confidence in institutions and measures of government. It denied that the judiciary had the right to defeat a deliberative policy of the legislature and it recommended, two-thirds of each house concurring, that "James Clark, one of the circuit judges of this Commonwealth, ought to be removed from office" and an address was submitted to Governor Adair asking for his removal. Instead of the house acting at once upon the committee's report advising the removal of Judge Clark by address, an order was issued commanding him to come before the legislature on Friday, May 24, to show cause why he should not be removed from office.

On arrival at Frankfort on the day set by the legislature, Judge Clark asked for and received a few days' time to put his defense in writing. The legislature had challenged him both on the judicial right to declare any of its acts void and on his views concerning the relief measures in question as a violation of the obligations of a contract as defined by the state constitution. He reviewed his decision ably, cited many

¹¹⁹ Clark, *op. cit.*, 9.

¹²⁰ J. D. Carroll, *Kentucky Statutes*, 1915, I, 47.

precedents, pleaded earnestly for the freedom of the courts against a fleeting majority in a legislature, and stood firmly by every position he had taken. After a day's spirited debate on the resolution to Governor Adair for Clark's removal by address, a vote was taken. It was not clear from the constitution just what would be a reasonable cause not sufficient for impeachment, but which would suffice for removal by address. Clark's friends made much of the indefiniteness of the constitution on this point, and argued that since the case already was in the court of appeals, which had final action, he should not be removed. When the vote was taken in the house it stood fifty-nine for removal, to thirty-five against.¹²¹ Judge Clark was safe, the relief leaders were nervous and alarmed, and a prolonged desperate court struggle had begun in earnest. Clark, who was very unpopular at that time but who nevertheless had won admiration as a bold, conscientious leader, was elected to Congress in 1826 from Clay's old district and in 1836 he was chosen governor.¹²²

The case of *Blair vs. Williams*, as it is styled when taken up to the higher court, and that of *Lapsley vs. Brashear* lay on appeal for several months in the state's highest tribunal, but before the opinions in these cases are considered, it will be necessary to note briefly a few decisions of the federal courts. The United States circuit court had, soon after their passage, declared parts of the indorsement and replevin laws of Kentucky unconstitutional; a short time afterward the United States district court of the state had decreed that every judgment it issued in execution of a debt should be paid in gold or silver instead of in Kentucky paper money and that no replevin for more than three months should obtain.¹²³ The Supreme Court in the *Bank of the United States vs. Halstead* held that the relief law prohibiting the sale without the owner's consent of lands under execution for less than three-fourths of the appraised value was invalid.¹²⁴ These decisions of themselves threatened the whole relief system of Kentucky and, when in *Wayman vs. Southard*, in 1825, the Supreme Court held that the replevin and indorsement law of Kentucky did not apply to writs of execution from a federal

¹²¹ Clark, *op. cit.*, 10-19.

¹²² Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 319, 320; II, 132, 133.

¹²³ McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, V, 415.

¹²⁴ Henry Wheaton, *Reports of Cases Argued and Decided in the Supreme Court* (Newark, N.Y., 1882), X, 51.

court, the feeling against the federal judiciary was anything but friendly.¹²⁵

In the meantime, prior to the *Wayman vs. Southard* decision, the Supreme Court had made, in the spring of 1823, a second decision on the occupying-claimant land law. This law with some of its amendments thereto and the troubles it caused has been mentioned. Finally a case known as *Green vs. Biddle* had come to the Supreme Court on appeal from Kentucky to test the constitutionality of the whole proposition. The decision of the court was that the Kentucky acts of 1797 and 1812 relative to land titles were both unconstitutional since they were an impairment of the contract between Virginia and Kentucky, made at the time of separation, whereby all land disputes were to be determined by the laws of the mother state.¹²⁶ When the full effect of this decision reached Kentucky, the cup of resentment against the federal judiciary was almost full.¹²⁷ Governor Adair in the fall of 1823 sent an angry message to the legislature in opposition to the Supreme Court's action. A warm debate arose as to whether Governor Adair should receive a vote of thanks for his vehement warning given the legislature and the people against federal encroachments. In the course of his message the Governor had called those who opposed the relief measures "ignorant or designing men".¹²⁸ It is noticeable that when a short time afterward a strong remonstrance against the Supreme Court's decision in *Green vs. Biddle* was adopted by both houses of the legislature, the vote was cast along relief and anti-relief lines.¹²⁹

Petitions from Kentucky to Congress to amend the much-disliked Judiciary Act of 1789, which they thought responsible for the obnoxious decisions of the federal courts just mentioned,¹³⁰ had no more effect on that body in 1824 and 1825 than had earlier attempts between Kentucky and Virginia to compromise among themselves the vexed and equally obnoxious occupying-claimant laws.¹³¹ The Supreme Court's action in the various cases which affected Kentucky caused it

¹²⁵ Wheaton, *op. cit.*, X, 1.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, X, 18.

¹²⁷ McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, V, 415.

¹²⁸ *National Intelligencer*, November 24, 1823.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, January 22, 1824.

¹³⁰ *Niles' Register*, XXV, 261.

¹³¹ McMaster, *op. cit.*, V, 416.

to be branded as not only hostile to relief for poor debtors, but also an ally of both Virginia, to help defraud settlers of their land, and of the hated United States Bank. All this led to many exciting debates, more angry messages to the legislature from the next governor, and more legislative remonstrances. Finally, in *Bodley vs. Gaither*, 1825, the court of appeals in Kentucky sustained the occupying-claimant laws of the state and thereby repudiated the Supreme Court's decisions above mentioned. Its action was based on the ground that the Supreme Court's decision had been reached by fewer than a majority of the members of the court.¹³² Let it be said that it was the "old court", in the meaning of that term which became so familiar later, that is, the anti-relief court, in Kentucky, which challenged the Supreme Court of the United States and which rendered the decision upholding the occupying-claimant laws.¹³³ The state, torn asunder on almost all other problems at this time, was a unit in opposition to what was regarded as foreign encroachment on her sovereignty from Virginia and the federal courts.

The Supreme Court in 1831, *Hawkins vs. Barney's Lessee*, modified the position it had taken in *Green vs. Biddle*, and since the last decision was more favorable to Kentucky's contention on the proposition, it enabled Kentuckians to say that the Supreme Court had backed down and that their own views had been right all the time.¹³⁴ A study of the case convinces one that the struggles over the occupying-claimant laws were much more than merely partisan, political wrangles, as Sumner implies. It must be admitted that Kentucky settlers whose titles were questioned often took unfair advantage of

¹³² *National Intelligencer*, December 6, 1825; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 168.

¹³³ Robertson, *Scrap Book*, 221. The terms "relief" and "anti-relief" were superseded as party names by the terms "old court" and "new court" when in 1824 a legislative act was passed repealing all laws relating to the organization of the court of appeals. The act provided not only for the abolishment of the existing court of appeals, which henceforth became known as the "old court", but also for the removal of Judges Boyle, Owsley, and Mills, the old-court justices. The act further provided for the establishment of another court of appeals and for the appointment of new judges. The court of appeals might not under this reorganization law annul an act of the legislature except by the concurrence of all the judges of that court. In January, 1825, the governor appointed new judges for what at once became known as the "new court". The "old-court" judges refused to admit the constitutionality of the act removing them and continued in office. For three years there were two courts of appeals in Kentucky, and the most exciting and bitter legislative-judicial controversy ever occurring in America ensued. When the "new-court" party lost control of the legislature, the act which had caused the turmoil was repealed and the "old court" with all its original powers was restored by the "old-court" party.

¹³⁴ Sumner, *op. cit.*, 168-171.

prior claimants, and juries sometimes awarded them unreasonable sums allowed by law for improvements made.¹³⁵ This was inevitable and caused honest claimants in both Kentucky and Virginia to protest bitterly at the injustice of the law. But it was a problem of the troublous pioneer times, and one is led to the conviction that while perhaps Virginia and the Supreme Court were technically right in their view, on the whole, Kentucky was humanly and morally so. The first quarter of the nineteenth century was with the American people a period of restless political experimentation. Scarcely a year went by in which some state did not defy the president, Congress, or the Supreme Court, advocating nullification and secession or threatening resistance. Thirteen of the twenty-four states asserted boldly the doctrine of state supremacy.¹³⁶ It is to the credit of the federal courts that in Kentucky's cases of relief and land titles, they were neither swayed by the loudest clamor nor by the largest number of votes.¹³⁷

An understanding of the fundamentals of the unexpected and unpopular decisions of the federal courts in which Kentucky was concerned at this time is considered necessary to give an accurate view of the already inflamed and complicated situation in the state. The masses of people had just begun to understand what had been decided in *Green vs. Biddle* when, in October, 1823, the state court of appeals announced its opinions in *Blair vs. Williams* and *Lapsley vs. Brashear*, declaring the replevin acts unconstitutional. If the cup of resentment had been nearly full in Kentucky over the attitude of the federal courts, it was now full and overflowing relative to the action of her own courts.¹³⁸ The state became wild with excitement when it seemed to many of her people that no longer was the will of the majority safe in a democracy. Something had to be done quickly to crush this opposition from an unexpected source—the state courts. The judges of the court of appeals had been repeatedly threatened with violence if they upheld Judges Clark and Blair, but the two

¹³⁵ *Kentucky Gazette*, March 28, 1822.

¹³⁶ McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States*, V, 417, 418; Turner, *The Rise of the New West*, 137-139; Schouler, *History of the United States of America under the Constitution, 1783-1865*, III, 118-121.

¹³⁷ Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 170.

¹³⁸ Robertson, *Scrap Book*, 49.

judges were now upheld and their judgments affirmed on all essential points.¹³⁹

Before considering the decisions of the court of appeals, which "became at once the occasion for an unparalleled ferment",¹⁴⁰ brief notice should be taken of the three men who then sat on the bench of that court. John Boyle, chief justice, was born in Virginia in 1777 of humble parents, who brought him to Kentucky when he was five years old. Young Boyle's education was limited, but he soon distinguished himself at the bar, was sent to Congress for six years when yet quite young, refused further service in that position, and soon thereafter was appointed a judge of the appellate court. In 1810 he was made chief justice, holding this position until 1826 when he voluntarily resigned to become United States district judge, which post he held until his death in 1835. He was for some time professor of law at Transylvania University, refused many federal positions proffered him, and twice declined appointments to the United States Supreme Court. Never a broad reader, he yet knew the law scientifically, had a philosophical mind, and both as a man and jurist was universally respected for his talents and integrity.¹⁴¹

William Owsley, the first associate judge, was born in Virginia in 1782, and was brought to Kentucky the next year. He became a student of law under Judge Boyle and rose so rapidly that at the age of thirty-one he was appointed an appellate court judge, which position he held until he resigned in 1828. After his resignation he farmed in Garrard County and practiced law successfully and energetically for several years. In 1844 he was elected governor, that being the last position he held. As a lawyer he was very resourceful, keen, and lucid. As a man he was known far and wide for honesty and firmness, and during the bitter court struggle he was perhaps the least criticized and assailed of the "old-court" judges.¹⁴² He died on a farm near Danville in 1862.

Benjamin Mills, the second associate justice, was born in Maryland, removed early to Washington, Pa., where he was

¹³⁹ W. B. Allen, *Kentucky* (Louisville, 1872), 86; Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 180.

¹⁴⁰ Brown, *op. cit.*, 25.

¹⁴¹ Robertson, *Scrap Book*, 217-226, gives an intimate biographical sketch of Judge Boyle.

¹⁴² Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, gives a good sketch of Judge Owsley; see also J. H. Battle, W. H. Perrin, and G. C. Kniffin, *History of Kentucky* (Louisville, 1885), 314.

educated and studied medicine, but soon came to Kentucky and began to practice law. He was a profound student and rose to eminence, becoming a circuit judge at an early age. In 1820 he was appointed a judge on the appellate bench, which position he held until he voluntarily resigned in 1828. His decisions showed great care, research, and fine analytical powers. He died at Frankfort in 1831.¹⁴³ In a state which is noted for the ability and high rank of its bar and the production of able jurists, Boyle, Owsley, and Mills will always be honored and respected for their sacrifice, fearlessness, and consummate ability in maintaining the integrity of the law and, what was more important, as it seemed to them, protecting at a most critical time organized society itself.

The decision of the court in the case of *Blair vs. Williams* was delivered October 8, 1823, by Chief Justice Boyle. In the case of *Lapsley vs. Brashear*, altho each judge delivered a separate opinion, they agreed in essentials. George Robertson, a contemporary lawyer, and one of the most distinguished leaders thruout the whole contest started by these decisions, asserted:

As was foreseen, those decisions produced very great exasperation and consequent denunciation of the court. The Judges were charged with arrogating supremacy over the popular will—their authority to declare void any act of the Legislature was denied, and they were denounced by the organs and stump orators of the dominant relief party as usurpers and self-made kings. No popular controversy, waged without bloodshed, was ever more absorbing or acrimonious than that which raged, like a hurricane, over Kentucky for about three years succeeding the promulgation of those judicial decisions.¹⁴⁴

While it was not definitely known, on account of the destruction by fire of the original laws, it was believed, as above intimated, that Judge George Bibb, himself a very able lawyer, had been the author of the replevin laws, now annulled. The people had sincerely believed them constitutional.¹⁴⁵ Judge Mills himself seems to have thought at first that they were, and two of the judges thought they were constitutional on contracts made after the passage of the acts but were not on all prior cases.¹⁴⁶ The federal Constitution forbids the

¹⁴³ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, II, 79, 80, gives a sketch of Judge Mills; Battle, Perrin, and Kniffin, *op. cit.*, 314.

¹⁴⁴ Robertson, *Scrap Book*, 49, 50; see also Collins, *op. cit.*, II, 674; Shaler, *Kentucky a Pioneer Commonwealth*, 181, 182.

¹⁴⁵ Little, *Ben Hardin*, 102.

¹⁴⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, 23.

passage of an *ex post facto* law or the enactment of any measure which would impair the obligation of contracts, and the Kentucky constitution carried the same provisions. Barring much technical and metaphysical reasoning on subjects like perfect and imperfect obligations, differences between moral and legal duty, and the connection between legal right and legal remedy, the decisions simply meant that the circuit courts were upheld in pronouncing null and void the replevin acts of the Kentucky legislature which impaired contracts in so far as they were retroactive.¹⁴⁷ The opinions were scholarly and have been held as models of their kind. Boyle's opinion particularly has been praised as a "polished metaphysical essay".¹⁴⁸ The decision of Judge Mills, who finally became convinced of the unconstitutionality of the replevin laws, seems to be the most practical one for reference in the ordinary administration of law. The original reports of the cases and the briefs and arguments filed by counsel were destroyed by fire in the capitol building. George M. Bibb, in a scholarly petition showing remarkable research, filed a petition for a rehearing in both cases on a technicality, but was overruled.¹⁴⁹ This in ordinary times would have ended the cases and settled the matter. But times then were far from ordinary in Kentucky.

When the legislature met in the fall of 1823 it afforded the first formal chance for an expression on recent federal and state court decisions. Loud protests at once went up against the Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Green vs. Biddle*. That decision, said this legislature, was ruinous to the good people of Kentucky and "subversive of their dearest and most valuable political rights".¹⁵⁰ In the same breath, anger at the local courts led to a set of pointed, angry resolutions drawn up by John Rowan and passed December 10 in the lower house which gave fully its views on the recent decisions of the Kentucky court of appeals. The resolutions were preceded, Robertson says, "by a long, bombastic denunciatory and *ad captandum* preamble".¹⁵¹ They declared that the decisions in

¹⁴⁷ In 4 Littell, *Kentucky Reports*, 1824, pp. 34-46, is found Judge Boyle's decision in the case of *Blair vs. Williams*; on pp. 46-87 are found the decisions of Judges Owsley and Mills on the case of *Lapsley vs. Brashear*; see also Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 495, 496, for an analysis of the appellate court's decision by Judge George Robertson.

¹⁴⁸ Brown, *op. cit.*, 23.

¹⁴⁹ 4 Littell, 87-116, gives Bibb's petition.

¹⁵⁰ *Niles' Register*, XXV, 275.

¹⁵¹ Robertson, *Scrap Book*, 50.

Blair *vs.* Williams and Lapsley *vs.* Brashear were erroneous and wrong, and asserted that since the laws which these decisions had declared void were constitutional, the legislature would not pay any attention to the decisions; and further, whether the replevin laws were or were not expedient, they "are believed to be constitutional and valid, and which should, when it shall be thought expedient to do so, be repealed by the Legislature and not by the Appellate Court". The resolutions were adopted by a vote of 56 to 40.¹⁵² It is worth noting that one of the resolutions introduced in the lower house at this same time by Mr. Rowan proposed to repeal some of the troublesome relief laws, but it was defeated by a vote of 50 to 45.¹⁵³ A few weeks later, however, in January, 1824, the replevin laws were repealed, and in their stead a law was passed that all property taken by executions from courts should bring at least three-fourths of its value in gold or silver.¹⁵⁴ The importance of the replevin law dwindled and faded away before the passions aroused in the conflict between the legislature and the courts.¹⁵⁵ The court decisions, however, seem to have had the effect of making some of the politicians of the time look around and think, even tho it did not convert them.

With resolutions denouncing the decisions of the court of appeals came a demand on the governor for removal of the judges by address. As was the case in the preceding legislature in the attempt to remove Judge Clark, a two-thirds majority could not be obtained. The judges of the court of appeals put up a vigorous fight and were supported loyally and saved by the anti-relief party.¹⁵⁶ It is interesting to note that as much antagonism as there was against the courts then, and with more to come between 1824 and 1826, the various movements to call a convention to change the constitution did not gain many adherents or much momentum. The movement started when Judge Clark made his decision, and a bill was passed in the lower house, directed by the relief party in November, 1823, to call a convention to change the state constitution.¹⁵⁷ This would have been a much less radical proce-

¹⁵² *National Intelligencer*, December 29, 1823.

¹⁵³ *Niles' Register*, XXV, 275; *National Intelligencer*, December 29, 1823.

¹⁵⁴ Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 622.

¹⁵⁵ *Niles' Register*, XXIX, 221.

¹⁵⁶ Robertson, *Scrap Book*, 51-74, gives an able address made by Mr. Robertson on December 4, 1823, against the Rowan resolutions.

¹⁵⁷ *National Intelligencer*, December 4, 1823.

ture than was being used; it would not have aroused so much feeling and no doubt would have had the support of many anti-relief men since a real need for revision on some important matters really existed. Of course the radical party would hope to get the definite sanction in the new constitution for its pet relief measures, and particularly to try to make judges elective instead of appointive officers, having their terms limited to a short time. But for these reasons, however, the anti-relief party put forth all sorts of objections to a convention, some foolish and absurd,¹⁵⁸ but it did urge most the one very sensible objection that in the state of mind then obtaining, Kentucky should not attempt to frame a new constitution. The bill passed by the house to call a convention was lost in the senate by the close vote of 18 yeas and 18 nays.¹⁵⁹ The judges of the court of appeals had not been removed by address, they could not be persuaded to resign, nor was a convention called to change the constitution and thus rid the state of them; therefore it remained only to make the relief laws and the whole court question a campaign issue in 1824.

There were really no national issues in the campaign of 1824 well enough defined to arouse much interest; old party lines were broken to pieces and new alignments were not yet formed. But the campaign in Kentucky was spirited because Henry Clay was a candidate for president. Clay had been at Washington for a long time, and was not involved in the local relief and anti-relief quarrels. Tho there was considerable Jackson sentiment in the state,¹⁶⁰ Clay had the leaders of all factions on his side at the time of the election, and he received the electoral votes of the state.¹⁶¹ When in 1825, Adams was chosen president by the House of Representatives and appointed Clay his secretary of state, Clay's popularity decided-

¹⁵⁸ Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, II, 628.

¹⁵⁹ *Niles' Register*, XXV, 260.

¹⁶⁰ Relative to Jackson sentiment in Kentucky, John Roche, a professor in Transylvania University, says he left Maysville in the early summer of 1824 for the East on a steamboat called the *Velocipede*, a fast boat consuming five cords of wood daily. The *Velocipede* had fifty passengers, and in order to break the monotony of the trip up the Ohio, a straw vote for president was taken. Jackson received thirty-one votes, Adams twelve, and Clay only six. Almost all the deck passengers voted for Jackson, and along the shore where the boat stopped, nineteen out of twenty were for him. Roche concludes "that were the people to vote personally, Jackson would be president". See *Journal of John Roche*, Draper MSS., 17CC66.

¹⁶¹ McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History*, 389-391.

ly declined, and the Jackson sentiment was very much in evidence, especially with the then new relief party.¹⁶²

The issues in Kentucky were between relief and anti-relief parties relative to the laws already noted, and particularly as to whether the judges of the court of appeals should be sustained in their decisions or be forced to resign or be expelled. General Joseph Desha, who had an honorable record as an officer in the War of 1812 and who had been defeated as candidate for governor in 1820, was the candidate of the relief party and made a vigorous, spirited campaign. The anti-relief candidate was Judge Christopher Tompkins, a good man but not nearly as well known as Desha. Besides presidential electors and governor, a House of Representatives and one-fourth of the Senate were to be chosen; also the legislature that was to be chosen that year would elect a United States senator. The campaign of 1824 was a typical, exciting, pioneer one with plenty of fighting and riots. Desha won by a vote of 38,378 to 22,499 for Tompkins. General Robert McAfee was chosen lieutenant-governor.¹⁶³ The relief party also sent a good majority to each house of the legislature.¹⁶⁴ The economic situation was still far from good. The total valuation of the property in Kentucky in 1824 was \$123,885,-118, on which the tax collected for that year was but \$77,-425.¹⁶⁵ The treasury was threatened with embarrassment, taxable property was to be valued in the depreciated Bank of the Commonwealth notes, property to be sold under execution by court order was to be valued in specie, and there was heavy emigration from the state to Illinois and Missouri.¹⁶⁶ This situation presented hard problems, and statesmanship of the highest order was needed to free Kentucky from its largely self-inflicted misery. But it was too soon to expect the fog of discord to be dissipated by the light of calm reason.

¹⁶² McElroy, *Kentucky in the Nation's History*, 389-394; Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 31. The "new-court" party had, before adjournment of the legislature in January, 1825, recommended to members of Congress from Kentucky that they vote for Jackson in the contest for president in the House of Representatives. See also *National Intelligencer*, January 28, 1825.

¹⁶³ *Niles' Register*, XXVII, 16; Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 31.

¹⁶⁴ *House Journal of Kentucky*, 1824, 437; Kerr (ed.), *History of Kentucky*, 629, 630.

¹⁶⁵ *Niles' Register*, XXXI, 130.

¹⁶⁶ Collins, *History of Kentucky*, I, 25.

THE FUR TRADE IN THE MAUMEE-WABASH
COUNTRY

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THE FUR TRADE IN THE MAUMEE-WABASH COUNTRY

THE Maumee and Wabash valleys, in the minds of the eighteenth century, possessed one value only; and that value was their wealth of furs and skins. Beavers and muskrats furnished the material for most of the hats worn in Europe and America, and from the streams of this region their pelts could be gathered in almost unlimited quantities. Deer skins were in heavy demand for the manufacture of leather, and the forests abounded in deer. Raccoons, mink, and otter were sought for the warmth and beauty of their furs, and here the Indians could trap them by thousands. These valleys held another value incidental to the fur trade: they were an important route of travel and transportation between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. Thus it was that this country was an object of interest in the French and Indian Wars, and when final victory came to Great Britain she claimed it as part of her fur trade empire.¹

For half a century before the collapse of Bourbon power in America, French traders had journeyed up and down the Maumee and Wabash, crossing from one river to another by the portage between the head of the Maumee and the upper waters of the Wabash.² In this country they had established three important centers of trade. At the head of the Maumee, where the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's rivers unite, was the ancient trading place of the Miami.³ The post was in ruins when it came into British possession, but the trade continued and was an important factor in building the city of Fort Wayne. On the Wabash near where the city of Lafayette now

¹ There is no general history of the British fur trade in America. Valuable material may be found in George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson Bay Company* (London, 1900); Gordon C. Davidson, *The Northwest Company* (Berkeley, Calif., 1918); Beckles Willson, *The Great Company* (London, 1900).

² George Croghan who visited this portage in 1765 has left a good description of it. Croghan's *Journal*, 1765, in Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), I, 149, 150.

³ There are several good histories of Fort Wayne and the Maumee Valley that give the history of this post. Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850* (Indianapolis, 1915), 34, gives a brief sketch. See also note to Croghan's *Journal* in *Early Western Travels*, I, 122.

stands was Ouiatanon or the post of the Weas. It had also an extensive trade and was classed by Sir William Johnson as one of the most desirable trading posts in the West. It continued to be of importance, and to furnish a home for many *habitants* until the Indian wars against the United States brought its destruction in 1792.⁴

The third of these trading places was at Vincennes on the lower Wabash.⁵ It had been important in French political as well as trading plans for more than thirty years, and its prosperity was to continue. From time to time English traders had invaded this country, but in 1763 French traders and *habitants* still constituted almost all the population. They were light-hearted and indolent, and they liked best to spend their time in fiddling, dancing, and drinking. Their friendship with the Indians appeared to be firm, and they maintained an influence that could not be shaken. Only when they were won to British rule was the temper of the Indians considered safe.

The currency of this country was peltry. At a time when gold and silver were rarely seen the supply of furs was constant and their value definitely known. Furs paid for the Indian trading goods that came from English merchants by way of Detroit, or from French adventurers by way of New Orleans and up the Mississippi. Here the French again had an advantage. Their disposition, and their generous presents, combined with long-established habits of the Indians themselves, gave the merchants of New Orleans a large share of the trade.⁶

To get exclusive control of this trade was a serious concern of British politics. The imperially-minded wished to place it under the supervision of royal officers, preferably the superintendents of Indian affairs. Most of the traders, however, preferred the looser methods that had long been followed in

⁴ Oscar J. Craig, "Ouiatanon" in *Indiana Historical Society Publications* (Indianapolis, 1893), II, No. 8, gives the available material on this post. Croghan's description in his *Journal*, *op. cit.*, 144, is interesting.

⁵ For Vincennes see George Croghan's description in his *Journal*, *op. cit.*, 141. See also Jacob P. Dunn, "Documents Relating to the French Settlements on the Wabash" in *Indiana Historical Society Publications*, II, No. 11, and "The Mission to the Ouabache" in *ibid.* (Indianapolis, 1902), IV, No. 4; Paul C. Phillips, "Vincennes in its Relation to French Colonial Policy" in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XVII, No. 4 (December, 1921).

⁶ Thomas Gage to Sir William Johnson, January 25, 1767, in Edmund B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1850), II, 486.

the English colonies, whereby the royal governors were supposed to regulate the trade.

The first attempt of the British to regulate the trade of this region was made in the Royal Proclamation of 1763.⁷

This reserved to the Indians all their lands in the West and forbade the whites to purchase them. The trade with the Indians

. . . shall be free and open to all our Subjects, whatever, providing that every Person who may incline to Trade with the said Indians do take out a License for carrying on such Trade from the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of any of our Colonies respectively where such Person shall reside, and also give Security to observe such Regulations as We shall at any Time think fit . . . to direct and appoint for the Benefit of the said Trade.

The "Governors and Commanders-in-Chief" were "to grant such Licenses without Fee or Reward".

The Proclamation of 1763, however, did not regulate the Indian trade. The colonial governors, who were intrusted with the general oversight of this trade, were too busy to give it any attention. Many traders saw no necessity for taking out licenses. Apparently none of them paid any attention to the regulations fixing a fair price of goods, and prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians. No improvement was brought about by the royal proclamation, and old abuses continued.

The Maumee-Wabash country had its share of unlicensed traders. There were many from New York and Pennsylvania, but the majority bore French names. Among them we find names such as Capasin, Lorrain, and La Motte, and for a long time it appears that Richardville, the Indian chief, who was a successful trader, operated without license.⁸ George Croghan, who was deputy superintendent of Indian affairs in this region, called these traders "an idle, lazy set, a parcel of renegades from Canada much worse than Indians".⁹ Sir

⁷ A copy of this proclamation is in the Canadian Archives Commission Report, 1906. See *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada* (Sessional Papers, VII, No. 18, Ottawa, 1907), 119-123; Clarence W. Alvord, "Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763", in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections* (Lansing, 1908), XXXVI, 20-52, describes the origin and political ideas back of this proclamation.

⁸ Sir William Johnson to General Gage, January 2, 1767, in O'Callaghan (ed.), *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, II, 484.

⁹ Croghan, *Journal*, op. cit., 141. Croghan was deputy superintendent under Sir William Johnson. In 1765 he was sent to the Wabash country. The record of this trip is printed in his *Journal*. He was placed in charge of the western district comprising Fort Pitt, Detroit, and the Illinois country in 1766. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (2 vols., Cleveland, 1917), I, note 510.

William Johnson, the able superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern department, denounced them in 1770 as "that lawless colony of the Wabash who are daily increasing in numbers, and whilst they particularly hate us as Englishmen are really enemies of all government". Again he wrote to Lord Hillsborough, the colonial secretary:

When the Indians are assembled on public affairs there are always traders secreted in the neighborhood, and some publicly who not only make them intoxicated . . . but afterwards get back the greater part of their presents in exchange for spirituous liquors thereby defeating the intentions of the crown.¹⁰

In spite of the evils which Johnson and Croghan saw, they were without authority to suppress them. In 1768 Lord Hillsborough had definitely lodged the control of the Indian trade with the colonial governors, and no improvement seemed possible.¹¹

Under this loose system of managing the trade all sorts of evils resulted. The traders were guilty of brutal treatment of the Indians, and the Indians, themselves, unable to refuse the temptation of rum, again and again besought the government to protect them. Under these conditions British traders got no more furs from the Indians than before the surrender of Canada, and French merchants were as prosperous as ever.

Various suggestions were made to improve the Indian trade. Sir William Johnson insisted first that there must be fairness and order in dealing with the Indians. Next he would remove the French.¹² Then he would rebuild the posts and block the French on the Mississippi from entrance to the country.¹³

In 1771 New York proposed to Pennsylvania and Quebec that as these three colonies were most concerned with the Northwest fur trade they coöperate to regulate it. The proposal came to nothing, however, on account of the objections of Quebec, for that province apparently felt that her people

¹⁰ O'Callaghan (ed.), *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, II, 565.

¹¹ Circular letter of Hillsborough to the governors in America, in O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York* (Albany, 1856), VIII, 55.

¹² Sir William Johnson to the Lords of Trade, January 20, 1764, in O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, VII, 599.

¹³ Sir William Johnson to General Gage, January 29, 1767, in O'Callaghan (ed.), *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, II, 488. General Gage to Sir William Johnson, February 8, 1767, in *ibid.*

had the advantage in the general state of disorder.¹⁴ The merchants of Pennsylvania and New York, however, had no notion of close regulation of the Indian trade of the Northwest. They were opposed to any fixing of prices and to any restrictions on the sale of rum. They were willing to confine the traders' operations to posts, for this would diminish the advantages which the French were able to maintain in wandering unrestrained thru the woods. With trade confined to the posts, the long friendship maintained by the French for the Indians would offer few advantages.¹⁵

As has been already suggested, the merchants of Montreal were the greatest beneficiaries of the anarchy of the fur trade in the Northwest. The *coureurs des bois* had ignored the edicts of the kings of France and had profited greatly by their untrammelled intercourse with the natives. The Scotch and English merchants who made Montreal their headquarters after 1763 were anxious to learn French methods of trade, and they gladly adopted the ways of these old traders. Both French and British opposed any effective control of the fur trade and strenuously maintained the necessity of a trade unhampered by royal restraints. They maintained that only by freedom of trade could they keep the French and Spanish traders on the Mississippi out of the Northwest.¹⁶

The failure of the colonies to bring about any order in the fur trade was noted in England. It suggested to Lord Dartmouth, the successor to Hillsborough, an idea of imperial control. In a letter to Johnson in 1773 he wrote:

As the colonies do not seem disposed to concur in any general regulations for Indian trade I am at a loss to suggest any mode by which this important service can be otherwise provided than by the interposition of the Supreme Legislature, the exertion of which would be in-

¹⁴ Victor Coffin, *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics, Political Science, and History Series, Madison, 1896, Vol. I, No. 3), 417, 418, describes the anarchy in this trade.

¹⁵ Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, I, 295.

¹⁶ The merchants of Montreal wrote to Governor Murray of Quebec about 1765: "We are apprehensive that if the Traders are not permitted to traffick with the Savages beyond your Majesty's Posts & Garrisons this commerce will be totally lost to us as it is not possible for them all to winter in the Posts for Want of Provisions, besides several Nations some of whom are distant above 600 Leagues from any Post will not condescend to come to supply their wants at so great Distance when they may be provided by foreign Traders by the River Mississippi." British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 5491:4. Transcript in Library of Congress, *British Transcripts*, 78. See also Alvord, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, I, 297, 298.

advisable until truth and correction have revived the unhappy prejudices which have so long prevailed in the colonies on this subject.¹⁷

In spite of Dartmouth's threats, the Canadians obtained the support of their governors. Regardless of British ordinances, they went where they could obtain furs. With their greater capital and their better supply of trading goods, the French and British merchants in Montreal were finally able to drive out of the Maumee-Wabash country the French from New Orleans. All the furs of this region then went to Detroit, and the supply was constantly increasing. The value each year of the furs shipped from Vincennes was probably \$25,000, while from the neighborhood of old Fort Ouiatanon, Detroit annually received some \$40,000 worth of furs.¹⁸ And this was not all. From the Maumee, the St. Joseph, the White River, and other streams the traders brought in their collections of skins.¹⁹

The Quebec Act of 1774 was in part the result of colonial inability to regulate the Indian trade, and in part the result of the efforts of French and British merchants at Montreal to get exclusive control of this trade. The outstanding leaders of this group were Alexander Henry, Peter Pond, and Thomas and Joseph Frobisher.²⁰ These men were mostly of Scotch ancestry, but they were soon joined by Frenchmen who knew the Indians well, and the combination was irresistible. The Quebec Act put this region under the control of the military governor of Quebec and gave to these merchants a practical monopoly of the fur trade.²¹ To make this monopoly secure here and in other fur lands the merchants of Montreal began to form partnerships that finally grew into the Northwest Company.²²

During the American Revolution the fur trade in the Maumee-Wabash country languished. The French and Spaniards from St. Louis invaded the region once more, but no statistics

¹⁷ O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, VIII, 348, 349.

¹⁸ Ernest A. Cruikshank, "Early Traders and Trade Routes in Ontario", in *Royal Canadian Institute Transactions* (Toronto, 1893), III, 266.

¹⁹ Charles B. Lasselle, "The Old Indian Traders of Indiana", in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 4, 5 (March, 1906), gives some information about these early traders.

²⁰ Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, 1760-1766* (New York, 1809), p. 253 for Henry and p. 252 for Pond; *Origin and Progress of the Northwest Company* (London, 1811), an anonymous pamphlet which also describes Pond.

²¹ Victor Coffin, "The Quebec Act and the American Revolution", in *American Historical Association Annual Report* for 1894, p. 279, declares that the fur trade had nothing to do with this act.

²² The standard account of this company is Davidson, *op. cit.*

remain to show the extent of their business. The capture of Vincennes by George Rogers Clark diverted still more of this trade to St. Louis. The Spanish march against St. Joseph possibly had something to do with the desire to extend this trade into the Great Lakes region.²³ In the Maumee Valley, Canadian traders still strove with those from New York and Pennsylvania for the pelts of the native hunters, but neither had the military support that had formerly made their activities safe. If the British gave no protection they likewise offered no interference, and for some years the trader went where he would with rum and trinkets to sell at war prices. Starvation and disease afflicted the Indians and the supply of furs greatly decreased.²⁴

During the later years of the war some semblance of supervision was restored. Major De Peyster, the commander at Detroit, sent a licensed trader among the Indians of the Wabash to keep them quietly at home. Sir John Johnson, the new superintendent of Indian affairs in the north, bent every effort to keeping his wards satisfied. He gave the post commanders wide authority to restrain the traders so that justice for the red men would be secured.²⁵ Finally, in order to drive out the unlicensed traders and to bring the trade under adequate control, De Peyster promoted an association of merchants called the "general store". It was made up of merchants from Montreal and Mackinac with about fifteen traders from the country south of the Great Lakes basin. This "general store" was to have a practical monopoly of the fur trade under the supervision of the post commanders.²⁶ This partnership controlled the trade of the Maumee Valley and the country bordering on the Great Lakes for several years, but it never restored to the British traders the hold on the lower Wabash and the country west of it.

In the negotiations for the treaty that gave America her independence, the fur trade was not a subject of dispute. Franklin, who was most insistent in the claims to the Northwest, had long before expressed his appreciation of the importance of this trade.²⁷ Altho in his discussions with the

²³ Cruikshank, *op. cit.*, 270-274.

²⁴ Cruikshank, "Fur Trade, 1783-1787", in Royal Canadian Institute *Transactions* (Toronto, 1898), V, 74.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁶ Cruikshank, "Early Traders and Trade Routes", in Royal Canadian Institute *Transactions*, III, 270-274.

²⁷ Benjamin Franklin, *Writings* (ed. Smyth) (New York, 1905), IV, 467.

British negotiators he never mentioned the subject, it was doubtless one of the reasons back of his urgency to obtain this country.

The cession of the country south of the Great Lakes to the new republic produced alarm and indignation among the merchants of Montreal. In spite of the treaty they determined to make desperate efforts to hold their southwestern fur trade. At Detroit the value of one year's collection of furs was half a million dollars, and it was paid for by goods of British manufacture.²⁸ To hold this trade it would be necessary to hold the posts south of the lakes, and the British government willingly fell in with this plan. For the next few years Maumee and Wabash furs continued to go to Detroit and into the storerooms of British traders.

In the list of Detroit merchants trading in the country to the southward we find the names of John MacPherson, George Sharp, and John Askin. In the Maumee-Wabash Valley was the great merchant David Gray, who traded at Miamitown (Fort Wayne), Muncie, and Vincennes. Of less importance was George Ironside, of Miamitown.²⁹

Askin sent his traders south for furs, and Francis Vigo, a Frenchman from St. Louis, gathered in the pelts around Vincennes and shipped them to him.³⁰

²⁸ Letter quoted in Cruikshank, "Fur Trade, 1783-1787", in *Royal Canadian Institute Transactions*, V, 77.

²⁹ Christopher B. Coleman (ed.), "Letters from Eighteenth-century Indiana Merchants", in *Indiana Magazine of History*, V, 142-152 (December, 1909).

³⁰ The John Askin *Papers* in 18 volumes are in the Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library. On June 22, 1786, Askin wrote to Todd and McGill, merchants of Montreal: "Mr. Vigo is here and has bought about 100 Packs . . . he is allowed to be the best man towards the Post we have fitted him out & have great Reasons to think he will make a great Stroke as we do not see any person who is both capable & Inclined to oppose us in that Quarter." Askin, *Papers*, I. Two years later on April 18, 1778, the Askin *Papers* have a "Copy of an Act [account] of Peltries Received from Mr. Vigo last summer as follows:

3889 Deer Skins			
64 Fawns	}		
3 Tygers		4/.....	777.16
2 Wolves		4/.....	.12
214 Otters		26/.....	299.12
729 1/2 bad Beavers		6/.....	218.17
264 Racoons		3/.....	39.12
76 Catts & foxes		5/.....	19.
139 Bears		18/.....	125. 2
20 Cubbs		12/.....	12.

N. Y. [Currency] 1,492.19

Deduct 10% for bad..... 149. 4

1,343.15"

During the years of general peace following 1783 there was a heavy demand for furs, and with continually mounting prices the profits were large.³¹ Askin gathered great numbers of deer, raccoons, mink, and muskrats from the south and probably obtained all the furs that were sold from the valleys of the Maumee and Wabash. The urgent demands of the trappers, reinforced by large quantities of liquor, stimulated the Indians to unusual exertions. The fur markets became overloaded and prices began to fall.³² Askin had put all he could borrow into the trade, and with falling prices he soon found the burden too heavy. "The continuous loss of Skins", he wrote in 1786, "has nearly thrown me into a Stupid State."³³

Askin's losses may be further explained by his methods of dealing. He sent large numbers of traders among the Indians with orders to get the skins. They paid prices that kept out the Americans from the East and the French and Spaniards from the Mississippi. Askin's traders bought on commission, and this induced competition among themselves. This competition led to the purchase of all sorts of furs. Many were of inferior quality, and would not sell in London for their first cost.³⁴

The expenses of selling the furs were, as always in the fur business, heavy. Askin shipped his furs to the firm of James Todd and Andrew McGill at Montreal, who furnished him with trading goods, advanced him cash, and disposed of his furs. With this firm, commissions and interest charges absorbed much of the returns. Todd and McGill then shipped the furs to Phyn and Ellice, fur dealers in London. Their

³¹ Todd and McGill to Askin, Montreal, October 11, 1784, "Furs shipped last year on your account yield a very handsome profit." Their value totaled £1,972.10.8 sterling. Askin, *Papers*, I.

³² "We fear much for deer skins as the quantity going have greatly exceeded that of last year." Todd and McGill, 1785, in *ibid.*

³³ Askin to Todd and McGill, Detroit, June 22, 1786, in *ibid.*

³⁴ Todd and McGill, Montreal, October 10, 1787, complained of a large number of packs sent to them: ". . . they appear all to be long-haired skins which are . . . the worst . . . now that you have got into a Company at Detroit, if you do not adopt some measures to prevent the traders from taking such trash. . . . Many skins tho in season are badly stretched and unfit for London market," in *ibid.*

charges and commission amounted to about thirty per cent of the sale price.³⁵

By 1789 the Detroit traders had readjusted themselves to low-priced furs and were buying at a price that would enable them to make a profit in the London markets.³⁶ Then came the establishment of a new constitution in the United States

³⁵ A typical statement from Todd and McGill to John Askin dated October 10, 1787, is in Askin, *op. cit.*, as follows:

"Recapitulation of Furs and Skins Received from Mr. John Askin of Detroit and how disposed of 218 packs containing 423 lbs. beaver, 112 Martin, 193 otter, 219 mink, 33 fisher, 360 bear, 101 Cubs, 7422 deer, 38 1/2 lbs dressed leather, 5352 racoon, 7188 mustkrat . . . 368 cat & fox, 66 elk, 9 wolf, 7 tyger, . . . Mostly shipped to London, rec'd May 1 to Aug. 16."

A typical statement of Phyn and Ellice, London, June 2, 1783, *ibid.* "Account sale 17 Bales Furs & Skins received . . . from Montreal on account of Messrs. John Askin & Co. Sold at Public Sale 26 & 27 Feb. 1783 viz:

770 Racoons	3/9	144. 7.6	
2 1/2% discount		3.12.2	
			140.15.4
931 " dam.	1/10		83. 4.2
46 Bear	34/		76. 4.4
69 " dam.	16/9		56. 6.10
95 Otter	33/		152.16. 7
910 Musquash	12 1/2		46. 4. 3
109 Elk	14/9		78. 7. 7
93 Martin a 5/=23.5—73 Mink a 3/	} =59.9.6		
48 Cat at 3/ 25 fishes a 7			
21 grey fox a 2/6 15 wolf a 9/			
3 red fox a 9/10			
Sold 20 & 21 March			
182 parchment beaver	360 lbs. a 8/7	less disc.	150.12.9
50 dam.	92 " a 5/5	" "	24. 5.10
165 cub	139 " 7/6	" "	50.16. 5
276 deer	7/3	" "	97.11
276 "	"	" "	97.11
456 "	8/10	" "	196. 7. 4
487 " dam.	4/7	" "	108.16. 3
596 "	4/8	" "	135.11.10
80 " (215 lbs. half dressed)	1/11	" "	20. 1. 9
909 Musquash	1/	" "	44. 6. 3
			1,772. 5.10
		Charges, etc.	524.17. 5
		Acct.	1,247. 8. 5

The firm of Todd and McGill is not mentioned in Davidson, *The Northwest Company*, but its members became members of the Northwest Company.

³⁶ An idea of the fall in the price of furs may be obtained from two statements of Todd and McGill one in 1783, the other dated October 10, 1787:

In 1783 racoons sold at 3/9	in 1787 at 3/
In 1783 bear " " 34/	" " " 13/4
In 1783 otter " " 33	" " " 11/
In 1783 elk " " 14/9	" " " 1/14
In 1783 martin " " 5/	" " " 2/6
In 1783 mink " " 3/	" " " 2/6
In 1783 deer " " 7/and 8/	" " " 3/

See Askin, *Papers*, I.

and the choice of Washington as president. Americans were pushing into the Northwest, and Washington showed a disposition to protect them and to extend the frontier at the expense of the Indians. War was precipitated by General Harmar's raid into the Maumee country in 1789 and continued until 1795.

Its effect upon the British fur trade in the Maumee-Wabash country was disastrous. When the Indians went to war they stopped hunting furs. While the British along the Great Lakes deplored the loss of trade they saw in the defeat of St. Clair a golden opportunity to bar the Americans permanently from the country north of the Ohio. They hoped to establish here a great Indian country, free from American authority, in which they would hold all the trading posts. With this plan in mind mediation between the United States and the Indian tribes was suggested, but the American government gave no countenance to such a proposal.³⁷

Altho the Indians received encouragement and help from Canada the wars were ended in 1795 by General Wayne, and Americans began pouring into the country south and southwest of Lake Erie.

A desire to control the fur trade was a principal motive of the British in retaining the American posts south of the Canadian boundary.³⁸ The fur business led the Canadians to use every effort to hold the loyalty of the Indians and was back of the encouragement given them in their wars with Generals St. Clair and Wayne. The Treaty of Greenville, however, ended Indian power in the Northwest,³⁹ and prepared the

³⁷ "I most sincerely wish & hope our Government may be able to mediate between the Indians & Americans if the latter are disposed for peace they must relinquish the idea of getting the Posts. . . ." James McGill to John Askin, January 24, 1792. Askin *Papers*, II. "It is said the Americans will insist upon the posts as the means of enabling them to chastise with effect the Indians, while on the other hand, there appears no disposition *here* to comply with such acquisition—at the same time a new line has been suggested for a frontier between the Indians & Americans—which is run from Lake Ontario up the Guronion [Genesee] river to its source thence onto the obscure stream from whence the Alleghanny takes its rise & following the meanderings of that river till it joins . . . the Ohio, is then to follow the course of that noble stream to the Mississippi. . . . Mr. Todd & I had some conversation with Mr. Dundas's secretary on this subject, but what will be done men in office you know are too cautious to say." William Robertson, London, March 26, 1792, in *ibid.* See also William Kingsford, *The History of Canada* (12 vols., London, 1894), VII, 343, for description of British efforts at mediation.

³⁸ Andrew C. McLaughlin, "The Western Posts and the British Debts", in American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1894, pp. 426-430, presents full evidence to prove this.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 439-441.

way for the downfall of British control of the fur trade in all the country south of Detroit.

Even before the close of the Indian wars other events were bringing disaster to the fur trade. The French Revolution had produced a hesitation in business, but the threat of war between revolutionary France and the powers of Europe supporting the old régime, possibly including Great Britain, precipitated a panic among the fur-dealers. An expression of this fear is found in a letter which William Robertson wrote to John Askin on August 8, 1792, stating,

To our trade this is ruin, and there can be no doubt of a very serious diminution in the price of furs in consequence of this general war, into which, . . . we may be actors before it is over.⁴⁰

Isaac Todd was not so pessimistic, but he also foresaw the fall in the price of furs. In view of the Indian troubles in America and the European situation he suggested to his firm that it curtail its buying of pelts. He believed that the drop in the price of furs for that year would be fifteen to twenty per cent and that the price would continue to fall. He also suggested to Askin to look to the United States government for some more advantageous trade than that offered by his old connections.⁴¹

The next year Great Britain entered the war, and the prices of furs dropped so far that Askin sold his collection for much less than it had cost. His raccoon skins could not be sold at all and were shipped to New York in search of a market. Askin's only hope to recoup his losses was to buy furs at half what he had been paying and to make something from other kinds of trade.

In 1792 he was in debt to the old firm of Todd and McGill £20,217 in the depreciated Canadian currency of the time. James McGill requested him to reduce the amount, but Askin could not do so. Two years later his debts to McGill had increased £4,000 exclusive of accumulated interest.⁴² All of these losses, however, were not due to the decline in the price of furs. The inability of Askin to collect debts due him from his traders was an important factor. Thus at Vincennes alone there was due him from twelve traders the sum of £8,134 currency.⁴³ By 1795 he was practically a bankrupt, and

⁴⁰ Askin, *Papers*, II.

⁴¹ Isaac Todd to John Askin, London, August 10, 1792, in *ibid.*

⁴² James McGill to Askin, January 10, 1794, in *ibid.*

⁴³ Accounts and notes to be collected at Post Vincennes, 1791 [?]. The largest sum was for £3,622. Francis Vigo owed £261. *Ibid.*

altho he continued in the fur trade on a small scale for several years he never regained his old prestige.

In the negotiations preceding Jay's Treaty with Great Britain, the fur trade was hardly mentioned. The heavy losses sustained by British traders during the seven preceding years had made them less strenuous in their demands for control over the American posts. The treaty ended their long struggle for a monopoly of this trade, and thereafter they had to work in competition with the Americans.

The wars in Europe made the demand for furs so uncertain that cautious dealers ceased to send out traders to buy what they could find. Every trader bought on his own responsibility with the knowledge that prices were always likely to decline still further.

For twenty years the fur trade in the country south of the Great Lakes was carried on in this slow-moving manner. Whites as well as Indians were engaged in trapping, and they sold their catch to the small traders of their vicinity. The most extensive markets were at Vincennes and Fort Wayne. For a time the only outlet was Detroit, but after the Louisiana Purchase the Vincennes collections were shipped to St. Louis.⁴⁴ It was not until after 1815 that a new organization was accomplished which restored to the fur trade its ancient glory.

The United States government early sought to regulate the Indian trade. Congress established an Indian department with a superintendent after the old British model. Every trader was to have a license and to obey the regulations drawn for those engaged in the Indian trade.⁴⁵ In 1796 Congress marked off an Indian frontier, leaving to the Indians all the Maumee and Wabash valleys. No one should go within the Indian territory without a license, and no white person should hunt there at all. The trader's license required a bond of \$1,000 that he would not violate any of the regulations of the President regarding the Indian trade.⁴⁶ The regulations for traders forbade the introduction of any kind of alco-

⁴⁴ John B. Dillon, *A History of Indiana from its Earliest Exploration by Europeans, to the Close of the Territorial Government in 1816* (Indianapolis, 1859), 397; Lasselle, "The Old Indian Traders of Indiana", in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 5-7, gives a list of the traders in Indiana licensed in 1801 and 1802. Most of their names are French.

⁴⁵ *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Boston, 1845), I, 137.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 469, May 19, 1796.

holic beverage into the Indian country, and sought to secure just treatment for the Indians.

Three years later Congress passed an act which definitely allowed British subjects a share in the fur trade along the northern boundary. Indians could import goods duty free, and no restrictions were to be placed upon their trade in furs.⁴⁷ This measure aroused objections from the American traders and controversies with the Canadians.⁴⁸ It was not, however, until 1816 that the Indian trade was forbidden to all except citizens of the United States.⁴⁹

The development of government interest in the fur trade was due probably to the organization of the business on a grand scale and to the entry of this business into politics. As early as 1808 the first great American fur company was organized at St. Louis. It was known as the Missouri River Fur Company, and its main trade was to be up that river. Its leading spirits were the Spaniard, Manuel Lisa, and the two Frenchmen, Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. It included in its membership, however, several men from the eastern United States.⁵⁰

The greatest of all the fur-trading organizations was the American Fur Company, organized by John Jacob Astor, the great fur merchant of New York. He had long dominated the fur trade of the country east of the Alleghenies and had sought, unsuccessfully, to get a part of the trade of the Mississippi Valley.⁵¹ His first great western adventure was on the Pacific coast where British force and cunning forced him out. With the establishment of peace thruout the world in 1815 the price of furs began to advance rapidly. Astor bought out his St. Louis rivals one by one and, with the ex-

⁴⁷ Act of March 2, 1799, *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, 701.

⁴⁸ "By this line of division [Treaty of 1783] the posts of Michilimackinac, Detroit, and Niagara were surrendered to the United States. Yet it was not in their power to deprive Great Britain of the Indian or fur trade, carried on to the countries to the southward of the lakes . . ." Nathaniel Atcheson, *American Encroachments on British Rights or Observations on the Importance of the British North American Colonies and on the Late Treaties with the United States* (London, 1808), ix.

⁴⁹ Act of March 29, 1816. *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, III, 332.

⁵⁰ The articles of agreement of the Missouri River Fur Company are in the Pierre Chouteau Collections in the Missouri Historical Library. The best history of this company is in Hiram M. Chittenden, *History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West* (3 vols., New York, 1902), I, 127-157.

⁵¹ Letter of Astor to Auguste Chouteau, January 28, 1800, in Pierre Chouteau Collections. Printed in part in John Work Journal (Lewis and Phillips, editors), Cleveland, 1923), 30, note 51.

clusion of the British, he sought to make the American Fur Company a monopoly.

In the Maumee-Wabash country the trade was in confusion. Many of the old fur traders had quit the business. Some of them were British and were no longer allowed to trade. Others were Americans, but they had been opposed to the Indians during the War of 1812 and found it difficult to regain their old influence.⁵² New traders were coming in, and many of them were Astor's men. Before 1819 he had started the "Wabash Outfit" headed by William H. Wallace and supplied with three interpreters and four boatmen.⁵³ By 1820 he had in his employ, around Fort Wayne, Alexis Coquillard, Francis Comparet, Benjamin B. Kercheval, and John B. Duret. Astor soon divided his organization into two groups. The traders in the Maumee and upper Wabash with Fort Wayne as their headquarters were known as the "Upper Wabash Outfit", and Wallace and his men around Vincennes comprised the "Lower Wabash Outfit". The papers of these two concerns have been destroyed, but some remaining records of the early American Fur Company indicate that their business was about the average of the fifteen posts in the *Old Northwest*.⁵⁴

A number of small traders operated in the Indiana district,

⁵² Lasselle, "The Old Indian Traders of Indiana", in *op. cit.*, 8.

⁵³ American Fur Company *Journals* (in Dominion Archives at Ottawa), June 15, 1819. In the Burton Collection in the Detroit Public Library are bonds A. B. and C. dated August 27, 1821, and signed by Wallace and Ramsey Crooks for the American Fur Company. Bond A is for \$2,500 that Wallace and his five interpreters and boatmen will obey the fur trading regulations. Bond B is for \$1,100, and Bond C for \$1,000, that all trading goods are the property of United States citizens.

⁵⁴ In the American Fur Company *Journals* for September 26, 1820, occur the following entries:

Folle avoine Outfit goods for trade 1820	\$2,304.77
Lac Court oreille " " " " "	2,362.28
Jos. Gautier	960.31
Michael Cadotte	1,432.74
Auce Qui	3,559.05
Illinois	4,059.18
St Jos & Kuikiki	3,124.84
Iroquois River	1,008.
Lower Wabash	2,330.91
Upper Wabash	1,330.96

The Ledgers show the following:

Wabash Outfit 1819	
Sept. 12, 1820 By F. & P.	3,913.74
P. & L.	1,067.99
	<hr/>
	6,828.03
Wabash Outfit 1820	
Aug. 27, 1821 By F. & P.	3,189.39
P. & L.	749.57

but most of them sold their furs to the Astor traders.⁵⁵ A few tried to operate independently of the great company. Allen Hamilton and Cyrus Taber became dealers on a large scale, but they often sold to Astor and always tried to remain friendly with his men.

The only real opponents of the American Fur Company in the Maumee-Wabash country was the firm of W. G. and G. W. Ewing. The Ewings were aggressive, unscrupulous, and determined to maintain their independence. Alexander Ewing, the father of William G. and George Washington Ewing, had been an Indian trader in Pennsylvania and Ohio and came to Fort Wayne in 1822. He there engaged in the fur business. Apparently he shipped part of his collections to Montreal and part of them he sold to the American Fur Company.⁵⁶ In 1825 Alexander Ewing took his sons William G. and George W. into partnership.⁵⁷

With the death of the elder Ewing, which occurred the next year, the firm became known as W. G. and G. W. Ewing.⁵⁸ It was to continue for ten years but was not dissolved until the death of William G. Ewing in 1854.

The Ewing brothers were in trouble from the beginning of their business careers. They sought a grant from Louis Cass, the superintendent of Indian affairs, of a monopoly of the trade in the Fort Wayne district, but their petition was refused. They failed as traders to obey the instructions of the Indian agent, General Tipton, who seized their goods. They then applied to Cass, who finally returned their property.⁵⁹ Their whole history is full of similar incidents.

For a time the Ewings remained friendly to the American

⁵⁵ Lasselle, "Indian Traders of Indiana", in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, II, 10, gives a partial list of these traders. The John Tipton *Papers* in the Indiana State Library contain many traders' licenses. The number of licensed traders grows smaller after 1824, due partly to the removal of the Indians and partly to the fur monopoly. Tipton was Indian agent.

⁵⁶ There is mention of some notes given by Comparet and "Cokilyard" to Alexander Ewing for furs. Letters of James Abbott of the American Fur Company, June 28, 1825, to Alexander Ewing. Ewing *Papers* in the Indiana State Library. These papers comprise all sorts of business, political, and personal material concerning the Ewing family from 1825 to 1881. There are some letter books but the outgoing letters are not complete. There are many gaps in these papers. They are valuable for the student of Indiana economic history. A calendar of them to 1849 has been prepared by Miss Nellie C. Armstrong, of the Indiana State Library.

⁵⁷ In the Ewing *Papers*, are the "Articles of copartnership . . . between Alexr Ewing, Wm. G. Ewing & George for the purpose of Trade, Traffic and Merchandize to be known . . . [as] A. Ewing & Sons" (Fort Wayne, July 23, 1825).

⁵⁸ Ewing *Papers*, June 4, 1827. Articles of agreement as of June 23, 1826.

⁵⁹ Lewis Cass to W. G. and G. W. Ewing, Detroit, October 27, 1827, in *ibid.*

Fur Company. They shipped furs to James Abbott, the company's representative at Detroit, and bought Indian trading goods from him.⁶⁰ They were not satisfied, however, to deal with the great monopoly, and early sought other connections. They entered into negotiations with Daniel Stone, probably the shrewdest of the independent traders. They also dealt with a number of merchants who have left behind only a name. Soon, however, they established an arrangement with Suydam and Jackson of New York, from whom they bought their trading goods and to whom they consigned their furs.⁶¹ This agreement was continued with Suydam, Sage, and Company, the successors of Suydam and Jackson, and lasted for more than twenty years. Under this arrangement the New York firm furnished the trading goods and honored the drafts of the Ewings on the security of the fur collections. They kept the Ewings informed of market conditions and sold their furs in America or shipped them to Europe as they deemed best. For these services they received a commission of three per cent on the gross sale of furs. Their accounts also show an interest charge on all advances of goods and capital.⁶² By this agreement the Ewings and their New York correspondents became important rivals of the American Fur Company.

The Ewings tried first to get all the furs around Fort Wayne. They soon enlisted traders at St. Joseph, Elkhart, Muncie, and Vincennes, and in 1830 went to Logansport to give personal attention to the fur-buying in that locality. A few years later they established another headquarters at Peru.⁶³ Among the more important of the Ewing agents were the brothers, D. and C. Rousseau, who traded for some years at St. Joseph and Elkhart, James Avoline, William H. Godfrey, A. M. Drouillard, William Gilbert of Muncie, Isaac Covert of Wells County, Nicholas D. Grover, W. S. Edsall, and George Walker. As competition grew keen the Ewings established the firms of Ewings, Edsall, and Company, and

⁶⁰ James Abbott to W. G. and G. W. Ewing, Detroit, January 7 and March 12, 1827, regarding earbobs and price of furs, in *ibid.*

⁶¹ Suydam and Jackson to W. G. and G. W. Ewing, New York, November 19, 1828, in *ibid.*

⁶² A copy of the contract of October 14, 1837, and of annual renewals is in the Ewing Papers.

⁶³ G. W. Ewing, in Wallace A. Brice, *History of Fort Wayne* (Fort Wayne, 1868), 23; Byrum D. Miner, "Sketch of George W. Ewing", in H. S. Knapp, *History of the Maumee Valley* (Toledo, 1872), 409-412.

Ewings, Walker, and Company in order to hold ambitious traders to their interests. At a later time they induced George Hunt and William Sellars of Vincennes, two of the best buyers for the American Fur Company in Indiana, to desert their old employers and work for them.⁶⁴

Altho the Ewings were harsh and brutal, they showed more ability in handling their traders than did the American Fur Company. When Rousseau wrote to the Ewings, "Gentlemen, i think you are verry Deceitful",⁶⁵ the Ewings replied with the present of a breastpin which buried the grievance.⁶⁶ Altho the Ewings would bully the helpless trader, they would always give way before the resentment of a good one and even sometimes take him into partnership.

William Brewster, the American Fur Company agent at Detroit, was tactless and unpopular. He offended James Abbott, one of his best buyers, to such an extent as to cause him to start trading on his own responsibility.⁶⁷ Comparet and Coquillard, who had worked for Astor, did the same, and they all three forced up prices by offering their furs to the highest bidder. These conditions increased the rivalry between the Ewings and Brewster.⁶⁸

In the third decade of the nineteenth century there were peculiar conditions in the fur markets that made the country south of the Great Lakes of especial interest to all dealers in furs. Nutria had pushed out the muskrat as the material for the cheaper kinds of hats, and the silk hat was taking the place of the beaver among fashionable people.⁶⁹ As beaver and muskrats declined in price, raccoons and minks began

⁶⁴ Ewing *Papers* of dates July 27, August 28, December 7, 1828; March 17, April 21, 1832; January 8 and 10, April 13, May 1, June 10, 20, and 30, November 6, 1839. Hunt was for many years a fur trader at Fort Wayne and was employed by William Brewster of the American Fur Company to take charge of Indiana, Ohio, and eastern Illinois in 1837. William Brewster, Detroit, December 21, 1837, to Ramsey Crooks, president of the American Fur Company, American Fur Company *Letters*, for period after 1827 are in the New York Historical Library. They are now being calendared.

⁶⁵ Elkhart, December 7, 1828, in Ewing *Papers*.

⁶⁶ January 12, 1829, in *ibid*.

⁶⁷ William Brewster to R. Crooks, Detroit, January 23, 1835, in *ibid*.

⁶⁸ "Competition in the skin market here has driven Mr. Brewster up to our extreme limits in every thing, or nearly all." R. Crooks to Benjamin Clapp, Detroit, July 10, 1835, in *ibid*.

⁶⁹ The letters of C. M. Lampson, the London agent for most American exporters, during 1834, 1835, and 1836, to R. Crooks, January 29, 1835, February 3, 1836, American Fur Company *Letters* No. 2, contain many complaints about the effects of nutria upon the muskrat market. Muskrats were selling at 35 cents in New York in 1830 and were down to 22 cents in 1834, and down to 12 cents by 1840. Crooks wrote to Brewster June 17, 1837, "Rats, Beavers & Otters are dead stock." *Ibid*, No. 5.

to rise.⁷⁰ The Maumee and Wabash valleys produced enormous numbers of raccoons and thus became for a few years the center of interest of the fur business of America.

In 1836, at the time of the first great advance in the price of raccoons, the American Fur Company got the bulk of the stock. Brewster had advance information of the increased demand and, with plenty of capital, was first among the trappers. The Ewings bought cautiously, however, and made "a very large profit" from their collection.⁷¹

In 1837 the fur business became very uncertain. The price in Europe continued good, but the panic in America made capital difficult to get and produced a feeling of timidity among American business men that made them unwilling to take any chances.⁷² To add to the confusion, a German fur buyer named Hötte came to Detroit and began paying high prices for minks and raccoons. This hurt the purchases of the American Fur Company and curtailed the trade of the Ewings.⁷³ Another cause of fear was the knowledge that the Hudson Bay Company was importing vastly increased quantities of furs from the Columbia, and it was believed that these importations would depress prices.⁷⁴ Under these circumstances Hötte was left to buy the Maumee furs almost without competition. He paid forty-five cents for raccoons and fifty cents for mink and resold in Europe at a big profit.⁷⁵

In the fall of 1837, Brewster began his fur-buying early. He engaged George Hunt, of Fort Wayne, to take charge of the trade in the valleys of the Maumee, Wabash, and White rivers. Hunt succeeded in buying twenty thousand raccoons of Conner, a trader along the White River, and in buying an equally large collection of Coquillard. He tried also to get the

⁷⁰ Crooks to Brewster, April 26, 1836. "Reports from Lampson that since autumn racoons have advanced 50% . . . minks 40 to 50%." He urged Brewster to hurry to buy raccoons as buyers "will go mad". *Ibid.*, No. 3. Raccoon advanced from 25 cents in New York in 1828 to around \$1 in 1836.

⁷¹ Suydam, Sage, and Company to W. G. and G. W. Ewing, New York, December 26, 1836, in Ewing *Papers*.

⁷² "There never was such a time in the commercial world here & Failures of our best Houses are numerous and of daily occurrence. From our debtors we receive almost nothing . . . Confidence is completely prostrated." R. Crooks to S. Abbott, New York, May 6, 1837, in American Fur Company *Letter Book*, No. 4.

⁷³ "W. B. Hötte has injured us at Detroit by paying all round for coons 60 c, minks 45 c." R. Crooks to Lampson, June 19, 1837, in *Ibid.*, No. 5. "Our collection of furs & peltries this spring will be but small." W. G. Ewing to Suydam, Sage, and Company, January 23, 1837, in Ewing *Letter Book*.

⁷⁴ Crooks to Brewster, June 15, 1837, in American Fur Company *Letters*.

⁷⁵ Brewster to Crooks, June 13, 1837, in *ibid.*

pelts bought by Comparet and the Ewings but without success.⁷⁶ The fight was again bitter between Hunt and Hötte, and the price of raccoons in the woods went up to sixty-six cents a pelt.⁷⁷ Crooks ordered Brewster to go to any lengths against his German competitor.

You have our full permission to put him down in any way you please, only do it effectually. Convince him that 1838 is not 1837. . . . It is a war of extermination this season, and the most violent competition of former days sinks into insignificance when compared with the reckless rivalry of the present day.⁷⁸

As a result of Brewster's work the company got all the furs in the Maumee except the Ewing collection. Hötte went back to New York, and Brewster felt that he had the whole country to himself.

The Ewings had been annoying to the American Fur Company officials. They had dickered now with Brewster and again with Hötte and at times had threatened to ship their furs independently. Crooks had sought to get the Ewing furs on a commission of five per cent but soon found that Suydam, Sage, and Company had the contract.⁷⁹

With Hötte gone and market conditions appearing settled, the Ewings entered the struggle openly against the American Fur Company. They succeeded in getting many pelts away from Hunt in both the Maumee and Wabash valleys.⁸⁰ In the fall of 1838, they hired a number of experienced fur-buyers. They even induced Hunt to quit the American Fur Company and buy furs for them.⁸¹ Nor were the Ewings satisfied with their old district. They opened up a strenuous competition at Evansville and Vincennes and even followed their rival to St. Louis and sought to cut into the trade on the upper Mississippi, the Missouri, and the country to the southwest.⁸² They also sent a buyer into Michigan to bid against Brewster in his own home.⁸³ In this fight they were aided financially by their agents, Suydam, Sage, and Company.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ W. Brewster to R. Crooks, December 21, 1837, April 26, May 11 and 14, 1838, in *American Fur Company Letters*.

⁷⁷ Brewster, letters of May 8 and 14 and June 13, 1838, in *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Crooks to Brewster, May 15, 1838, in *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Crooks to Brewster, June 23, 1838, in *American Fur Company, ibid.*, No. 8.

⁸⁰ Brewster to Crooks, July 21, 1838, in *ibid.*

⁸¹ Ewing *Papers*, November 11, December 22 and 24, 1838.

⁸² W. G. and G. W. Ewing, Instructions to George Hunt, January 8, 1839, in *ibid.*

⁸³ W. S. Edsall, Stephenson, Mich., to W. G. Ewing, April 13, 1839, in *ibid.*

⁸⁴ April 25, 1839, Suydam, Sage, and Company sent letters of credit for \$20,000. Ewing *Papers*.

The American Fur Company did not delay the fight. William Hollister, Captain Fury, and L. M. Taylor, all able and experienced traders, came to take Hunt's place, and Gabriel Franchère of Astoria fame was sent from his headquarters at Sault Sainte Marie to fight for the raccoons of Louisville, Evansville, and Vincennes.⁸⁵ Hollister and a Ewing trader named Curtis began fighting in the Maumee in the spring of 1839 and ran up prices to unheard of heights.⁸⁶ Brewster's position is fully explained in a letter he wrote to Ramsey Crooks on January 3, 1839:

Don't get alarmed but make up your mind to sanction and back up all that we may do. It will cost a considerable advance but . . . we must have all the skins this year let it cost what it may. My orders are now to buy of course as low as we can, but to buy at any rate.⁸⁷

Crooks replied with approval of Abbott's position:

Achieve so decided a victory this season as will discourage our opponents completely and if possible prevent their taking the field against us next year. Kill them in your own way.⁸⁸

The struggle was not an easy one for the American Fur Company. It was difficult to obtain capital, and trappers wanted cash for their furs. Interest rates were high, and Crooks complained that furs were costing him more than they would bring, and, in addition, he was paying usurious rates for the money with which to buy them. He was determined, however, to go ahead.⁸⁹ When the season of 1838-1839 was over the Ewings had purchased about \$50,000 worth of furs and the American Fur Company about three times as many.⁹⁰

Both sides lost so heavily by this struggle that an effort was made to bring about an agreement limiting competition. Probably C. M. Lampson, who handled furs for both competitors, had something to do with this move.⁹¹ The correspondence of neither side discusses any understanding, but on July 24, 1839, Ramsey Crooks for the American Fur Company and

⁸⁵ R. Crooks to G. Franchère, July 15, 1839, in American Fur Company *Letter Book*, No. 10. "The small amount of skins you collected on your tour to Louisville is quite as much as we expected . . . considering the lateness of the season and the competition."

⁸⁶ William S. Edsall to W. G. Ewing, February 18, 1839, in Ewing *Papers*; Brewster to J. R. Whetan, December 31, 1838, in American Fur Company *Letters*.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ February 9, 1839, in *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Crooks to Brewster, March 21, 1839, in American Fur Company *Letters*, No. 9.

⁹⁰ Estimate of Ewing furs and peltries for 1839. Ewing *Papers*.

⁹¹ "We note particularly your suggestion to interest all the principal collectors in one general plan with a view to keep this trade together and insure fair profits." Crooks to C. M. Lampson, June 19, 1838, in American Fur Company *Letters*, No. 8. Crooks declared the plan impracticable.

the Ewings did sign two agreements to end competition. The first was "to secure the business" of "the Fur Trade of the country between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River." The capital stock of the American Fur Company was to be increased and the Ewings were to buy stock to the value of \$100,000. The Ewings were to be agents of the company at a salary of \$2,000 each, and were to have charge of the country from Lake Erie south to the Ohio. By a supplemental agreement the Ewing territory was to be known as the southern department, and the American Fur Company was to sell its furs at a commission of two and one-half per cent.⁹²

The Ewings showed dissatisfaction at once with the agreement. W. G. Ewing took the Maumee, the upper Wabash, and upper White rivers while G. W. Ewing was to have the lower Wabash, the lower White River, and the Ohio Valley. The first felt that his territory was not large enough so he insisted upon adding the Grand River country.⁹³ A short time later G. W. Ewing declared to William Brewster that the Ewings had important trading interests in Missouri which they would not give up.⁹⁴ In October, W. G. Ewing stated that he had misunderstood the contracts and his partners were "most dissatisfied" with them and he therefore would not be bound by them.⁹⁵

Crooks was angry at the "treachery of the Ewings" and threatened war thruout the whole country north of the Ohio. "The strife will be bitter", he wrote, "but we hope to get a larger share of skins at less than last years prices."⁹⁶ The American Fur Company bought at moderate prices during the fall of 1839, and the Ewings remained quiet. When the legislature met in January, 1840, G. W. Ewing, who was a state senator, introduced a bill taxing the operations of the American Fur Company in Indiana. The measure passed the Senate but failed in the House.⁹⁷ It greatly disturbed Ramsey

⁹² American Fur Company *Papers*.

⁹³ W. G. Ewing to W. Brewster, August 1, 1839, in American Fur Company *Letters*, Detroit Department, *Papers*.

⁹⁴ August 18, 1839, in *ibid*.

⁹⁵ W. G. Ewing to American Fur Company, October 14, 1839, in *ibid*.

⁹⁶ Crooks to Lampson, December 26, 1839, in American Fur Company *Letters*, No. 11.

⁹⁷ "Col. G. W. Ewing has introduced a Bill in the Senate of our State laying a heavy Tax on the Stock of the Am. Fur Co. expended in Indiana . . . Let any member of the Legislature vote for this Bill in our Raccoon State and . . . his Hide will be on the fence and well Stretched at that." N. D. Grover to William Brewster, Logansport, January 29, 1840, in American Fur Company *Letters*.

Crooks, however, who denounced it as unconstitutional and planned resistance.⁹⁸

The Ewings once more went into the neighborhood of Detroit and St. Louis, and in both places ran up the price of pelts and bought a great many. The fight was, however, most bitter in Indiana. George Hunt, as before, ranged over the whole territory. The Ewings themselves directed the buying in northern Indiana. In southern Indiana, George Sellars at Vincennes managed their trade. For the American Fur Company, Brewster directed the fight around Detroit and in northern Indiana. At Logansport, N. D. Grover watched every movement of the Ewings and ran furs to extravagant prices. Gabriel Franchère with headquarters at Evansville led the fight for southern Indiana and the adjacent country. J. M. Spafford at Vincennes guarded Sellars, and before the middle of the season had spent \$26,000 in high-priced furs.⁹⁹

In the fight of 1839-1840 Brewster apparently wore out the Ewings. The European market was declining, and with hard times in America it was difficult to get capital.¹⁰⁰ On April 3, 1840, G. W. Ewing wrote to Brewster suggesting forbearance. On the tenth he again wrote a long letter pointing out that the fight is "productive of mutual inconvenience", and blaming the company for beginning it. "We have the capital, the talents & the ability to do a portion of this business", wrote Ewing, "and will be satisfied with a portion of it." He declared that "if our interests are consolidated the result would diminish the present injurious competition." Without competition the "Detroit business would have brought \$30,000 greater profit", he believed. He suggested "mutual forbearance until 1st July next, neither party to interfere with the other's positive engagements nor make malicious bids."¹⁰¹ Apparently the first reaction of the company was to push its advantage and put the Ewings out of business.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Crooks to N. D. Grover, February 29, 1840, in *American Fur Company Letters*, No. 12.

⁹⁹ J. M. Spafford to Brewster, Vincennes, February 13, 1840, in *American Fur Company Letters*.

¹⁰⁰ "Hollister is hitting them hard on the Wabash where Ewings are reported out of funds . . . Got skins on which Abbott had advanced \$100 . . . This is the way business is done here." Brewster to Crooks, January 3, 1840, in *American Fur Company Letters*.

¹⁰¹ G. W. Ewing to Brewster, April 10, 1840, in *American Fur Company Letters*.

¹⁰² R. Crooks to G. Franchère, April 16, in *ibid.*

The Ewings then turned to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company of St. Louis. "How would you like to make the entire operations of the American Fur Company east of the Mississippi, yours west of the Mississippi, and ours *all as one*?" inquired G. W. Ewing.¹⁰³

Chouteau replied in an airy manner that he was not alarmed, but that competition was an evil and if the Ewings could make a satisfactory arrangement with Crooks he would agree.¹⁰⁴

G. W. Ewing then wrote directly to Crooks. He defended his breaking the contract of the preceding year because the contract was unfair to him and illegal, as it sought to create a monopoly. He proposed, however, that they make another arrangement for the coming year.¹⁰⁵

The reply of Crooks was uncompromising. "I have reflected on your course since the contract of 1839", he wrote: and when I call to mind more especially your efforts last winter to legislate us out of Indiana, I should consider myself an unfaithful servant of the corporation I represent if I encouraged you to expect we can ever come to any mutual understanding. . . . The position you now occupy is of your own choosing and we have not the slightest inclination to change the existing relations.¹⁰⁶

In the fall G. W. Ewing again took up the question of compromise with Crooks. He suggested that they avoid excitement and district the country. "If a reasonable arrangement can be made I will confirm it immediately", he wrote.¹⁰⁷ The only reply was a statement that the American Fur Company desired to buy furs on "equitable" terms and its attitude would depend largely on that of the Ewings.¹⁰⁸

There was a threat of bitter war for the winter of 1840-1841, but the fight did not develop. Brewster employed Hollister and Fury for northern Indiana and Franchère remained at Evansville in charge of the Ohio and lower Wa-

¹⁰³ June 25, 1840. American Fur Company *Letters*, Detroit Department, 1840.

¹⁰⁴ P. Chouteau, Jr., to G. W. Ewing, July 10, 1840, in *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ G. W. Ewing to R. Crooks, New York, July 23 and 31, 1840, in American Fur Company, Detroit Department, 1840.

¹⁰⁶ Crooks to G. W. Ewing, July 31, 1840, in *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ October 29, 1840, in *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Crooks to G. W. Ewing, December 26, 1840, in American Fur Company *Letters*, No. 15.

bash.¹⁰⁹ The Ewings, however, did not show any fight. They quit Detroit and St. Louis and gave up their trade south of Vincennes.¹¹⁰ The reason for their retirement is explained by a statement of their accounts. They owed Suydam, Sage, and Company a balance of more than \$150,000 which represented a loss on furs, and that firm was pressing for payment.¹¹¹ This action of the Ewings was coincident with a decline in the demand for furs in Europe and with further business depression in the United States.¹¹²

Under the circumstances, the American Fur Company reduced prices greatly and cut the number of skins purchased so as not to overstock the market. The buyers were instructed to buy only of hunters or of merchants who traded goods for furs and not to buy of other buyers. It was difficult with all the buyers out after furs to keep excitement down.¹¹³ In the spring of 1841 the Ewings, who were again buying on a small scale, complained of competition in northern Indiana. Crooks ordered Brewster to restrain his buyers and the friction cooled off.¹¹⁴ In spite of all warnings and precautions, Crooks declared that Brewster's men had paid too much for furs.¹¹⁵ Prices were declining further, and with general busi-

¹⁰⁹ Brewster to Crooks, September 17, 1840, in *American Fur Company Letters*. Agents for Am. Fur Co. Detroit District 1840-41.

[Indiana]

G. Franchère, Evansville, Logansport.

N. D. Grover, Logansport (under Hollister)

T. E. Phelps, South Bend.

T. G. Railte (under Hollister)

J. M. Spafford, Vincennes.

B. F. Hollister

A mill man (under Hollister)

John Fury, Ft. Wayne, Indianapolis

L. M. Taylor, South Bend

Blinn.

Mr. Roberts of Monroeville & south to Ohio

C. C. Frazier, Maumee & north of Fort Wayne

¹¹⁰ W. G. Ewing to G. W. Ewing, New York, November 7, 1840, in *Ewing Papers*.

¹¹¹ Suydam, Sage, and Company Statement May 3, 1841, *Ewing Papers*. G. W. Ewing put their loss the preceding year at \$50,000, September 10, 1841. *Ibid*.

¹¹² Crooks to Lampson, February 27, 1841, in *American Fur Company Letters*, No. 15.

¹¹³ "It is really frightful to look at the enormous amounts paid out last campaign by your Department for Furs and Skins: and we can not buy them too cheap now." Crooks to Brewster, February 27, 1841, in *American Fur Company Letters*, No. 15. "We are much more anxious to buy at prices that will yield us a profit than to buy much."

Crooks to Franchère, December 16, 1840, in *Ibid*.

¹¹⁴ R. Crooks to Brewster, April 2, 1841, in *ibid.*, No. 16.

¹¹⁵ Crooks to Brewster, August 30, 1841, in *American Fur Company Letters*, No. 17. Franchère spent \$25,000 for skins around Evansville, most of which were deer and raccoon. March 23, 1841. These skins were condemned by Crooks as second quality.

ness depression still hanging over the country the American Fur Company was struggling to exist. With the Ewings in a submissive state, it discontinued the Evansville agency and planned to withdraw from Indiana.¹¹⁶

The year 1842 marks the last battle for the furs of the Maumee-Wabash country. Crooks had heard of a scarcity of raccoons and he felt it "important to secure as many as possible of the best, and Mr. Fury had better sweep the whole of the Ewing country where the good skins come from".¹¹⁷ The Ewings came back with a strong rise in prices and Crooks decided "to make them pay as dear as we can for the whistle for you must not imitate so ruinous an example".¹¹⁸

Crooks was broken in health, however, and the hard fight with his competitors, combined with general hard times, had ruined his company. In the early fall it went into bankruptcy and the Ewings had the Indiana fur trade to themselves.

There was no grief in the Ewing camp at the failure of its competitor. W. G. Ewing wrote:

The Great American Fur Company it seems has exploded! disappeared, overwhelmed with most miserable Bankruptcy, they have met their just deserts they waged a Warfare against us that cost us a loss of at least \$60,000. But had we united with them in 1840 (when we were trying to buy our peace) we would have sustained double that loss with a prostration of Business.¹¹⁹

The Ewings were not able at once to make much from the failure of the American Fur Company. They had suffered heavily in the fight, and the fall in the prices of furs brought them further losses. At the beginning of 1843 they were compelled to mortgage their property to Suydam, Sage, and Company to secure their debts and to get money to continue their operations.¹²⁰ On this mortgage they were able to get \$30,000 to be invested in furs and skins, mostly "deer and raccoon".¹²¹

The prospects looked bright in 1843 for raccoon skins. The demand in London was growing and prices were advancing.¹²² The Ewings hoped to get between 100,000 and 150,000

¹¹⁶ Crooks to Brewster, August 30, 1841, in *American Fur Company Letters*, No. 17.

¹¹⁷ Crooks to Brewster, April 14, 1842, in *American Fur Company Letters*, No. 17.

¹¹⁸ Crooks to Brewster, May 10, 1842, in *ibid.*

¹¹⁹ W. G. Ewing to J. E. Edmonds, March 23, 1843, in *ibid.*

¹²⁰ January 16, 1843, in *ibid.* The mortgage was for \$40,000, "more or less".

¹²¹ Suydam, Sage, and Company to W. G. and G. W. Ewing, February 11, 1843, in *ibid.*

¹²² Suydam, Sage, and Company to W. G. and G. W. Ewing, March 25, 1843, in *ibid.*

raccoons at low prices so as to realize a profit of \$50,000.¹²³ In this instance their hopes were more than realized and by the sales of 1845 they realized a profit of nearly \$75,000.¹²⁴

The failure of the American Fur Company gave rise to a host of small competitors. In the west, Pierre Chouteau continued his operations independently and tried to keep the Ewings out. William Brewster continued to trade at Detroit and he now showed ability of a high order. From Louisville, Van Winkle was invading the southern Indiana field. Again there were bickerings between the Ewings and Brewster, and promises of agreement on prices which came to nothing.¹²⁵ In the fur country, prices were again run up while the market in Europe was declining. Lampson himself besought the "old stagers" to agree on prices that would bring a profit, but his warnings were in vain.¹²⁶ The furriers were looking more and more for substitutes for raccoon, and fashion was turning from furs to woolens. Cattle skins were taking the place of deer skins for leather. Experienced buyers believed the end of the fur business was in sight.¹²⁷ Ewings' collections of 1844 and 1845, which reached London in the fall of 1845, promised a loss of \$15,000.¹²⁸ By the spring of 1846 they were in debt \$145,000, with the prospect of a collapse of the fur market.¹²⁹

Under these circumstances the Ewings once more curtailed their fur buying. They ceased to fight for raccoons and turned their attention to the Indian trade farther west. They continued, however, to ship considerable quantities of raccoon until 1848, but lost on each shipment.¹³⁰ They tried in various ways to hold their fur business without danger to themselves. They complained of their competitors and threatened to run up prices.¹³¹

In 1848 they made an agreement with Pierre Chouteau Jr., and Company of St. Louis to purchase furs on joint account in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. The Chouteau Company

¹²³ W. G. Ewing to G. W. Ewing, Ft. Wayne, May 2, 1843, in *ibid.*

¹²⁴ Suydam, Sage, and Company to Ewings, April 18, 1845, in *ibid.*

¹²⁵ W. G. Ewing to William Brewster, June 4, 1843, in *ibid.*

¹²⁶ C. M. Lampson to W. G. and G. W. Ewing, London, August 26, 1845, in *ibid.*

¹²⁷ Suydam, Sage, and Company to the Ewings, January 26, 1846, in *ibid.*

¹²⁸ W. G. Ewing, November 9, 1845, in *ibid.*

¹²⁹ Suydam, Sage, and Company, February 6, 1846, in *ibid.*

¹³⁰ Suydam, Sage, and Company to Ewing, Chute, and Company, May 9, 1849, in *ibid.*

¹³¹ Ewing and Walker to W. G. Ewing, Logansport, December 4, 1847, in *ibid.*

was to advance the money, control prices, and sell the furs.¹³² Thus, finally, ended the fur war in Indiana.

The years from 1846 to 1848 marked the end of the large fur business in the valleys of the Maumee and Wabash. The Indians were nearly all gone, and hunters and trappers had turned in large numbers to other occupations. With the advance of settlement, large areas had been enclosed and the supply of fur-bearing animals decreased. The poor demand in Europe brought low prices in America, and fur hunting no longer afforded a certain means of livelihood. Farmers became the chief trappers, and they traded their catches to local merchants who shipped them to St. Louis or New York.

The fur business had done its part toward the development of the Maumee and Wabash valleys. It had largely maintained the towns of Fort Wayne, Noblesville, Logansport, Peru, Kokomo, Vincennes, and Evansville, and now other industries were arising to help them in their growth. The Ewings turned their attention from furs to pork and retrieved their fortunes. Smaller buyers became general merchants or continued the old business in the Far West, and the fur trade in Indiana was at an end.

¹³² December 17, 1848, in *American Fur Company Letters*.

NATIONAL PARTY POLITICS, 1837-1840

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NATIONAL PARTY POLITICS, 1837-1840

I

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

THE complete defeat of Clay in the election of 1832 had left the opponents of the Democratic party prostrate. When the election of 1836 came on, there was no one able to weld them into anything resembling a party. As a result, various local and sectional candidates were put forward. Several of these favorite sons were eliminated, but, in the end, no less than four men of the anti-Jackson group received electoral votes for the presidency.

The "dark horse" of the campaign was William Henry Harrison of Ohio. No one took his candidacy seriously till just before the election. Harrison was the last candidate to enter the race, and, to judge from his later actions, one is warranted in believing that he looked upon this race only as an introduction to the election of 1840. Harrison's friends insisted that his nomination in 1835 made him a candidate in 1840 without further action, and it was only by great pressure that they agreed to enter a national convention.¹ If this convention had not nominated him, it is quite possible that he would have been an independent candidate. The Harrison press in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky insinuated that this would be done.

The campaign of 1836 was a sort of sifting-out process determining the most available candidate to be chosen for 1840. The constituency of the parties was about the same in 1840 as in 1836. The Democrats had lost the "Conservatives" over Van Buren's Sub-Treasury Scheme, but had gained Calhoun.

It is not out of place in this connection to see how these two changes were brought about. Van Buren was a man of peace. He always avoided a quarrel, and as a result was al-

¹ *National Intelligencer*, April 20, 1838; *The Globe*, November 20, 1838, from *Ohio Statesman*.

ways on good terms with the most extreme of his opponents. Calhoun had been opposed to the Democratic party during the later Jacksonian period, but had, for some time, been trying to get back without appearing as a penitent. This was impossible under Jackson, but the more suave Van Buren was glad to admit him without any humiliating conditions.

As early as November 3, 1837, Calhoun said that since the party in power had been brought down by its loss of patronage and exhausted state of the Treasury and since the party he had been voting with was openly in favor of a United States Bank, he had decided to join the administration party.²

Calhoun's motives in turning back to his old party were questioned. Benton said he was sounded by two different men on the chances for Calhoun's succession to the presidency.³ While Calhoun desired to be president, one does not have to go further than his open declarations to find the cause for his return. His letters show that he thought the movement which he headed was going to be the successful one in the end. "I now begin to feel confident that our principles and doctrines are destined to gain a permanent ascendancy", he said.⁴ But he also saw "that our only recruiting ground is in their (Democratic) ranks. We have no hopes from that of the Nationals, or Northern Whigs."⁵ Again he said, "By acting with them, (Democrats) we have some prospect, . . . to arrive at the end, we propose, while the opposite course could not fail in terminating in all we have a right to dread, as fatal to us and our institutions."⁶

Tyler and Preston were leading men who maintained their Whig allegiance. Preston had been excluded in the distribution of spoils in South Carolina and could not be placated.⁷

Calhoun's reconciliation was complete. It even carried him so far that, for the sake of harmony, he was compelled to sacrifice the interests of his old friend Duff Green.⁸ Even his daughter questioned him for calling on Van Buren, but he

² *Niles' Register*, LIII, 217, 218.

³ Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events* (Philadelphia, 1875), II, 30.

⁴ J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1899, II, 435.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 409.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 449. Calhoun had already decided that slavery should be perpetuated thru the agency of the Democratic party.

⁷ Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1876), X, 59.

⁸ Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of Calhoun*, 438.

assured her that the call must be made before the election, else his motives would be misconstrued.⁹ In the end, South Carolina cast her vote for Van Buren.

The "Conservatives" were those Democrats who had forsaken Van Buren because of his Sub-Treasury Scheme. They maintained a separate organization, but acted with the Whigs. Most of them were later re-absorbed into the Democratic party. The chief men of this group were Rives and Garland of Virginia, Tallmadge and John C. Clark of New York, Legaré of South Carolina, and F. O. J. Smith of Maine.¹⁰

The Whigs gladly welcomed these new men and often rewarded them by giving them the highest offices and the most prominent positions. Rives of Virginia and Tallmadge of New York were elected to the United States Senate.

It is questionable whether they added any strength to the Whig party. As a rule, they were not in accord with that party on other matters than the Bank policy. Jackson thought they would do less harm outside the Democratic party than they would in it if they continued opposing its measures.¹¹

The old Federal element of the party did not receive them so warmly. Hone thought the Federalists and old National Republicans were left out too much.

Federalist or National Republican,—they are permitted to work and pay money; they must bake the loaves and catch the fishes, but they get precious few of them for themselves . . . yet some of us who have borne "the heat and burden of the day" are entitled at least, one would think, to as good "a penny" as the eleventh hour man.¹²

Seward thought some of the Whigs were too cool toward the new converts while others were overenthusiastic toward them. At a Whig convention, a recent convert was usually made chairman, and at a Whig celebration a new man was generally the chief speaker. It was these things that the older party members resented. The chief value of the "Conservatives" in the election of 1840 came from the enthusiasm they produced. They were widely advertised to show that the Democratic party was breaking up. Several of them were strong campaign speakers, which made them especially effective in this campaign.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 446, 447.

¹⁰ Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, II, 86.

¹¹ John Bassett Moore (ed.), *The Works of James Buchanan* (Philadelphia, 1908), III, 338.

¹² Bayard Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone* (New York, 1887), I, 328.

The Democrats under Van Buren had made a good record. The panic, it is true, had fallen in Van Buren's administration, but he was in no way responsible for that.¹³ The financial scheme that he introduced lasted for several decades regardless of changes of administration. Because of his gentle manner, nearly all the personal animosities against the chief executive were removed. The Democratic leaders were satisfied. There was no objection to the renomination of Van Buren for president.¹⁴ There were no jarring elements of much importance, and yet he was decidedly defeated by a man who had practically no party organization behind him and little personal fitness for the office of president.

With all this, Van Buren was a burden for his party to carry. While it is probable that Van Buren would have been chosen as the presidential candidate in 1836, yet as a matter of fact Jackson had chosen him as his successor. This put the administration party on the defensive. Van Buren was not a man to command very much enthusiasm. He put up as good a fight as was possible with organized political machinery and would have won under ordinary circumstances, but the populace arose in 1840 and overcame the machine, as it occasionally does.

¹³ Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (Boston and New York, 1906), 190.

¹⁴ Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (New York, 1858), II, 203, 204.

II

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1836-1840

The administration of Van Buren was, in most respects, a continuation of General Jackson's. Some of the best historians have called it the third term of Andrew Jackson.¹⁵ The Cabinet was practically unchanged, and the administration measures were those that would have naturally grown out of Jackson's policies. Van Buren owed his position to the influence of Jackson and never pretended to act except as the agent to carry out the will of his great chief. He was superior in statecraft to his hero, but because of the circumstances of his election, he feared to cut loose from his moorings. In his inaugural address, he said:

The practice of all my predecessors imposes on me an obligation I cheerfully fulfill. . . . In imitating their example I tread in the footsteps of illustrious men, . . . In receiving from the people the sacred trust twice confided to my illustrious predecessor, and which he has discharged so faithfully and so well, I know that I cannot expect to perform the arduous task with equal ability and success.¹⁶

Perhaps he would have commanded more respect and less opposition if he had appeared more independent.

On the slavery question, Van Buren took the ground most satisfactory to the whole country. In his inaugural address he reiterated a previous statement that

I must go into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia against the wishes of the slave-holding States, and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the states where it exists.¹⁷

But it was not the slavery question that gave the President the most concern. He was scarcely in office when the panic of 1837 broke upon the country. This was due to the reckless tendencies of bankers, merchants, and other business men of the period, whose activities were almost without regulation by either the federal government or the governments of the states. Added to this, there was a similar money panic in

¹⁵ Albert Bushnell Hart, Herman Von Holst, and David Saville Muzzey.

¹⁶ James D. Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1895), III, 313-320.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 318.

England. Webster, who was visiting England in 1839, wrote that, "Our concerns are indeed much connected and the same causes affect them all",¹⁸ which is only saying that we would have been seriously shaken by England's failures even if our financial system had been sound. To correct this trouble, Van Buren called a special session of Congress. He had no idea of returning to the United States Bank. This was contrary to his constitutional beliefs and, besides, it would have been a complete surrender to the opposition. In his special message he said:

Again to create a national bank as a fiscal agent would be to disregard the popular will, twice solemnly and unequivocally expressed. On no question of domestic policy is there stronger evidence that the sentiments of a large majority are deliberately fixed.¹⁹

After showing the weaknesses of the state bank system, he offered his Sub-Treasury Scheme. This proved to be the chief work of the administration. The opposition immediately attacked it and by the aid of the "Conservative" Democrats was able to keep back the passage of the bill till near the end of the term. Webster and Clay were the chief opponents of the bill,²⁰ while Silas Wright was the administration leader who was able to get the bill thru only after four long and tiresome efforts.²¹ Van Buren signed the bill on July 4, 1840, amid the applause of the Democrats.²²

The only other important feature of Van Buren's administration was the position taken by the federal authorities on the Canadian Rebellion. The president issued a proclamation of neutrality that was supported even by the opposition.²³ The election of a Democrat to Congress from the northernmost district of Vermont was attributed to the correct handling of this situation by the President.

On the whole, the administration was uneventful. Congress in the special and regular sessions was taken up with currency legislation. Times were hard and people were slowly recovering from the effects of overspeculation. The President had handled the situation very well considering the

¹⁸ Fletcher Webster (ed.), *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster* (Boston, 1857), II, 75.

¹⁹ Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, III, 328.

²⁰ Carl Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay* (Boston and New York, 1888), II, 141.

²¹ R. H. Gillet, *The Life and Times of Silas Wright* (Albany, 1874), I, 872-879.

²² Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone*, II, 38.

²³ *Albany Argus*, January 12, 1838.

complex conditions that faced him. In the campaign which followed, the opposition attacked the party in power only on large generalities. The President, himself, was satisfied. "Seldom has this favored land", he said,

been so generally exempted from the ravages of disease or the labor of the husbandmen more amply rewarded, and never before have our relations with the other countries been placed on a more favorable basis than that which they so happily occupy at this critical conjuncture in the affairs of the world.²⁴

During this period, the question of the responsibility of representatives to the people was much discussed. There was a constant desertion of the leaders of the Democrats to the Whig measures. This, the party organization tried to stop thru resolutions of the state legislatures. It was also inconsistent for a State Rights Democrat to refuse to obey these instructions. North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia censured or instructed their senators, who were inclined to vote with the opposition. Brown and Strange of North Carolina,²⁵ White of Tennessee,²⁶ and Tyler of Virginia resigned. Leigh of Virginia, Grundy of Tennessee,²⁷ and Berrien of Georgia²⁸ kept their seats. The argument died down as the cause was removed.

The Democratic movements preceding the campaign were uninteresting and perfunctory. Van Buren's nomination went thru as a matter of form.²⁹ For the third successive time the New Hampshire legislature called for a national Democratic convention which was to be held at Baltimore on May 4, 1840.³⁰ Outside of New Hampshire, there was very little said or done concerning the convention. Benton was mentioned for president, but this was quite early.³¹ Buchanan refused to allow his name to be run in the *Sentinel* for vice-president on the ground that as Van Buren was sure to be the presidential nominee, it was not wise to have both presidential and vice-presidential candidates from the same section.³²

²⁴ Richardson (ed.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, III, 602.

²⁵ *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 348.

²⁶ Letter of Hugh L. White to the legislature of Tennessee on declining to obey certain of their resolutions and instructions and resigning his office of senator of the United States (printed at the *Madisonian* Office, Washington, 1840).

²⁷ *Albany Argus*, January 23, 1838.

²⁸ Pleasant A. Stovall, *Robert Toombs* (New York, 1892), 39.

²⁹ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II, 203, 204.

³⁰ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, 199.

³¹ *National Intelligencer*, April 15, 1837, from *Missouri Argus*, March 24, 1837.

³² Moore (ed.), *The Works of James Buchanan*, IV, 116.

Two sets of local resolutions will show the attitude of the whole country toward the situation. At the Hillsborough (N.H.) district convention it was resolved,

That MARTIN VAN BUREN, by his late Messages has nobly advanced and sustained the true Democratic doctrines, and has fulfilled his promise to tread in the footsteps of his predecessor . . . that by his unflinching courage . . . and his stern fidelity to the interests of the people, he has earned a new title to their confidence and affections and will receive their hearty support.³³

At the Democratic state convention held at Herkimer (N.Y.) it was resolved,

That MARTIN VAN BUREN has fully responded to the expectations of his political friends, in the ability with which he has administered the affairs of the general government, the firmness with which he has met the embarrassing circumstances in which the country has been placed, and the devotion with which he has invariably advocated and upheld the principles of the republican party.³⁴

The Globe on November 6, 1838, spoke of the next move for the presidency with Martin Van Buren and an Independent Treasury as the Democratic issue as opposed to the Whig issue of the Bank.³⁵ The delegates were chosen in meetings which were harmonious, but devoid of enthusiasm.

Twenty-one states were represented at the Baltimore convention. Illinois, South Carolina, Delaware, Virginia, and Connecticut were not represented. The Whigs had anticipated the Democratic nomination by a day and had held a most enthusiastic celebration which the Democrats called an "animal show". The Baltimore convention was orderly, and no strife was allowed to enter. Van Buren was nominated for president and a platform was adopted. Each plank was read and voted on separately.³⁶ The planks were as follows:

1. Resolved, That the Federal Government is one of limited powers . . . and the grants of power ought to be strictly construed . . . and that it is dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. Resolved, That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. Resolved, That the Constitution does not confer authority . . . to assume the debts of the several states.

4. Resolved, That . . . every citizen and every section has a right to demand an ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

³³ *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, January 22, 1838.

³⁴ *Niles' Register*, LV, 70.

³⁵ *The Globe*, November 6, 1838.

³⁶ For the entire proceedings of the Democratic convention see *ibid.*, May 7, 1840.

5. Resolved, That it is the duty of every branch of Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy. . . .

6. Resolved, That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank. . . .

7. Resolved, That Congress has no power . . . to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states. . . .

8. Resolved, That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government and the rights of the people.

9. Resolved, That . . . every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted.³⁷

In addition it was resolved,

That the convention deem it inexpedient . . . to choose between the individuals in nomination

for vice-president.

Richard M. Johnson had been forced on the ticket by Jackson in 1836. In 1840, he was still the choice of a majority, but his nomination was so distasteful to so many Democrats that it was deemed advisable to let time straighten out the tangle. The Whigs were not long in detecting and attacking this weakness.

Van Buren had very few personal enemies. He was quiet, friendly, and noncommittal. Many who had not been in the White House for years now visited it. J. Q. Adams, who had not been on speaking terms with Jackson, was a frequent visitor.³⁸ Clay and Calhoun found it pleasant to attend the President's receptions and levees.³⁹ The widows of James Madison and Alexander Hamilton were there.⁴⁰ In fact, everyone felt at home at these receptions. Van Buren was on good terms with his worst enemies. In jesting seriousness, Clay would tell him what a scoundrel he was. One attending his levees would not think that he was struggling vainly for a losing cause. Adams describes him as having every appearance of composure and tranquility.⁴¹ What he lacked in personal power, he tried to make up by policy. Because of this, he was often thought to be engaged in some secret machinations which helped him get the title of the "Little Magician". Such a man was likely to be successful, but he was not a man to become enthusiastic over.

³⁷ Thomas Hudson McKee (ed.), *The National Platforms of All Political Parties* (Washington, 1892), 24, 25.

³⁸ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IX, 437.

³⁹ Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, II, 21, 22.

⁴⁰ Ben Perley Poore (ed.), *Perley's Reminiscences* (Philadelphia, 1886), I, 221.

⁴¹ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IX, 368.

Again the Democrats tried to make the Bank question an issue, but the Whigs by their own plan of campaign were able to keep the Bank issue as well as all others from being listened to by the people. Clay, who was most likely to bring up this issue, was now quiet. Biddle was attacked for trying to prevent the banks from resuming specie payments, but this lost its weight when specie payment was resumed.⁴² Such questions as, "Shall bankers like other people be made liable for their debts?" or, "Shall the federal Whig towns and speculators continue to flood the country with shin plasters to the exclusion of silver?" were unheeded by the people.⁴³ Those towns which had banks were expected to vote against the Democrats.⁴⁴

Along the same line was the charge of "Federalism" against the Whigs. This charge had done good service to the Democrats in the past corresponding to the charge of "Secession" against the Democrats from 1876 to 1896. The Democratic state convention in Maine said it recognized but two parties in politics: the Republicans, now usually called Democrats; and the Federalists, anciently and aptly denominated Tories. Whigs were spoken of as "blue light" Federalists and the Hartford convention party.⁴⁵ Ordinarily, these charges would have had some weight in areas such as New England where Federalists really were prominent among the Whigs, but the Whig leaders got up so much enthusiasm that the people usually forgot them. We find this exception. Fletcher Webster wrote to his father March 16, 1840, from Salisbury, Illinois:

I have made a short trip among the Tuckers—Harrison goes pretty well,—but the ignorant & obstinate Pennsylvanians with whom the country abounds call the Whigs Federals & join Harrison with them; and it is difficult to teach them their error in the latter respect, and impossible to correct their dog-headed prejudices in the other.⁴⁶

Congdon said the Whigs claimed all the decency, refinement, culture, and wealth,⁴⁷ and they did have much of it, but these men were not managing the Whig campaign of 1840. This was done by politicians equal in ability to Van Buren himself.

⁴² *The Globe*, July 11, 1838.

⁴³ *Daily Statesman* (Columbus, Ohio), September 11, 1837.

⁴⁴ *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, July 30, 1838.

⁴⁵ *The Globe*, June 28, 1838.

⁴⁶ Claude Halstead Van Tyne (ed.), *The Letters of Daniel Webster* (New York, 1902), 221.

⁴⁷ Charles Taber Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston, 1880), 60, 61.

The Globe gave many figures to show that the Federalist leaders of New England during the War of 1812 were now Harrison men.⁴⁸ This was probably true, but was of no importance in this campaign.

The slavery question was a thing to conjure with. Whigs tried to fasten slavery on the Democrats, and Democrats tried to fasten it on the Whigs. In the meantime, both were denying all slavery attachments.⁴⁹ Harrison was embarrassed by having belonged, in 1791, to an abolition society. He averred that the word "abolition" then meant something like "humane" and not what it did in 1836.⁵⁰ This was probably correct. On September 25, 1840, Buchanan wrote Van Buren that he had ceased to defend the administration and had carried "the war into Africa".⁵¹ Van Buren seemed to be trying to carry the North by party machinery and the South by concessions to slavery, said *The Liberator*.⁵² Slavery was not, however, an important issue in the election of 1840, altho it did play a prominent part in the Whig national convention at Harrisburg.

Briefly, the antislavery advocates took the following course between 1836 and 1840. In the election of 1836, the Abolitionists had little weight, except in a negative way. Both parties were kept busy resisting attempts by the opposite party to fasten abolitionism on their candidates. Van Buren had made statements placing himself on both sides. Harrison had sprung from the slave-holding class, yet he had at one time belonged to an abolition society. Both sides catered to the slavery element. Clay staked his nomination on this issue and lost.

As a rule, despite the resistance of the southern Whigs and the denials of the Conservative Whigs in the North, the Whig party got the support of the antislavery voters. The Abolitionists expected the Whigs to act with them, and when they voted against the Whigs, it was in the nature of a rebuke and warning to keep them from straying off too far.⁵³

The southern Whigs were desirous of acting with their party, and the Whig leaders succeeded for a time in making

⁴⁸ *The Globe*, September 1, 1840.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, February 5, 1840; *ibid.*, July 27, 1840.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, September 2, 1840.

⁵¹ Moore (ed.), *The Works of James Buchanan*, IV, 322.

⁵² *The Liberator*, September 2, 1840.

⁵³ *The Globe*, December 27, 1838.

them believe that the Whig party was sound on the slavery question. At a meeting in Suffolk, Va., resolutions were adopted praising Clay, Wise, Prentiss, and Stanley for the stand they had taken to "check the fell demon of Abolition". At the same time Jackson and Van Buren were called the enemies of the South.⁵⁴ After the election of 1840, the *National Intelligencer* claimed that Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky, and other southern states that had voted for Harrison had put down the miserable cry about abolition.⁵⁵ This same paper, which was the mouth-piece of the southern Whigs, resented any attempt by the North in abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.⁵⁶ The southern influence on the Whig party was strong. Adams said that he doubted if there were five members of the House who would vote for a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the Abolitionists found more in common with the Whigs than with the Democrats. It was said that the antislavery societies publicly advised its members to vote the Whig ticket.⁵⁸ The *Hartford Times* said that every Whig member of Congress from Connecticut was a Clay man and likewise an Abolitionist.⁵⁹

It was during this period that a party organization hostile to the interests of slavery was formed. In 1837, the Vermont Abolitionists had independent tickets for Congressmen, except in one district where they supported the Whig nominee.⁶⁰ The more radical elements were insisting that the cleavage be more distinct. Adams said that between Lundy and other Abolitionists urging him to join their side and his wife and children pulling the other way, his mind was "agitated almost to distraction".⁶¹ This cleavage, coming as it did almost wholly within the Whig party, was violently resisted by the Whig organization. Every convert to the new party was excoriated, and the greater the man, the greater was the abuse.⁶²

The Abolitionists followed the plan of sending out questionnaires to the Whig candidates, and if they did not answer the

⁵⁴ *Niles' Register*, LVI, 397.

⁵⁵ *National Intelligencer* (bi-w.), November 24, 1840.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, April 10, 1837; *ibid.*, April 19, 1837; *ibid.*, June 9, 1837.

⁵⁷ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, X, 63.

⁵⁸ *The Globe*, November 29, 1838, from *Newport (N.H.) Spectator*; *ibid.*, March 21, 1839, from *Nashua (N.H.) Gazette*.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1839 (from *Hartford Times*).

⁶⁰ *National Aegis*, February 27, 1837.

⁶¹ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IX, 365.

⁶² *Ibid.*, X, 40.

question satisfactorily, they would scatter their votes to defeat the unfriendly candidates. Adams thought this was "mischievous" and "injurious to their own cause" and that the administration party which they abhorred had gained by their policy.⁶³

The extreme Abolitionists were even more uncompromising than the southern Whigs and their sympathizers in the North. Webster had entered the campaign for Harrison and was urging the union of the northern and southern Whigs. *The Liberator* said:

Resolved, That the son of New England who gives his influence in support of that "work of hell, foul and dark", American slavery, disgraces the land of his birth . . . and if not purified, to leave New England,—nay, to be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards.⁶⁴

It declared later in the campaign that no one had done more to spread slavery than Harrison, and that if an antislavery man could support Harrison or Van Buren innocently and properly, he could abandon antislavery innocently and properly.⁶⁵ Harrison refused to talk on abolition because everything he had said had been perverted or mutilated by the Abolitionists.⁶⁶

It was during this period that a split came in the abolition group over the introduction of antislavery, as such, into politics. The leader of the political group of Abolitionists was James Birney. The New York State Antislavery Society passed a resolution in 1836 expressing regret that citizens of free states should elect men to office who countenanced slavery.⁶⁷ Some time later, at a meeting in northern Ohio, Birney declared for the formation of a national political, antislavery party.⁶⁸ This almost caused a split in the organization. Finally, positive action was decided upon. The *Rochester Freeman* and *The Emancipator* favored the move.

On December 7, 1839, an abolition convention was held in western New York, which nominated James G. Birney of New York for president and Francis J. Lemoyne of Pennsylvania for vice-president.⁶⁹ Birney declined because of the local char-

⁶³ *Ibid.*, X, 43, 44.

⁶⁴ *The Liberator*, July 24, 1840.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, September 18, 1840.

⁶⁶ *The Globe*, August 6, 1840.

⁶⁷ William Birney, *Sketch of the Life of James G. Birney* (Chicago, 1884), 19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁹ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 240.

acter of the convention. On April 2, 1840, a so-called national convention was held at Albany, N.Y. Birney was again nominated for president and Thomas Earle for vice-president. Six states were represented at a still larger meeting which was held May 11, 1840 to indorse this ticket.⁷⁰

The new party received very little support. Enthusiasm drew nearly all the voters to one of the great parties. The Garrison Abolitionists denounced the movement as "the worst form of proslavery". In all, the party was able to poll less than eight thousand votes in the presidential election of 1840.

The Democrats used party patronage in the national arena as both the Whigs and Democrats did in the states. *The Globe* approved of the article in the *Baltimore Republican* that

Our custom house, too, should be thoroughly reformed, . . . Those among the employed in this department who are known to be with us . . . scarcely make up half the number of its officers. This is not as it should be, and the evil ought to be amended at once, and thoroughly.⁷¹

The *New Hampshire Patriot* speaks of a slashing business in removing Whig office-holders and upholds it on the basis of rotation in office.⁷² This only suggests what could be expected from the re-election of Van Buren, but Congdon speaks of a more immediate use of party patronage. He said that he had seen a confidential circular sent out by Amos Kendall calling upon every deputy postmaster to do everything in his power to re-elect Van Buren, and holding out the promise that no one who did this service would have cause to regret his exertions.⁷³ While first-hand statements of this kind are scarce, yet it can hardly be doubted that much of this kind of politics was practiced.

After the Democratic press had almost ceased to attack the Whigs on the charges before mentioned, it still attacked Harrison's record. This was kept up till some time after the election, and some of the criticism has been sustained by a recent writer.⁷⁴ The only trouble was that the Whigs were not running Harrison on his record. Letters of prominent Whigs at that time show that they knew he was a man of very ordinary ability. The complete correspondence of Croghan and Harrison was published by the Democrats, which aimed to

⁷⁰ Birney, *Sketch of the Life of James G. Birney*, 28.

⁷¹ *The Globe*, October 27, 1838.

⁷² *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, July 1, 1839.

⁷³ Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist*, 66.

⁷⁴ Professor Homer J. Webster, who spent much time on this subject, thinks Harrison's war record was largely a myth.

show that at Sandusky the former did the work, while the latter shirked his duty.⁷⁵ The whole attack on Harrison's military record was made to reflect on the Democrats, and they gained no advantage from this policy. Harrison had also voted to punish runaway servants with thirty-nine stripes,⁷⁶ and to sell servants for nonpayment of debt.⁷⁷ These charges of "white-slavery" brought his opponents little advantage.

The Democrats published one paper for campaign purposes alone. Kendall resigned as postmaster-general upon pretense of poor health and at once became the editor of the *Extra Globe*. It was this paper that he was accused of having had franked by members of Congress.

The chief strength of the Whigs lay in their power to arouse enthusiasm. The Democrats pretended to despise this method, but were finally compelled, in self-defense, to try the same plan. In this, they were not very successful⁷⁸ as compared with the Whigs, altho they were able to arouse more enthusiasm than is generally supposed.

Both parties were accused of fraud in the elections. It was freely charged by the Democratic press that Boston was sending money into New Hampshire to be used for vote-buying.⁷⁹ Sworn statements were secured and printed that voters were shipped from Albany to New York where they voted in several wards. The real scandal of the campaign was the Glentworth fraud. Glentworth had imported a working crew from Philadelphia to New York to be used in the election, but they were supposed to be engaged as laborers in laying water-mains for the Croton water supply. The charges could not be denied. Weed said it was done to offset like actions on the part of the Democrats.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist*, 75.

⁷⁶ *The Globe*, September 14, 1840.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1840.

⁷⁸ "When one convention of young Democrats failed, for want of support, Douglas saved the situation only by explaining that hard-working Democrats could not leave their employment to go gadding." Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1908), 49.

⁷⁹ *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, May 6, 1839; *The Globe*, April 27, 1839.

⁸⁰ Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone*, II, 47; Marian Gouverneur, *As I Remember* (London and New York, 1912), 12; Thurlow Weed Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), I, 493.

III

STATE AND CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Van Buren went into office with a Democratic Congress, but it refused to be guided completely by him. It consented to withhold the fourth instalment of the Treasury surplus from the states, yet that was the only thing left with a bankrupt Treasury. On the question of the Sub-Treasury Bill, the President's plan was turned down in three successive sessions of Congress, tho finally enacted into law in the session of 1839-1840.

This same reaction was going on outside of Congress. In New York, the well-organized Seward-Weed machine was gaining votes from the Democrats, who were split into the Loco Foco and Tammany branches. The state election in the fall of 1837 went in favor of the Whigs. Six of the eight senatorial districts elected Whigs, and 101 of the 128 Assemblymen were Whigs. The county officers were elected in about the same proportion.⁸¹ The Whig gains were largest in New York, but the state elections were generally unfavorable to the Democrats.⁸²

The congressional elections of 1838 showed about the same division as the elections of 1836. The Whigs raised their membership in Congress from 106 to 114. They gained 6 members in Connecticut, 10 in New York, 1 in Illinois, 1 in Louisiana, and 8 in Georgia. They lost 1 member in Vermont, 5 in New Jersey, 1 in Pennsylvania, 1 in Kentucky, 3 in Tennessee, 1 in Delaware, 1 in Maryland, 1 in Virginia, 1 in North Carolina, and 3 in South Carolina. The gains of the Democrats were more general, but the total was not so large as that of the Whigs.

In New York, the split in the Democratic party between

⁸¹ Frederick W. Seward (ed.), *William H. Seward, an Autobiography* (New York, 1891), I, 343, 344.

⁸² Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, 192, 193. The feeling of the times and the attitude toward Van Buren are shown by occurrences that followed the election. For example, about three hundred jubilant Whigs got a cannon and surrounded the White House where they made a great noise to the discomfort of the President. Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IX, 432.

Tammany and the Loco Focos had given the Whigs their chance. In Georgia, due to the readjustment of the State Rights issue, the old, aristocratic Whigs were able to induce the large slave-owner class to join them against the "Union" or Van Buren party.⁸³ These gains were not all permanent. Three of the Congressmen who were elected at this time by the Whigs refused to vote with them on administration measures.

Troup deserted the party which he had headed almost before it had taken form, just as the three Congressmen mentioned above had done. The State Rights issue was causing a great commotion all over the South, and it was at this time that some of its supporters began to see greater hopes in the Democratic party than in the Whig party. These movements did not become very noticeable, however, till after the election of 1840. Calhoun had turned away from the Whig alliance in 1837. South Carolina had four Van Buren Congressmen in 1836, seven in 1838, and eight in 1840. Other southern states showed like tendencies in 1838 and thereafter except for the great political landslide of 1840.

Considering the panic of 1837, the Democrats fared well in the congressional elections of 1838, and it is no surprise that they believed that in a short time they would have a clear majority in Congress again. In Vermont, the Whigs lost two Congressmen due, in part, to the Canadian controversy.⁸⁴

In the state elections of 1838-1839, the Democrats made great gains. The only brilliant victory of the Whigs was in the state of New York.⁸⁵ But in Ohio, due to the fact that the Abolitionists voted for the Democratic candidates, they lost. The Whig governor had aroused their anger by turning over a fugitive from a slave state who had escaped into Ohio after having violated a slave statute.⁸⁶ Tennessee was also lost to them with James K. Polk as a rival candidate for governor. Maryland elected a Democratic governor.⁸⁷ Pennsylvania followed where Porter was successful over Ritner. Maine, Georgia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Massa-

⁸³ Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, American Historical Association *Annual Report*, 1901, II, 144.

⁸⁴ *National Intelligencer*, September 10, 1838.

⁸⁵ Seward (ed.), *William H. Seward, an Autobiography*, I, 378, 379.

⁸⁶ *The Globe*, November 15, 1838.

⁸⁷ *National Intelligencer*, October 9, 1838.

chusetts all gave Democratic victories. Mississippi went to the Whigs, due largely to the personal influence of Seargent Prentiss of that state.⁸⁸

During this period, the political power of the Abolitionists amounted to very little. Once in a while, as in Ohio, they made themselves felt, but this was done while acting within the old parties. In the New Hampshire election of 1839, they cast 1,750 votes. This is fairly typical of their vote in those states where they were strongest.⁸⁹

The successes of this period were followed by the sub-panic of 1839, which seemed to throw the whole Democratic party into confusion. The state and congressional elections following this were uniformly in favor of the Whigs. Alabama, Mississippi, Vermont, Maine, Georgia, and North Carolina had state elections in 1839. In each, the Whig vote exceeded the expectations of the party leaders.⁹⁰

Most of the states held congressional elections before the presidential election. Here the Whigs were likewise successful. The Congress of 1841-1843 had 25 more Whigs than that of 1839-1841 and 33 more than in 1836. Only four states showed a Democratic gain over 1838, while thirteen showed a Whig gain. Before the presidential election came off, it was a foregone conclusion that Harrison would be elected as the next president.

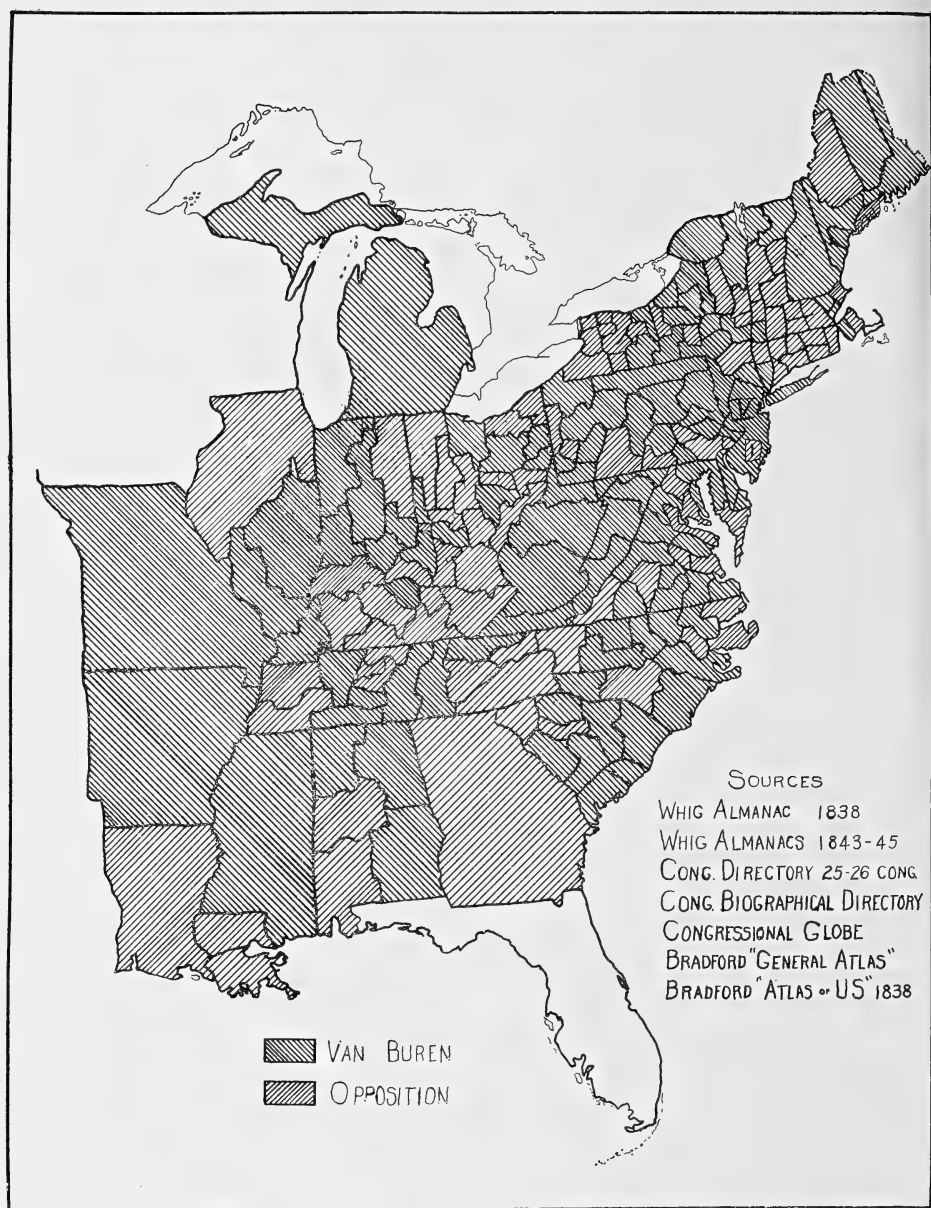
⁸⁸ *Memoir of S. S. Prentiss*, edited by his brother (New York, 1858), II, 136-138.

⁸⁹ *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, May 27, 1839.

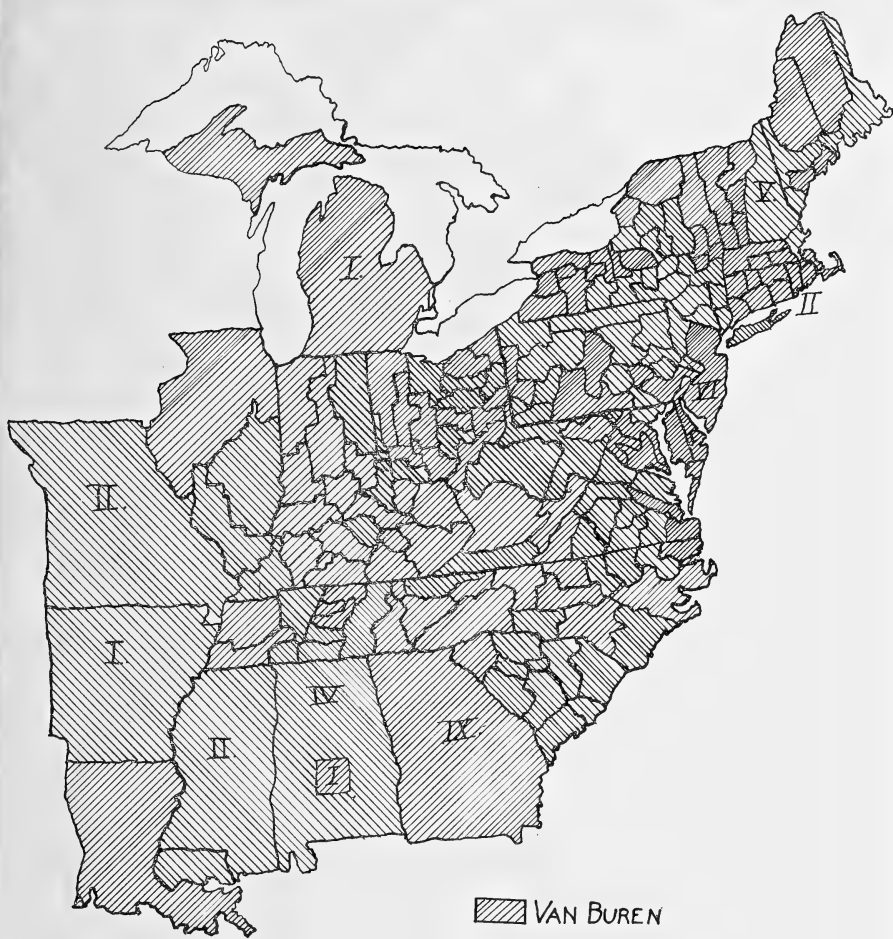
⁹⁰ *New Haven* (Conn.) *Evening Palladium*, August 26, 1840.


TABLE I.—CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION BY STATES AS DETERMINED BY
THE ELECTIONS OF 1836, 1838, AND 1840

STATE	25 Congress		26 Congress		27 Congress	
	Democrat	Whig	Democrat	Whig	Democrat	Whig
Maine.....	6	2	6	2	4	4
New Hampshire.....	5	.....	5	.....	5	.....
Vermont.....	1	4	2	3	.....	5
Massachusetts.....	2	10	2	10	1	11
Rhode Island.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....	2
Connecticut.....	6	.....	.....	6	.....	6
New York.....	30	10	20	20	22	18
New Jersey.....	.....	6	5	1	.....	6
Pennsylvania.....	17	11	18	10	16	12
Ohio.....	8	11	8	11	7	12
Indiana.....	5	2	5	2	1	6
Illinois.....	3	.....	2	1	2	1
Michigan.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	1
Kentucky.....	2	11	3	10	3	10
Tennessee.....	3	10	6	7	5	8
Maryland.....	4	4	5	3	2	6
Delaware.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	1
Arkansas.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....
Missouri.....	2	.....	2	.....	2	.....
Virginia.....	15	6	16	5	12	9
North Carolina.....	7	6	8	5	5	8
South Carolina.....	4	5	7	2	8	1
Georgia.....	8	1	.....	9	.....	9
Alabama.....	3	2	3	2	4	1
Louisiana.....	1	2	.....	3	1	2
Mississippi.....	2	.....	2	.....	2	.....
Totals.....	136	106	128	114	103	139



MAP I



 VAN BUREN

 OPPOSITION

SAME REFERENCES AS ABOVE MAP

MAP II

The above table shows the changes in the political complexion of the Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, and Twenty-seventh Congresses. Maps I and II show how this vote was distributed. The above table is not absolute. There was so much shifting across party lines that it is impossible to fix exact numbers. This is especially true of certain southern states.

THE WHIG CONVENTION OF 1839

The defeat of the Anti-Jackson party in 1832 paralyzed their political activities for a while, and they were not able to get together before the election of 1836. The defeat of 1836 seemed rather to unite than to scatter their forces, since that election was hardly over till movements were on foot looking to the next presidential campaign.

This must not be taken to mean that there was no strife in the party itself. The friends of Webster and Clay still held to their favorites. They appeared to be more interested in personal, factional strife, than in national political organization.⁹¹ Webster's friends said Clay should stand back as he had been a candidate in 1824 and 1832.⁹² Clay's friends said that this was the first real chance for an election, and as Clay was the older, he should have the first chance, and Webster, in turn, should have his.⁹³

Clay began to plan his opposition to the new administration before it was inaugurated on the ground that none of its measures could atone for the original sin of its having been chosen by its predecessor.⁹⁴ In the special session of 1837, he urged the payment of the Fourth Instalment, altho he knew the Treasury was empty.⁹⁵ He had plans by which the Whigs of the House should embarrass the speaker, and he tried to have the control of financial affairs taken away from the finance committee of the Senate and given over to a new committee controlled by the Whigs.⁹⁶ Webster approved of these plans, but Adams thought that such premature attacks would do the Whigs more harm than good.⁹⁷ This policy of opposition to all administrative measures was kept up thruout the full four years.⁹⁸

Webster's candidacy was of short duration, altho it was

⁹¹ Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist*, 65.

⁹² George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster* (New York, 1870), II, 1, 2.

⁹³ *The Globe*, April 26, 1839, from *New York Evening Star*, April 24, 1839.

⁹⁴ Calvin Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay* (New York, 1856), 409; Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, II, 130, 131.

⁹⁵ Charles Peck, *The Jacksonian Epoch* (New York and London, 1899), 363; Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, II, 134, 135.

⁹⁶ *Albany Argus*, January 2, 1838.

⁹⁷ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IX, 369.

⁹⁸ *Albany Argus*, February 2, 1838.

vigorously conducted during its period. In the Senate, he made a speech saying that Calhoun's State Rights position was of recent origin and inferred his own leanings in that direction. He explained away his apparent inconsistencies on the tariff issue and invited attention to his past conduct on political issues.⁹⁹ After making his Niblo Garden speech, he made a speaking tour in the West. He was well received, but on the whole he was discouraged with the outlook. Richard Houghton, editor of the *Boston Atlas*, showed him that he could not become president and then came out for Harrison. Webster withdrew with great reluctance about August 1, 1838.¹⁰⁰ He further removed himself from politics by going to Europe, but his friends were believed to be active in preventing the nomination of Clay.

In the summer of 1837, the friends of Clay met in New York to organize for the next presidential election. Clay wrote them that the meeting was premature and that it was not right to "disturb or distract the public attention by introducing another exciting but remote topic" when the currency and business of the country were prostrate. This letter was given wide publication perhaps to show the patriotism of Clay. But he also stated,

To guard against misconception, I ought to add that too much delay as well as too much precipitation should be alike avoided, in arrangements connected with the next election of a Chief Magistrate of the Union.¹⁰¹

As in the previous campaign, Clay pretended an unwillingness to become a candidate. He said:

I should be extremely unwilling, without very strong reasons, to be thrown into the turmoil of a Presidential canvass. . . . Should a National Convention of our friends nominate any other person, he shall have my hearty wishes for success and my cordial support.¹⁰²

On August 14, 1837, he wrote G. D. Prentice that it was probable that

I shall be again forced into the Presidential arena. . . . In the city of New York, notwithstanding, and subsequent to the movement there for Mr. Webster, my friends spontaneously resolved to organize.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Speech of Daniel Webster in U.S. Senate, March 22, 1838.

¹⁰⁰ Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone*, I, 262; *National Intelligencer*, January 8, 1837; Seward (ed.), *William H. Seward, an Autobiography*, I, 336, 337; Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist*, 69; *The Globe*, August 1, 1838.

¹⁰¹ Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 416.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 417.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 418.

This struggle between the friends of Clay and Webster in New York ended in the famous "Triangular Scheme" which will be explained later. At this early period, public opinion in New York seemed to lean toward Clay.¹⁰⁴ Early in 1838, the Kentucky legislature introduced resolutions recommending Clay for the next president. In this, Clay thought they displayed "more zeal than discretion".¹⁰⁵

A very strong, but very troublesome element acting with the Whig party was the "Conservative Democrats". These men had left the Democratic party because of Van Buren's Sub-Treasury Scheme. They were busy looking up presidential timber and were often elected by the Whigs to the highest offices. Mr. Rives was mentioned for the presidency¹⁰⁶ and Mr. Tallmadge for the vice-presidency. As a rule, however, "Conservatives" favored the candidacy of Clay.¹⁰⁷ This was quite annoying to the supporters of Harrison.¹⁰⁸

Next to Henry Clay, William Henry Harrison was the most promising man for the nomination for president on the Whig ticket. Harrison and his friends considered that he was still a candidate as a result of the nomination in the preceding campaign. Before Van Buren went into office, Harrison made the usual promise, that "if elected president of the United States, I would under no circumstances become a candidate for second term".¹⁰⁹

The Whig state convention of Ohio met at Columbus July 4, 1837, and recommended a Whig national convention to be held at Pittsburgh on the second Monday of June, 1838, for the purpose of nominating a president and vice-president. The convention expressed a preference for Harrison, but would support any other regular nominee.¹¹⁰ Each state was to have as many delegates as it had senators and representatives. Nothing came of this suggestion. In March, 1838, the friends of Harrison in Pennsylvania met and appointed a committee to further his interests. In 1835, the Pennsylvania state committee that nominated Harrison had appointed a central committee. These two bodies united and formed the Republican central committee of Pennsylvania. It then

¹⁰⁴ Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone*, I, 280.

¹⁰⁵ Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 424.

¹⁰⁶ *National Intelligencer*, November 14, 1838.

¹⁰⁷ Seward (ed.), *William H. Seward, an Autobiography*, I, 348; *The Globe*, July 2, 1839, from *Nashville Union*.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 345.

¹⁰⁹ *Niles' Register*, LIII, 401.

¹¹⁰ *The Globe*, November 20, 1838.

called for a convention "of the friends of General William Henry Harrison, in this and other states" to be held at Pittsburgh July 4, 1838, to further an organization to secure support for him. In a long report, it showed reasons why he should be supported in preference to Clay, Webster, or McLean.¹¹¹ This aroused the friends of Clay in Pennsylvania, who organized and secured control of the Whig organization in that state. Ohio was also aroused because of the action of Harrison's friends in Pennsylvania. The Whig members of Congress, not pleased at seeing the threatened split in the party, changed the date to the first Monday in December and the place to Harrisburg. The Whig state convention at Columbus and the Young Men's convention at Mount Vernon accepted the change and harmony was partially restored.

In the meantime, Clay was growing in strength. The political outlook in Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana was very bright.¹¹² In fact, it was too bright for the friends of Harrison, who again showed signs of going on in their support of Harrison regardless of the national convention. *The Columbus Journal and Register* and the *Gallipolis Journal* took this position.¹¹³ This movement did not command a very large following, altho the possible secession of the Harrison wing may have been an element in nominating him at the Harrisburg convention. The Ohio state convention nominated Harrison subject to a decision of a national convention to be the candidate for the individual support of the Whigs of the Union for that office.¹¹⁴ It also agreed to support Clay or Webster.¹¹⁵

Thruout this period, the Whig press was urging harmony.¹¹⁶ It even urged that delegates be not instructed so that there would be nothing in the way of a choice of the most available candidate at the national convention. Francis Granger said that

. . . every Whig, who may be honored with the public confidence of his party, is to take the place assigned to him without a murmur, and to apply his best energies to secure a triumphant result.¹¹⁷

A slavish adherence to party was necessary to make possible such methods as were to be employed at the Whig

¹¹¹ *National Intelligencer*, April 20, 1838.

¹¹² Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 440, 441; *ibid.*, 426, 427.

¹¹³ *National Intelligencer*, April 20, 1838.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1838.

¹¹⁵ *Niles' Register*, LIV, 321.

¹¹⁶ *National Intelligencer*, July 13, 1838.

¹¹⁷ *Niles' Register*, LV, 185.

national convention. With a few exceptions, the Whig meetings were harmonious. A Clay meeting at the Masonic Hall in New York made up largely of "Conservatives", pledged itself to support either Clay, Webster, or Harrison.¹¹⁸ A meeting in Maryland would do the same, but indorsed Henry Clay, "that pure statesman and devoted patriot".¹¹⁹ The Whig state convention at Staunton, Va., passed resolutions favoring Clay for president and N. P. Tallmadge for vice-president, but would vote for the Harrisburg nominees. Conventions at Jefferson, Mo.; Utica, N.Y.; Dover, Del.; and others chose delegates, but made no nominations. The convention at Springfield, Ill., gave its confidence to Henry Clay or William Henry Harrison, "both favorite 'Harries of the West'." New Jersey selected delegates to choose a candidate in opposition to Martin Van Buren.¹²⁰

With all these signs of harmony, there were now and then opposite tendencies. Clay, because of his position, was likely to have undue influence in the choice of delegates. Ohio seemed to have come out strongly for him.¹²¹ The Harrison Whigs talked of "the *uncertain* decision of a far distant national convention",¹²² and said that Harrison's friends in Ohio agreed to abide by the decision of a convention "fairly constituted". This was due to some supposed irregularities in the choice of Clay delegates in Louisiana and Maryland. A letter which Jefferson had written on May 25, 1823, concerning Clay saying he hoped Clay would sometime become the chief executive was freely published.¹²³ *The Globe*, however, denied the authenticity of the letter. The final statement of Harrison's position in regard to his accepting the decision of the national convention is in the report of a Harrison committee appointed at Harrisburg during the preceding September. It said:

Resolved, That while the convention entertain the belief that no other candidate for the presidency, but General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, can unite the anti-Van Buren party, and by that union rescue the country from misrule, they feel entire respect and admiration for the great talents and public and private virtues of Henry Clay, of

¹¹⁸ *National Intelligencer*, June 1, 1838.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1838.

¹²⁰ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 125-127, 135, 138, 154, 167, 187, 199, 215.

¹²¹ *The Globe*, November 20, 1838; Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 427.

¹²² *The Globe*, November 20, 1838 (from *Ohio Statesman*).

¹²³ *Ibid.*, July 18, 1838.

Kentucky, and they cannot believe that he who has already made so many sacrifices for his country, will now permit his name to be used to divide and distract the anti-Van Buren party, and thus consign to hopeless ruin our republican institutions.¹²⁴

The candidates, themselves, took about the same attitude towards their candidacy. Harrison said that no man could truthfully say that he had ever expressed or suggested a desire to become a candidate.¹²⁵ Scott would accept no public entertainment whatever, and Clay declared he had told no one that he would become a candidate. The only thing that prevented him from declaring he was not a candidate was that his opponents would say that "I saw the grapes were sour."¹²⁶

The relations between Webster and Clay are hard to trace, but it is easy to agree with Mr. Adams that "There is no good-will lost between Mr. Clay and Webster."¹²⁷ Adams said that Mr. Abbot Lawrence, a political and financial supporter of Webster, "now thinks Webster has coalesced with Harrison against Clay upon the Presidential competition",¹²⁸ while the Democrats with more presumption declared that Harrison was to have but one term and then support Webster in turn.¹²⁹ The fact that the Webster organ, the *Boston Atlas*, had come out for Harrison made it appear that Webster was unfriendly toward Clay.¹³⁰ It is now known that Webster was angry at the editor for this action, but it is also known that between Harrison and Clay, Webster favored the former.¹³¹

By this time, Calhoun had begun to see his way clear for a reunion with the Democrats, so he refused to take any part in the preparations for a Whig convention.¹³²

In September, 1837, fifty-three Anti-Masonic delegates from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York met at Washington to choose candidates for president and for governor of Pennsylvania.¹³³ Resolutions favor-

¹²⁴ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 191.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, LIV, 397.

¹²⁶ Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 431.

¹²⁷ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, X, 77.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹²⁹ *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, December 3, 1838.

¹³⁰ *The Globe*, July 15, 1839; Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 429-431.

¹³¹ Webster (ed.), *The Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, II, 45.

¹³² Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of Calhoun*, 372; *ibid.*, 376, 377.

¹³³ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IX, 372.

ing Harrison for president and Ritner for governor were offered, but were finally withdrawn and a new convention to be held at Philadelphia on the second Tuesday of November, 1838, was called.¹³⁴ This convention nominated Harrison for president and Webster for vice-president, but the latter was later sacrificed to the interests of the southern Whigs.¹³⁵ Thaddeus Stevens was the chief man of the convention. He spoke against the Sub-Treasury Bill, but said nothing on Anti-Masonry.¹³⁶ About the first of June, 1839, the Anti-Masons made their last public effort in national politics.¹³⁷

The greatest obstacle in the way of Clay's nomination was the abolition vote. Clay was aware of this.¹³⁸ He caused the presentation of, and perhaps wrote, the abolition petition from the District of Columbia, which gave him a chance to declare his position in a set speech on abolition.¹³⁹ In this speech, Clay kept a fairly neutral ground, but his aim was to secure the support of the South without offending the moderate Abolitionists. The radical Abolitionists were attacked. Before delivering his speech, he read it to Mr. Prentiss to get his opinion of its effect on the South. Prentiss feared it might cause him to lose both the abolition and the southern vote. It was at this time when Clay is said to have declared, "I had rather be right than be President."¹⁴⁰ While Clay did not say anything to offend the majority of the Abolitionists,¹⁴¹ he said enough to enrage the most extreme and to make all others suspect him.¹⁴²

After the close of the special session of Congress, Clay made a tour thru the East. He was received in New York and New England with great popular demonstrations. But in politics, the controlling forces are not always the most apparent. While in New York, Thurlow Weed met him and tried to sidetrack him with gentle hints, but Clay was not convinced. Weed retired and perfected his plan to keep Clay from being nominated. Weed claimed that he was a friend

¹³⁴ *Niles' Register*, LIII, 68.

¹³⁵ Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic Party", *American Historical Association Annual Report*, 1902, I, 536.

¹³⁶ *The Globe*, November 19, 1838.

¹³⁷ *Niles' Register*, LVI, 209.

¹³⁸ Colton, *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay*, 429-431.

¹³⁹ Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, X, 116; Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, II, 164.

¹⁴⁰ *The Globe*, March 27, 1839.

¹⁴¹ *National Aegis*, February 20, 1839.

¹⁴² Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of Calhoun*, 424.

of Clay and that he opposed his nomination because it would be disastrous to Clay and the Whig Party,¹⁴³ Clay said:

*No veteran soldier, covered with scars and wounds, inflicted in many severe battles, and hard campaigns, ever received his discharge with more pleasure than I should mine. But I think that, like him, without presumption, I am entitled to an Honorable Discharge.*¹⁴⁴

Up to this time, little has been said about General Winfield Scott, because there is little to be said. Scott had some claims to recognition. He had a good military record, and had settled some boundary questions with some degree of success. He had also been desirous for several years of becoming president of the United States. Just before the election, the Seward group fell upon him as a pawn to be used, not for his own advancement, but to defeat Clay.¹⁴⁵

When the convention met, there were three candidates. These were General Winfield Scott, General William Henry Harrison, and Henry Clay. Clay was the favorite. All the South and three-fourths of the East were for him.¹⁴⁶ However, a large number of his delegates were from states which were almost sure to go Democratic in the presidential election.¹⁴⁷ Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania were for Harrison. New York was for Scott. The Anti-Masons, Abolitionists, and old National Republicans all went for Harrison.¹⁴⁸

There were twenty-two states represented. Each state was allowed as many delegates as it had senators and representatives.¹⁴⁹ James Barbour of Virginia was made chairman. A unique plan for balloting was adopted in order that there might not be the slightest hitch in the proceedings. First, a committee of states was appointed. The delegation from each state was then to retire privately and cast its vote, a majority to determine the whole vote of the state. The vote of the several states was to be reported by the committee of states, which was to report to the convention when a ma-

¹⁴³ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 8 ff.; *The Globe*, July 30, 1839, from *Ontario (N.Y.) Messenger*; Seward (ed.), *William H. Seward, an Autobiography*, I, 432; Thurlow Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 480, 481.

¹⁴⁴ *The Globe*, August 15, 1839.

¹⁴⁵ John S. Jenkins, *History of Political Parties in New York* (Albany, 1846), 431; Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, II, 81; *National Intelligencer*, August 3, 1839, from *The Globe*.

¹⁴⁶ Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 481.

¹⁴⁷ Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1888), 130.

¹⁴⁸ Lyon Gardiner Tyler (ed.), *The Letters and Times of the Tylers* (Richmond, Va., 1884), I, 593, 594.

¹⁴⁹ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 210; *ibid.*, 225.

jority was reached. This strange scheme was moved by Sprague of Massachusetts, which gave rise to the belief that Webster was concerned in it. Penrose of Pennsylvania and Seward of New York supported the plan.¹⁵⁰ The Clay delegates tried hard to get an open vote to be taken *per capita*.¹⁵¹ On the first ballot, Clay received 103 votes, Harrison 94, and Scott 57. Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Illinois, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Missouri voted for Clay. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Ohio, Indiana, and Pennsylvania voted for Harrison. New York, New Jersey, and Vermont voted for Scott.¹⁵² After a few ballots, the plan which the wire-pullers had arranged was executed.

Outside the usual scheming that accompanies such proceedings, there were more questionable political tricks carried on in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Henry A. Wise reports Judge White's version of the famous "Triangular Scheme" in New York which is as follows: C—, residing in Rochester, S—, residing in Utica, and T—, residing in the city of New York, were to write to one another from the three great sections of the state during the preliminary and primary state nominations. C wrote to S and T: Do all you can for Mr. Clay in your district, for I am sorry to say he has no strength in this; S wrote to C and T in the same strain, while T expressed similar views to S and C. Thus, while Clay probably had a majority in each district, it would appear to the people in any one district that the other two were against him. Then the wire-pullers in each district would say that as Clay had no strength in any other part of the state, it was unwise for them to vote for him here.¹⁵³ As a result, Scott got 20 votes, Harrison 2, and Clay 10.

In Pennsylvania, the Whigs met at Chambersburg on June 13, 1839. About thirty Anti-Masons, calling themselves Whigs, were admitted. Clay resolutions were passed and the Anti-Masonic element, under the leadership of Charles B. Penrose, bolted, and held an independent convention at Harrisburg.¹⁵⁴ At the national convention, the Penrose group got control and threw the state for Harrison.

¹⁵⁰ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 248-252.

¹⁵¹ Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, II, 89.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁵³ Henry Alexander Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union* (Richmond, Va., 1881), 165, 166.

¹⁵⁴ Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, II, 76; *Niles' Register*, LVI, 259.

A still more questionable trick is said to have been worked on the Virginia delegation. It was halting between Scott and Harrison when Thaddeus Stevens visited the Virginia headquarters and inadvertently dropped a letter which Scott had written to Francis Granger showing his sympathy for antislavery. This at once turned her vote to Harrison.¹⁵⁵

After six ballots, Harrison secured a majority of all the votes cast. Clay still held all the southern states and Rhode Island; Scott had the vote of New Jersey and Connecticut, and Harrison held all the West and central states, besides Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont in the East. The final vote was Harrison 148, Clay 90, and Scott 16.¹⁵⁶ This vote was then submitted to the convention as a whole and was accepted by it. A letter which Clay had written to a friend urging "the selection of that citizen, although it should not be me, who may appear to be most likely . . . to bring about a salutary change in the administration of the General Government"¹⁵⁷ helped to restore good feeling.

The vice-presidential candidate was chosen in the same way. Henry Wise said that a deal was made between Clay, Tyler, and Rives whereby Tyler was to get the vice-presidency and Rives the senatorship from Virginia.¹⁵⁸ As several other men were offered the position before Tyler, it is extremely unlikely that such a deal was made. No platform was adopted.

The fight was not one between Clay and Harrison, but rather a struggle to keep Clay out. It may be said that he lost because of the composite character of the party he had formed. By any fair means Clay would have been nominated. The leaders of the party thought that Clay could not hold the Anti-Van Buren vote together, so chose a man who could. There is little ground for believing that Clay's friends deserted him from any other motive than that it was for the party's interest that he be sacrificed. The chief elements that prevented the nomination of Clay were the Abolitionists,¹⁵⁹ the Anti-Masons, the personal friends of Webster, and those politicians who were more interested in the spoils of office

¹⁵⁵ A. K. McClure, *Our Presidents and How We Make Them*, 68 (cited in footnote of J. A. Woodburn's *Life of Thaddeus Stevens*, 65, 66).

¹⁵⁶ *The Globe*, December 12, 1839.

¹⁵⁷ *Proceedings of the Democratic Whig national convention on December 4, 1839, at Harrisburg, Pa.* (1839), 21-23.

¹⁵⁸ Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*, 158-161.

¹⁵⁹ Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone*, I, 393, 394.

than principles.¹⁶⁰ Acts, such as his vote against the Salt Tax¹⁶¹ and Pre-emption, did him harm in the West.¹⁶²

Publicly, Clay simulated satisfaction with the result.

That convention was composed of as enlightened and as respectable body of men as were ever assembled in the country. They met, deliberated, and after a full and impartial deliberation, decided that William Henry Harrison was the man best calculated to unite the Whigs of the union against the present executive. General Harrison was nominated, and cheerfully and without a moment's hesitation I gave my hearty concurrence in the nomination, from that moment to the present, I have had but one wish—one object—one desire—and that is to secure the election of the distinguished citizen who received the suffrages of the convention.¹⁶³

Henry Wise said Clay's private remarks were different. When Clay heard of his failure to secure the nomination, he raved and swore like a mad man. "My friends are not worth the powder and shot it would take to kill them", he shouted. "He mentioned the names of several, invoking upon them the most horrid imprecations."¹⁶⁴

The nomination was not immediately popular.¹⁶⁵ Clay's friends were disappointed and angry. This accounts for the choice of an extreme State Rights man for the vice-presidency.¹⁶⁶ The southern Whigs did not like the choice of Harrison¹⁶⁷ and Calhoun predicted that the nomination would throw off the southern wing of the Whig party.¹⁶⁸

Clay increased his popularity and strengthened the ticket by coming out in open support of the nominee.¹⁶⁹ The Whigs held state and local conventions indorsing the action of the convention and the campaign was on.

¹⁶⁰ Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, II, 175.

¹⁶¹ *The Globe*, September 6, 1839.

¹⁶² Speech of Richard M. Young of Illinois, in U.S. Senate, January 8, 1839.

¹⁶³ *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 158.

¹⁶⁴ Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*, 171.

¹⁶⁵ Jenkins, *History of Political Parties in New York*, 432.

¹⁶⁶ Weed, *Autobiography*, I, 482.

¹⁶⁷ Prentiss, *Memoirs*, II, 150.

¹⁶⁸ Jameson (ed.), *Correspondence of Calhoun*, 435; *ibid.*, 438.

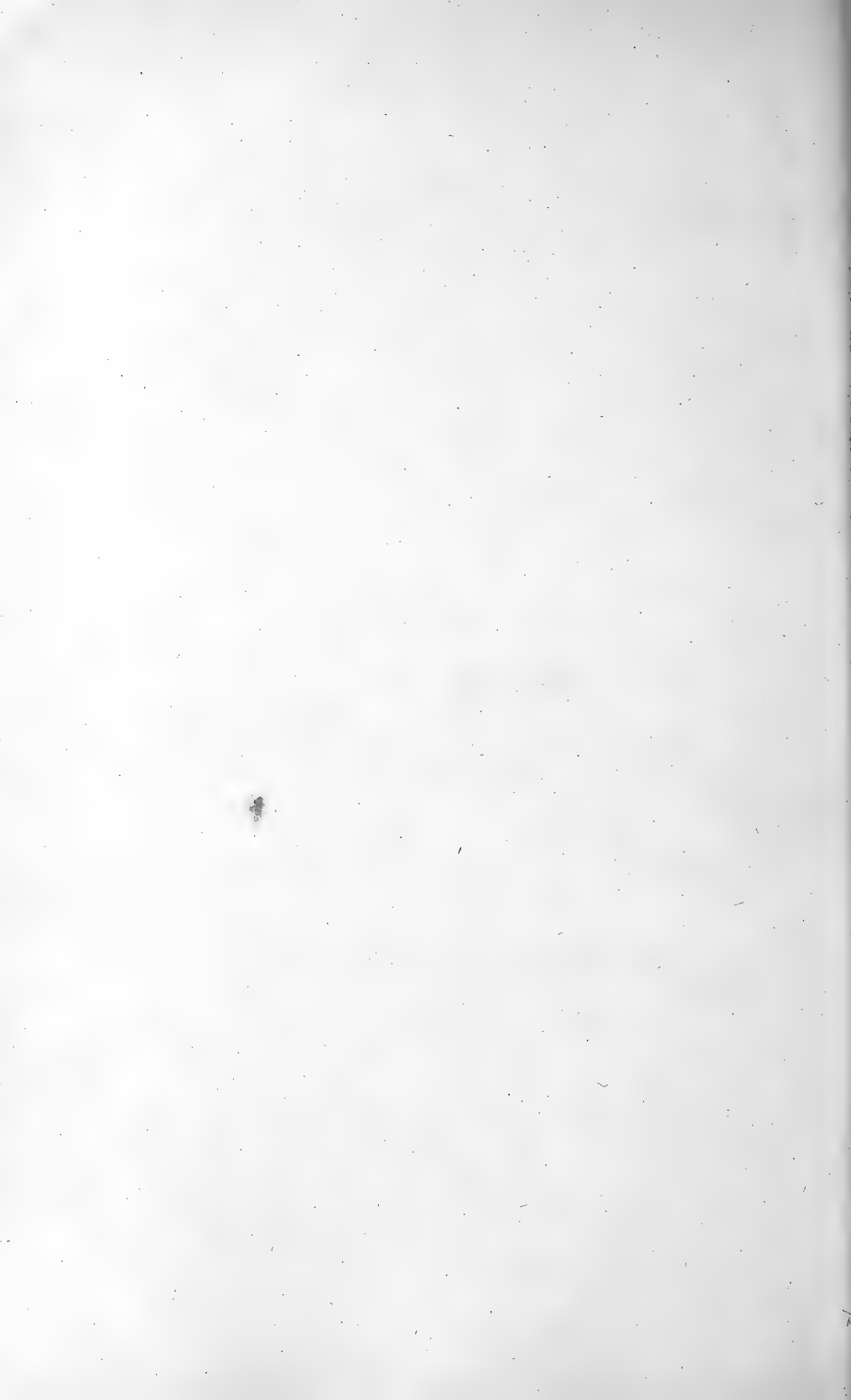
¹⁶⁹ Tuckerman (ed.), *The Diary of Philip Hone*, II, 4.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND
ELECTION OF 1840

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THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION OF 1840

WHEN Martin Van Buren was inaugurated as president of the United States, on March 4, 1837, his intention was to make his administration a continuation of that of Andrew Jackson.¹ In adherence to the political principles of his predecessor, the purpose was carried out. But Van Buren was a gentleman, in the sense of possessing culture and polished manners, and in preferring peace and order to quarrel and turmoil, and in this he differed so greatly from General Jackson that his administration could not be the same. He surrounded himself with gentlemen, bore himself with dignity, and evinced a most laudable desire to efface the memory of his achievements in the political field as the "Little Magician", and of his subserviency to Jackson which had insured him the succession. Without the influence of Jackson, Van Buren perhaps could not have been elected, for it had required all of Jackson's authority to carry him thru in 1836, and his margin was very small.²

It was Van Buren's misfortune that he came into the presidency just at the time when results attributed to the rash acts of Jackson were in readiness to burst forth. The terrible panic of 1837 began when the administration was but two months old, and this crisis was looked upon by his opponents as a direct consequence of the financial disorder produced by Jackson's war on the Bank. The enforced liquidation of the greatest monetary institution in the country; the transfer of the public funds to banks much weaker and far more loosely managed than the Bank of the United States; a wild speculation induced by the excessive note issues of state banks which had a fictitious capital only; and the inability of the banks to respond when called upon to refund the sums intrusted to them, under the law for "depositing" the surplus revenue with the states—such were the events which brought about the suspension of specie payments on May 10, 1837.³

¹ Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (New York, 1912), I, 190.

² *Ibid.*, I, 191.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 191.

Even before the suspension of specie payment, opposition to the policy which Van Buren had outlined began to arise. In a public letter of March 25, 1837, Abbot Lawrence expressed his disapproval of Van Buren's plan of state banks and also of his policy in regard to the disposition of the public lands, as well as opposition to the annexation of Texas, which question was before Congress at that time.⁴

Silas Wright, Jr., in a letter to his old friends in Vermont, on April 21, 1837, also voiced his opposition to the policy of the administration of Van Buren.⁵ This dissatisfaction and disapproval of the policy of the administration soon began to be widespread. The currency of the country was in disorder and times were hard. Of course, this condition of the country was blamed upon the administration then in power. It was not only by the opposition parties that Van Buren's policies were opposed. The political history of his administration shows that all the members of his own party did not agree with Van Buren. Altho during his whole term there was a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress, he suffered repeated defeats in carrying thru his one favorite scheme and great measure, the establishment of the Independent Treasury system. Nevertheless, Van Buren was not abandoned by his party, nor was his administration an unpopular one among Democrats. On the contrary, a great majority of them believed in him, approved his measures, and desired his re-election. They were in favor of completing the work which Jackson had begun, by divorcing the government altogether from private banking corporations.⁶

By the summer of 1838 there was such opposition to Van Buren that it seemed that he would have difficulty in securing his re-election, even if he could obtain the nomination of his party. In a letter to some of his constituents, dated August 29, 1838, J. Andrew Schulze said that he expected the re-election of Joseph Ritner as governor of Pennsylvania, and that "This triumph will assuredly be followed by one still more important, the election of a genuine Democratic president in 1840." He also voiced the sentiments of the more extreme opponents of Van Buren in these words, "I have never seen any evidence that Mr. Van Buren has any

⁴ *Niles' Register*, LII, 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, LII, 238.

⁶ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, I, 192.

fixed principles, any patriotism or talents.”⁷ Of course, this was the opinion of one who was among the most bitter opponents of Van Buren and his policies.

Such was the political turmoil of the country that the state elections in 1837 and 1838 resulted unfavorably to the Democrats. The most of the elections of members of the Twenty-sixth Congress took place in 1838; and they were so decidedly averse to the Democrats that extraordinary exertions were required in those Congressional elections which were not held until the spring or summer of 1839 to insure their majority against extinction. So close was the contest that, when the House assembled in December, 1839, there were 119 Democrats, 118 opposition, and 5 members from New Jersey whose seats were contested.⁸

The political and economic unrest of the country may have been the cause for the early meetings of some of the national conventions for the purpose of nominating candidates for the election of 1840. The first of these to meet was the national Anti-Masonic convention. This convention met on Tuesday, November 13, 1838, in Temperance Hall at Philadelphia, but it transacted no business on that day except to pass a resolution to reassemble on the following day for the purpose of transacting the business of the convention. The convention accordingly met again on Wednesday, November 14, for transacting the business in hand.⁹

A large number of members were present, and the room was otherwise thronged with citizens, who seemed to take a great interest in the proceedings. The convention organized by electing Harmar Denny of Pennsylvania, president; Henry Cotheal of New York, Eleazer Clough of Massachusetts, Edward S. Williams of Rhode Island, and Rufus Beach of Ohio, vice-presidents. John Williamson of Pennsylvania and J. A. Stevens of New Jersey were elected as secretaries. The committee which had been appointed to prepare business for the convention presented the following report:

(1) That they recommend to the convention to proceed to the nomination of candidates for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, at 10:30 of this day (Wednesday);

⁷ *Niles' Register*, LV, 20.

⁸ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, I, 192.

⁹ *Niles' Register*, LV, 221.

- (2) That the votes be taken *viva voce* by states;
- (3) That a committee of five be appointed to draught resolutions;
- (4) That a committee of five be appointed to draught an address to the citizens of the United States;
- (5) That a committee of one member from each state be appointed to select and nominate a national committee of correspondence;
- (6) That a committee on finance be appointed.¹⁰

The above resolutions were then adopted and the committees appointed as recommended in the resolutions. The chairman then announced that the next business before the convention was the nomination of a president and vice-president of the United States. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania placed the name of William Henry Harrison of Ohio before the convention as the candidate for president. The vote was then taken *viva voce* by states, and Harrison received 119 votes, being the unanimous choice of the convention. Daniel Webster of Massachusetts was then put in nomination for vice-president, and received the same unanimous vote of 119. Some speeches were then made to the convention. The last speaker, Mr. Clough of Massachusetts, remarked that the Whig principles were identical with those which had achieved our glorious revolution; they had ever been the favorite creed of Massachusetts; and he hoped that the two distinguished gentlemen who had been placed in nomination would go thru the ordeal victoriously, heart and hand together, in order that the country might see a return of the good old Whig times again. The convention then adjourned until 3:15 p.m.¹¹

The committee that had been appointed to prepare an address to the people asked for more time, which was granted. The committee on resolutions then reported. The resolutions advocated equality of rights; supported the supremacy of the laws; and denounced all secret and oath-bound associations as pregnant with danger to liberty. The Sub-Treasury Scheme was condemned in these resolutions as anti-democratic, and contrary to the spirit of republicanism, which, it was declared, could never tolerate the placing of the purse and sword in the same hands. The resolutions were adopted, and it was then resolved that an official account of the proceedings of the convention be published in all the Democratic papers of the Union, and copies sent to General Harrison

¹⁰ *Niles' Register*, LV, 221.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, LV, 221.

and Daniel Webster. The minor details of the meeting then being disposed of the convention adjourned *sine die*.¹²

This so-called national Anti-Masonic convention was composed of members from only five states, with the following numbers of delegates from each: New York, 42; Pennsylvania, 30; Ohio, 21; Massachusetts, 14; and Rhode Island, 4—a total of 111 delegates.¹³

On December 2, 1838, Harrison wrote from his home at North Bend, Ohio, a letter to Mr. Denny, president of the convention, thanking him and the entire convention for the honor which for the second time they had conferred upon him. In this letter Harrison availed himself of the opportunity to give his views as to the proper exercise of his powers by a president, and to show his bitter opposition to the policies of the Van Buren administration.¹⁴

There seemed to be some alarm even in the states which were considered Democratic strongholds early in 1839, for in the month of February there appeared in the *Richmond Enquirer* "An Appeal to the People", prepared by the Democratic leaders of Virginia, encouraging all true Democrats to support Van Buren and the policies of his administration.¹⁵

The Philadelphia Democratic-Whig Association met on Monday evening, March 11, 1839, and started an agitation for Clay as their candidate for the presidency in 1840. The speakers lauded Mr. Clay, and the large and enthusiastic audience showed their attachment for him by their many cheers.¹⁶

The friends of Van Buren urged him to make a tour thru some of the northern states in the summer of 1839. He was a consummate tactician and skilled political manager, and after hesitating at first later suffered himself to be persuaded by his friends into making a "presidential tour". Leaving Washington in the latter part of June, he traveled in his own carriage from Baltimore to York, Harrisburg, and other towns in Pennsylvania, receiving everywhere public demon-

¹² *Ibid.*, LV, 221.

¹³ This is the list printed in *Niles' Register* (LV, 221); but there is an apparent discrepancy in the figures, since there were 119 votes cast in the convention for both Harrison and Webster, and Niles says there were 119 delegates present.

¹⁴ *Niles' Register*, LV, 360.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, LV, 375.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, LVI, 55.

strations in his honor.¹⁷ He then went to his native state of New York, where he was kindly received. After a few days spent in New York City he set out on a somewhat extended tour of the state, being received with great enthusiasm by the Democrats of the towns which he was able to visit. This "tour" was claimed to be not for campaign purposes at all, but it seems that Van Buren took it upon himself to look after his political standing in his native state.¹⁸

It so happened that at the same time Henry Clay was making a summer "tour" thru the state of New York as well as the President. While the latter was traveling from east to west, the former was coming from west to east. He had visited Buffalo, passed a few days with General Porter at Niagara, and was now receiving from the Whigs of the various towns thru which he passed demonstrations like those which the Democrats were bestowing on Van Buren. From this distance, it seems very evident that both Clay and Van Buren were making their summer "tours" in New York for the purpose of increasing their chances for nomination by their respective parties in 1840.¹⁹

Conventions were held in several states in the fall of 1839 for the purpose of agitating the opposition to the administration of Van Buren, and rallying the forces of opposition to renewed and united attempts to throw overboard that administration as soon as opportunity permitted. The most notable of these conventions were the Conservative convention of New York and the Democratic Anti-Van Buren convention of Pennsylvania. The former convention prepared an address to the people of the state of New York asking all the conservative Democratic-Republican electors to oppose and aid in overthrowing the Van Buren administration while the latter declared its disgust with the Van Buren policies and resolved to unite with the Whigs in opposing Van Buren while recommending Harrison as the one man of the Whigs who would be able to bind together under his banner all the elements of opposition to Van Buren and his Democratic following.²⁰

The Whig national convention met on Wednesday, December 4, 1839, in the new Lutheran church at Harrisburg, Pa.

¹⁷ William H. Seward, *Autobiography* (New York, 1891), 416.

¹⁸ *Niles' Register*, LVI, 365-367.

¹⁹ Seward, *Autobiography*, 428.

²⁰ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 187-191.

The convention was temporarily organized by the appointment of Mr. Bates of Massachusetts as chairman *pro-tem*. Charles B. Penrose of Pennsylvania was appointed secretary, and Colonel Swift of Philadelphia assistant clerk *pro-tem*. The secretary then proceeded to call the names of the delegates by states. It was found that there were some contesting delegates from the state of Pennsylvania, and a committee was appointed to investigate and settle the disputed seats from Pennsylvania. The necessary committees were next appointed, after which the convention adjourned to meet at 10 a.m. on the following day.²¹

The convention assembled and was opened with prayer on the second day. The committee which had been appointed to settle the dispute within the Pennsylvania delegation over seats reported that the dispute was settled and that the delegation was now full. The chairman of the committee on permanent organization then made the report for his committee. Governor James Barbour of Virginia had been selected as president of the convention, and Governor J. S. Peters of Connecticut, Governor J. A. Schulze of Pennsylvania, Governor D. Hazard of Delaware, Governor George Howard of Maryland, Governor John Tyler of Virginia, Governor Owen of North Carolina, Governor Metcalfe of Kentucky, Hon. J. R. Livingston of New York, Hon. J. Burnett of Ohio, Hon. J. C. Bates of Massachusetts, Hon. James Wilson of New Hampshire, Hon. E. M. Huntington of Indiana, and E. Marsh of New Jersey, vice-presidents. In addition to Hon. C. B. Penrose, George W. Randolph of Pennsylvania, Mr. Lyman of Maine, and Mr. Paine of Vermont were named as secretaries. Other minor officers were also appointed.²²

Upon being conducted to the chair, Governor Barbour addressed the convention briefly, urging the members to resolve to unite upon and support whatever candidates the convention might nominate, and declaring that harmony and coöperation were necessary to the success of the party in the present crisis. A long and tedious debate then followed before a plan of nomination could be agreed upon. At last, just before adjournment, the following peculiar scheme was adopted:

²¹ *Ibid.*, LVII, 248.

²² *Ibid.*, LVII, 249.

That the delegates from each state be requested to assemble as a delegation, and appoint a committee, not exceeding three in number, to receive the views and opinions of such delegation, and communicate the same to the assembled committees of all the delegations, to be by them respectively reported to their principals. And that thereupon the delegates from each state be requested to assemble as a delegation, and ballot for candidates for the offices of president and vice-president, and, having done so, to commit the ballot designating the votes of each candidate, and by whom given to its committee. And thereupon all the committees shall assemble and compare the several ballots, and report the result of the same to their several delegations, together with such facts as may bear upon the nomination. And said delegations shall forthwith reassemble and ballot again for candidates for the above offices, and again commit the result to the above committees; and if it shall appear that a majority of the ballots are for any one man for candidate for president, said committee shall report the result to the convention for its consideration. If there shall be no such majority, then the delegations shall repeat the balloting until such a majority shall be obtained, and then report the same to the convention for its consideration. That the vote of the majority of each delegation shall be reported as the vote of that State. And each State represented here shall vote its full electoral vote by such delegation in the Committee.²³

The convention met again at 10 o'clock on the following day (Friday), and after preliminaries were transacted a wrangle ensued over the complicated scheme of nomination which had been adopted on the preceding day. The scheme had been adopted as a method of ascertaining what candidate would be most acceptable to the various states. An effort was made by Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky to secure a reversal of the decision; but the convention by a decisive vote adhered to its former resolution. A committee on finance was appointed, after which the convention adjourned until 3 o'clock in the afternoon.²⁴

Upon reassembling and finding that the state committees had not yet made a nomination, an adjournment was carried, the convention to meet again at 7 o'clock that evening, so as to give the committee on nominations more time. When the convention met again a further recess was taken till 9 o'clock. After a recess of an hour, Mr. J. Owen of North Carolina, from the committee of three from each state, appointed under the order of Thursday, reported that the committee had attended to the duties assigned them, and had instructed him to report progress and ask leave to sit again. He then made the following report:

²³ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 249, 250.

²⁴ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, I, 195.

The whole number of votes cast was 254; necessary to a choice 128. Of the votes cast, General Winfield Scott of New Jersey received 16; Henry Clay of Kentucky received 90; and General William Henry Harrison of Ohio received 148.²⁵

General Harrison, having received a majority of all the votes polled for president, the committee asked leave to sit again for the purpose of balloting for a candidate for vice-president. Leave was granted, and the convention adjourned to meet again on the following morning (Saturday) at 10 o'clock.²⁶

Almost immediately after the assembling of the convention on Saturday, a resolution was introduced declaring General Harrison the nominee of the convention, and it was supported in enthusiastic speeches by many of the friends of Clay. While the jubilee was still going on, the committees that had been considering the matter of a candidate for the vice-presidency made a report that John Tyler of Virginia had received the unanimous vote of the convention. This unanimous vote, however, was only 231, the Virginia delegation having requested to be excused from voting on account of delicacy, since they were unanimous in their sentiments in favor of Mr. Tyler. The name of Tyler was thereupon joined to that of General Harrison in the pending resolution, and the vote was carried in a whirlwind of enthusiasm. The convention then adjourned *sine die*, without having given expression in any form to the principles of the party which it represented. Even in the many speeches made during the four-days' session, there was hardly a positive assertion of a principle made by any delegate. It was all hatred and opposition to Van Buren and the "Loco-Focos".²⁷

Each of the candidates before the convention had many points in his favor. Mr. Clay's talent, eloquence, and personal fascination of manner attracted a multitude of devoted supporters. General Harrison's strength lay in the fact that he was the most unobjectionable and therefore the most suitable candidate. Mr. Clay was the favorite candidate of the masses of the party; but the leaders doubted his availability as a candidate in New England and the Middle States. An antislavery feeling urged the selection of some candidate who was not a slaveholder. Furthermore, there was the lesson

²⁵ Niles' Register, LVII, 250.

²⁶ Ibid., LVII, 250.

²⁷ Ibid., LVII, 248-252.

taught by the Democratic success with General Jackson, which all parties had accepted and treasured up for future guidance. This was, that a general who had won victories for his country, and, by his calling, had been held aloof from its political controversies, was more likely to arouse popular enthusiasm as a candidate than a statesman of far greater capacity and fitness for the office. There were two generals between whom the Whigs might choose—each of high military fame, and both understood to hold Whig principles—General Harrison and General Scott. Daniel Webster, tho reasonably assured of the support of nearly all the New England delegates, had little strength in the South and West, and had written from London, while making a summer tour in Europe, that he would not be a candidate. His name, therefore, did not go before the convention.²⁸

The feeling of all the delegates to the convention seemed to be voiced in the instructions with which the New York delegation had departed for Harrisburg. It was understood that part of them would adhere to Clay thruout, and that the other part would go either for Harrison, Scott, or whoever should prove, on comparing views, to be the most available candidate to defeat Van Buren's re-election. The one great object of the Whigs in this convention seemed to be to nominate candidates who could defeat Van Buren at the coming election, and therefore the most important single requisite of the Whig candidates was availability.²⁹

When the New York newspapers were received in Albany, containing accounts of the assembling of the convention and its preliminary proceedings, it appeared as if Mr. Clay had almost all the southern delegates, and a decided and outspoken party among the northern ones. He had nearly, if not quite, a majority of the convention. The other delegates were divided. It was later made public that the friends of Scott had finally agreed to support Harrison. This made it impossible or improbable that Clay should be nominated. After Harrison had been nominated, it was decided to appease Clay's friends by the nomination of a Clay man for the vice-presidency. This man was to be a Virginian, in order to assure southern support for the Whig ticket. The man selected

²⁸ Seward, *Autobiography*, 447.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 448.

with much care to fill these conditions was John Tyler, who had been a southern candidate for vice-president in 1836.³⁰

The Whig estimate of Harrison as a candidate is well summed up in the following paragraph, taken from *A Sketch of the Life and Public Services of W. H. Harrison*, published in 1840, as campaign propaganda in behalf of the Whig cause:

With tried patriotism, with abilities of the highest order, with integrity as pure as the unsullied snow, and with the truest republican principles, William Henry Harrison is now before his fellow-citizens, as a candidate for the highest office in their gift. In the long course of his public life, he has always been a staunch advocate of popular rights, and is therefore truly the candidate of the people. He comes before them, not with a crowd of pampered and still-grasping officials to intrigue and bribe for him, but with the noble frankness of an honorable and high-minded man, willing and desirous to be judged impartially by his fellow citizens, and ready to abide by their honest decisions.³¹

John Tyler, the vice-presidential candidate, was a pronounced State Rights man, who had concurred heartily in Jackson's opposition to the Bank of the United States, and who had put himself on record to that effect by his speeches and his votes. He had, however, become alienated from Jackson in 1833 because of his strenuous anti-nullification policy, and from that time on he had acted with the conglomerate party of opposition which soon adopted the name "Whig".³² The nomination for the vice-presidency was said to have been promised him before the meeting of the convention by Clay, on condition that Tyler should withdraw his opposition to the election of William C. Rives as United States senator from Virginia, but the circumstantial evidence does not indicate that Tyler ever consented to any such bargain.³³

As stated above, the Whigs adopted no platform, nor could they well have agreed upon one, for the party was made up of the most incompatible elements, varying from an original nucleus of National Republicans to State Rights men like Tyler. And any attempt to define its principles must have resulted in its dissolution.³⁴

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 448.

³¹ *A Sketch of the Life and Public Services of William Henry Harrison* (Providence, 1840), 32.

³² George P. Garrison, *Westward Extension, 1841-1850* (in American Nation series, edited by A. B. Hart), (New York, 1896), 45, 46.

³³ Lyon G. Tyler, *Life and Times of the Tylers* (Richmond, 1884-1885), I, 474-493.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 596, note 1.

The usual meetings of ratification were held in the various cities. Whig newspapers placed the names of Harrison and Tyler at the head of their columns, and the party leaders avowed cordial support. Mr. Clay's friends unhesitatingly pledged his concurrence. Nevertheless, the first feeling among the Whig masses was one of depression rather than exultation, arising, doubtless, from the disappointment of their cherished hopes in regard to Mr. Clay. The Democrats were correspondingly elated, arguing that the Whigs had set aside their chief statesman, and taken in his stead a candidate whom Van Buren had beaten once and could defeat again. They dwelt upon the fact that Harrison would have no strength in the South, for four states—Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, and Arkansas—had not even sent delegates to the Whig convention at Harrisburg.³⁵

In a letter to the secretary of the convention, Harrison declared that, should he be elected to the office of president, he would under no circumstances be a candidate for a second term. Tyler also addressed a letter to Mr. Owen, the secretary, expressing his gratitude for the honor which the convention had conferred upon him.³⁶

By the beginning of the year 1840, the opposition to Van Buren was so great that some of the Democratic state conventions met and after condemning the policy of the administration declared for Harrison and Tyler.³⁷ This was particularly true in the case of a Democratic state convention held at Harrisburg, Pa., and of a meeting of the Democratic members of the Maryland legislature, which was held on February 21, 1840. The opponents of the administration also met in Washington, on Saturday, February 15, and, after passing a resolution censuring the policy of the administration, declared for Harrison and Tyler.³⁸

The Harrison state convention of Ohio met at Dayton, on February 21 and 22, 1840, and amid great and unrestrained enthusiasm unanimously declared for the Harrison and Tyler ticket.³⁹

Democratic state conventions held about the same time in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Mississippi appointed Van Buren

³⁵ Seward, *Autobiography*, 448.

³⁶ *Niles' Register*, LVII, 379.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 4, 5.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 19-21.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 21-22.

men as delegates to the national Democratic convention, and in a few words expressed confidence in Van Buren's administration and disdain for Harrison and the Whig party. One delegate to the Mississippi Democratic state convention said: "OLD GRANNY HARRISON stands no earthly prospect of receiving a single electoral vote in the Southwest. The PETTICOAT HERO will be waterloosed."⁴⁰ This gentleman seemed to voice the sentiments of the southern Democrats.

The next national convention to be held was that of the Whig Young Men. Arrangements had been made for such a convention at the time of the meeting of the Whig national convention late in the preceding year. In pursuance of public notice, the delegates to the national convention of Whig Young Men assembled in an informal meeting, on Saturday evening, May 2, 1840, at Washington Hall, in the city of Baltimore. No business was transacted at this session except to request each state delegation to select one of its members to act as a member of the committee for the nomination of officers for the convention and to prepare such other business as it deemed necessary to bring before the convention. The members of this committee were to meet at Barnum's Hotel, at 7 o'clock on Monday morning. This committee met accordingly on Monday morning, and called Mr. Thompson of Kentucky to the chairmanship of the committee. Mr. Norvell of Tennessee was requested to serve as secretary. The committee then nominated John V. L. McMahon of Maryland as a candidate for president of the convention. His name was then presented to the convention, and the roll of the states was next called for the nomination of twenty-seven vice-presidents and the same number of secretaries. These officers were nominated and some more minor business transacted, after which the convention decided to meet at the Canton race course. Then came the great procession. The delegations from the thirteen original states with banners and all sorts of standards took the lead, and the thirteen newer states brought up the rear. This was a great day in Baltimore. The monster parade finally reached the race course and entered the enclosure, where temporary platforms had been provided for the speakers. A few speakers addressed the assembly. Then Mr. Thompson of Kentucky announced the nominations for officers, which had been agreed

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 21, 22.

upon by the committee of chairmen. These nominations were concurred in and adopted by the convention with loud cheers.⁴¹

The president of the convention then took the chair and addressed the convention briefly. A series of resolutions were then recommended by the committee, and unanimously adopted. These resolutions declared in favor of Harrison and Tyler and dealt with matters connected with the conduct of the campaign and other minor affairs.⁴²

Speeches were then made by Mr. Humes of Tennessee, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and several other prominent men who were honored guests of the convention. The convention then adjourned at 4 o'clock to meet again on the next morning at 9 o'clock, in Monument Square. A great crowd gathered in the square at 9 o'clock on Tuesday morning and was addressed by many prominent members of the convention, who took this opportunity of informing the membership of the convention of the progress of the Whig campaign in their respective states. The convention then adjourned, after voting to attend the funeral of a man who had been killed in the parade of the preceding day. After the funeral, which was held at 4 o'clock, the convention met again; and, after passing a few minor resolutions, adjourned *sine die*.⁴³

The enthusiasm and confidence of the Whigs seems by this time to have been unbounded. Their real campaigning had already begun. The Democrats, meanwhile, were in a situation which embarrassed them but gave them no fear that they were about to suffer defeat. They despised the opposition, and they regarded the method of canvass which the Harrison party was carrying on as almost unworthy the notice of serious-minded men. Nevertheless they had troubles of their own, but feeling that Providence had always come to their aid at the critical moment, they believed that somehow they would be permitted to win again. So far as Van Buren was concerned, there was by this time absolutely no opposition to him within the party. Tennessee, before unfriendly, would now give him its support, while even South Carolina, which had sulked for eight years, was now ready to vote for him.

⁴¹ *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 152-157.

⁴² *Ibid.*, LVIII, 158, 159.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 159.

But there was bitter opposition to Colonel Johnson, the vice-president. Party discipline was not then what it is now. So hostile were many of the party to Johnson that it was certain that he, at least, would fail to be chosen by a majority of electors, whatever might be Van Buren's fate.⁴⁴

The situation was such that it seemed wise to many of the party leaders not to hold a convention at all, since to do so would merely advertise the party division. It was argued that the Democrats were all in favor of Van Buren and that the people had already nominated him spontaneously. The Senate, which had once elected Colonel Johnson, could be trusted to choose that Democratic candidate who received the most electoral votes. It was asserted that there were ten states which had declined or would decline to send delegates to a convention. By some of them Mr. Van Buren had been named for re-election in conjunction with William R. King of Alabama, or James K. Polk of Tennessee, or Littleton W. Tazewell of Virginia, or Colonel Johnson himself.⁴⁵

There was then no such body as a national committee of the party, and in fact no constituted authority to decide whether or not a national convention should be held. The conventions of 1831 and 1835 had both been called by the Democratic members of the New Hampshire legislatures, and once again they issued a called for a convention to meet at Baltimore, on May 4, 1840.⁴⁶ This convention has sometimes been called the Van Buren or administration convention.

No business was transacted on Monday, May 4, but on the following day at 12 o'clock noon the convention assembled in the Hall of the Musical Association. Felix Grundy called the convention to order, and then moved that Governor Hill of New Hampshire take the chair, and that General Dix of New York be appointed secretary *pro-tem*. This was agreed to, and, on motion of Mr. Simpson, a committee consisting of one member from each state was appointed to nominate a candidate for the presidency of the convention and also to name four vice-presidents and a secretary.⁴⁷

The roll of the states was then called by the secretary, and it was found that delegates were present from twenty-one

⁴⁴ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, I, 198.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 199.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 199.

⁴⁷ *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 147.

states. A committee on credentials was then appointed by the president of the convention. This committee consisted of nine men. Felix Grundy made a speech in which he protested in no modest terms against the campaign methods of the Whigs and declared his entire confidence in the success of the Democratic party in the election of 1840.⁴⁸

Senator Clement C. Clay of Alabama from the committee on permanent organization then reported the names of the men nominated as officers of the convention. They were: president, Governor William Carroll of Tennessee; vice-presidents: William T. Rogers of Pennsylvania, Governor C. P. Van Ness of Vermont, William N. Edwards of North Carolina, Dr. Charles Parry of Indiana, John Nelson of Maryland, Hon. Alexander Mouton of Louisiana; secretaries: George A. Starkweather of New York, C. J. McNulty of Ohio, G. B. Adran of New Jersey, Albert F. Baker of New Hampshire.⁴⁹

The report of the committee was unanimously concurred in, and the permanent president was conducted to the chair. The president took the chair, and, on motion of Mr. Grundy, the convention adjourned till 4 o'clock in the afternoon.⁵⁰

When the convention assembled in the afternoon, the president made a short address in which he admonished the delegates to stand together and to avoid all discord, as harmony was necessary to assure success for the party at the polls. Resolutions were then passed for appointing one committee to draft resolutions declaratory of the principles of the republican party of the Union, and another to prepare an address to the people in support of the principles of the party. These committees were then appointed by the delegates, each delegation selecting one from its number to serve on each of the two committees.⁵¹

Mr. Clay of Alabama then offered a resolution for the appointment of a committee, consisting of one member from each state, for the purpose of taking into consideration and reporting at the next session of the convention upon the subject of the nominations for the presidency and vice-presidency. The resolution was adopted, and the committee was appointed. The convention then adjourned to meet at 10

⁴⁸ *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 147, 148.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 148.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 148.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 149.

o'clock on the following day but Howard of Indiana and Messrs. Duncan, Smith, and Walker, being loudly called for, each made a rousing speech in which he depicted the bright outlook for the success of the Democratic party in the coming election.⁵²

When the convention reconvened on Wednesday, May 6, pursuant to adjournment, the committee on resolutions first made its report, as follows:

(1) *Resolved*, That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

(2) *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

(3) *Resolved*, That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

(4) *Resolved*, That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the federal government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states, contracted for local internal improvements, or other state purposes; nor would such assumption be just or expedient.

(5) *Resolved*, That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy of conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

(6) *Resolved*, That Congress has no power to charter a United States Bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

(7) *Resolved*, That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs not provided by the Constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and per-

⁵² *Ibid.*, LVIII, 149.

manency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

(8) *Resolved*, That the separation of the moneys of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

(9) *Resolved*, That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the Alien and Sedition Laws from our Statute-book.⁵³

The vote was taken separately on each of these resolutions, and every one of them was adopted by a unanimous vote. Another committee appointed to prepare an address to the people presented its report next. The address was listened to impatiently, for the convention was anxious to get to the question of nominations. Senator Clay of Alabama, chairman of the committee to which this subject had been referred on the previous day, reported two resolutions, to each of which a preamble was affixed. The first, having set forth that Mr. Van Buren had received many nominations for the position he already filled to the satisfaction of the party and the country, and that he was the unanimous choice of the Democrats, formally presented him for re-election. The preamble of the second resolution recited that several gentlemen had been put in nomination for the vice-presidency; that the states presenting some of these gentlemen had no representatives in the convention; and that all the candidates, by their discharge of public trusts, had shown themselves worthy to be elected to the office. The text of the resolution itself was as follows:

Resolved, That the convention deem it expedient at the present time not to choose between the individuals in nomination, but to leave the decision to their Republican fellow-citizens in the several states, trusting that, before the election shall take place, their opinions shall become so concentrated as to secure the choice of a vice-president by the electoral colleges.⁵⁴

The first resolution was adopted unanimously without debate. The second was opposed and was warmly discussed. The friends of Colonel Johnson were not satisfied that he

⁵³ *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 149, 150.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 150-152.

should not be commended to the electors, if a two-thirds vote in his favor could be had. But it presently appeared that the opposition to him was so determined that it would not subside even after such a nomination, whereupon the opposition ceased and the resolution was unanimously adopted. The convention then adjourned until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Upon reassembling some less important matters were disposed of by the convention. Several prominent men of the party delivered addresses to the convention, after which the meeting adjourned *sine die*.⁵⁵

There was still another convention, small in numbers and local in character, which made another nomination for the office of president. The Abolition party held a convention at Warsaw, Genesee County, N.Y., at the beginning of December, 1839, and nominated James G. Birney of New York for president, and Thomas Earl of Pennsylvania for vice-president.⁵⁶ There were also other Abolition conventions held, which nominated the above candidates, the most important single one being held at Albany, N.Y., on April 1, 1840.⁵⁷

The question of slavery had been much discussed in Congress and by the press for many years, but the issue was not yet a really important one in presidential elections. As will be seen from the platform of the Democrats, that party was ready to take its stand against any federal interference with slavery, while the Whigs were not, so long as they constituted a party, willing to make any issue with the Democrats on that subject.⁵⁸

After the Democratic convention had adjourned, the Whigs jeered at the Democrats as not being sufficiently united to name a candidate for vice-president. But the Democrats hurled back the rather neat reply that if they were not agreed upon men, they were united upon principles. This was far more than the Whigs could say for themselves.⁵⁹

The campaign began early in the year 1840, especially on the part of the Whigs. A celebration was held on May 9, by the Whigs of New York City, in honor of Harrison's victory at Fort Meigs in 1813. The Democrats also began

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, LVIII, 152.

⁵⁶ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, I, 202.

⁵⁷ Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 47.

⁵⁸ Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency*, I, 202.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 202.

to work up a little needed enthusiasm as is indicated by a meeting of the "Administration" forces in Pennsylvania, on April 21, 1840.⁶⁰

The campaign was soon in full blast. It was a memorable one. Beginning immediately after the nomination of Harrison and Tyler, at Harrisburg in the preceding December, the popular enthusiasm had rapidly increased. The Whig papers likened the movement, not inaptly, to the spread of the "prairie fires". The Whig leaders, of course, aided it with all the appliances that political skill or experience could suggest; and the Democrats, as not infrequently happens to those on the unpopular side of a controversy, found their arguments and even their ridicule of the Whig candidate turned to his advantage. Someone, alluding to pioneer habits in the West, had suggested that Harrison be given a log cabin and plenty of hard cider to drink, implying that that condition of life was more befitting for him than the White House. It was an unfortunate sneer for the Democrats, for it supplied the spark that only was needed to kindle popular sympathy into a blaze. The Whigs fanned the flame. He became the "log cabin candidate". The log cabin became the emblem of his pioneer life, of his military services, of his kindred feelings with the farmers, of his unrequited toil for his country. A log cabin sprang up in nearly every city—a clubhouse and rallying-place for Whigs. Log cabin raisings and housewarmings were held with music and political speeches. Log cabin medals were struck, and passed from hand to hand. Miniature log cabins were carried in processions and displayed on platforms. Log cabin pictures were hung in the barrooms and parlors. Log cabin magazines and songbooks found ready sale. Ladies made log cabin fancy work for fairs, and children had little log cabins of wood, tin, and confectionery. The Whig state committee, of New York, got up a campaign newspaper, to be published simultaneously in New York and Albany, and named it the *Log Cabin*, calling Horace Greeley to the editorial chair. This special organ of the Whigs had a popularity equaled by no campaign paper before or since. For him it was the stepping-stone to fame and fortune; for the energy and skill displayed in

⁶⁰ *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 164-166.

it and its wide circulation opened the way for its successor, the *New York Tribune*.⁶¹

All the appliances and appurtenances of the log cabin came into favor. There was the barrel of hard cider, to stand by the door; there was the coon skin to be nailed by its side; there was the latchstring to admit the welcome guest, and it was remembered that Harrison told his old soldiers that they would never find the door shut or the latchstring pulled in. There was the rye-and-Indian bread; and there was the string of dried apples, and pumpkins, and bunches of corn and peppers, hanging from the roof; and there was the broom at the door, typical of the purpose of the Whigs to make a clean sweep. Nothing was wanting to point the contrast between "the poor man's friend" and the "rich man's candidate", but to recount, as Whig stump-speakers did, with gusto, the items of national expense for "gilt candelabra, porcelain vases, satin chairs, and damask sofas", in "Van Buren's palace", the White House at Washington.⁶²

But the log cabin was not the only *ad captandum* argument at the service of the Whigs. Taking a lesson from their own crushing defeats by the hero of New Orleans, they proceeded to hoist flags, fire salutes, and declaim panegyrics on the "hero of the Thames", the "defender of Fort Meigs", the "victor of Tippecanoe". Tippecanoe, besides being the leading exploit of the military chieftain, was a good sonorous name for the orators to pronounce, *ore rotundo*, and clubs to sing in swelling chorus. For, by this time, the irresistible and irrepressible enthusiasm had burst out in song; campaign songs, campaign songsters, glee clubs, and Harrison minstrels were now in vogue. Popular airs and national anthems were pressed into service. English and Scotch ballads and negro melodies were adapted to new words. The familiar strains of the *Star-Spangled Banner*, *Yankee Doodle*, the *Marseillaise Hymn*, *Scots wha hae*, *Paddy Carey*, the *Bonnets of Blue*, *McGregor's Gathering*, and *Old Rosin and Bow*, resounded thru halls and streets, to the words of political songs—*The Buckeye Cabin*, *The Hero of the Thames*, *Old Fort Meigs*, *Tippecanoe Gathering*, *Old Tip*, and *Up Salt River*.⁶³

⁶¹ Seward, *Autobiography*, 495, 496.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 496.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 496.

But the "song of songs" was one which, having little music in it, everybody could sing. And nearly everybody did sing it. This was the song *For Tippecanoe and Tyler too*. This chant was hummed in parlors and kitchens, sung by the boys in the streets, marched to in the political processions, and was the grand finale of all Whig meetings, the whole audience shouting it from their thousand throats with as much fervor as French Republicans chant the *Marseillaise*, or Englishmen sing *God Save the King*. The song was capable of indefinite expansion, for new verses could be extemporized for each locality, or each incident of the campaign.⁶⁴

Most presidential candidates have a nickname; and General Harrison, long before the summer was over, was universally known as "Old Tip". There were Tippecanoe banners, Tippecanoe clubs, Tippecanoe meetings. Steamboats were named after Harrison; children christened for him; dogs were called "Tip"; and spans of horses named "Tip" and "Ty".⁶⁵

Political meetings took on a new character. They were no longer forced assemblages in clubrooms, but spontaneous outdoor crowds overflowing with enthusiasm. The journals which used to descant with pride, in large type, upon "Six Hundred Freemen in Council", now found themselves chronicling the gatherings of thousands with no need of exclamation points. Whole counties were called to assemble in mass meeting; whole states were invited to assemble in mass conventions; great meetings were held in cities; and obscure country towns became the gathering points for thousands.⁶⁶

Great Whig conventions were held at all the historic places in the United States, especially at those which had been the scenes of Harrison's military exploits. A grand Whig convention of 75,000 at Bunker Hill, with a procession five miles long, seemed to crown the series, but even this was outdone by a mass convention at Dayton, in Harrison's own state of Ohio, which the Whigs claimed was "100,000 strong!"⁶⁷

One of the mass meetings which excited most public interest was the Whig Young Men's convention, held in May, at Baltimore, which has already been mentioned, at which from 15,000 to 20,000 delegates were present from the various states of the Union. Intense popular indignation was ex-

⁶⁴ Seward, *op. cit.*, 497.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 497.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 497, 498.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 498.

cited by the murder of one of the marshals, by a blow from a ruffian, as the procession was marching thru the streets. The convention adjourned on the following day so that the members might attend the funeral of the murdered man, and a committee was appointed to canvass all the delegates of the convention to get a fund to aid the widow and children of the slain marshal.⁶⁸

Finally, they took to measuring the size of meetings by the acre. At Dayton surveyors computed the throng by counting the number of men who stood on a quarter of an acre, and then a mathematical survey of the whole ground covered gave them the sum total of the mass. When no hall or church could hold the meeting, it gathered in some grove or in the fields, like a mustering army. The most eloquent speakers on the Whig side were called into requisition to address these assemblages, and traveled from point to point. Webster and Clay, Crittenden, Stanley, Tallmadge, Ogden, Hoffman, Preston, Southard, Leigh, Legaré, Rives, Corwin, Governor Call, General Wilson, and a hundred of lesser note were on the stump. General Harrison himself made a speech at the Dayton convention. His clear, sonorous voice was echoed by the immense multitude, swaying to and fro, like the leaves of a forest in a strong wind. "Are you in favor of paper money?" they demanded. "I am", was the reply, and then the shouts of applause were deafening. Between the speeches there would be singing by trained vocalists, or a grand chorus by the entire assemblage. Covert and Dodge, the favorite singers at mass meetings, became known thruout the Union.⁶⁹

Held by daylight, the meeting made a holiday for the whole surrounding region. Farmers flocked in by all the country roads, bringing their wives and children as they would have brought them to a Fourth-of-July celebration. Delegations came by rail and steamboat from the adjoining cities. The meetings took various forms in different regions. There were not only meetings, but conventions, clam-bakes, barbecues, excursions, and celebrations of historic anniversaries. Nothing attracts a crowd so rapidly as the knowledge that there is a crowd already; and when it was known that there was to be not only a crowd, but music, festivity, flags, decora-

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 498.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 498.

tions, and processions, eloquence of famous men, and keen political humor, few could resist the infection.⁷⁰

Never was there a campaign so abounding in pictures. Wood-engravers and lithographers were busy. There were illustrated campaign newspapers, Harrison *Almanacs*, and lives of Harrison. In one picture he was welcoming his old comrades in arms at the door of his log cabin. In another, he was addressing Bolivar, the South American liberator. In another, he was driving his plough, as the "farmer of North Bend". In another, he was building the stockade for the defense of Fort Meigs. In another, he was mounted on an impossible horse, leading his army to unheard-of exploits at Tippecanoe. His portrait not only hung upon walls, but was borne in procession and displayed by flags. Caricatures were at every street corner. There was the rooster, emblematic of the Indiana elections, ironically labeled, "Tell Chapman to Crow!" There was the "Ball" depicted as "rolling on" and over Van Buren and his Cabinet. There was Benton, represented as the man who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs in the vain hope of more. There was the canoe, with "Old Tip" as an Indian chief, paddling swiftly to the White House, whence Van Buren was escaping, as "the flying Dutchman". There was the log cabin arranged as a trap which had fallen, and the captured fox, with Van Buren's face looking out of the window.⁷¹

Flags and transparencies displayed mottoes, proclaiming principles and purposes, or derision of opponents, thus: "Harrison, Tyler, and Better Times", "No Standing Army", "No Reduction of Wages", "O. K. Off to Kinderhook", "Van Buren and Eleven Pence a Day, or Harrison with Two Dollars and Roast Beef", "Harrison and Reform", "One Presidential Term", "Where the Promised Better Currency?" "The Farmer of North Bend", "Protection to American Industry", "Liberty in Log Cabins rather than Slavery in Palaces".⁷²

It was in vain that the Van Buren men tried to stem this current. Their speakers were eloquent and able, but they could draw no such audiences. They called Harrison "an old granny", styled the Whigs "coons" and "cider-suckers", but all to no avail. Leading minds among them declared, and con-

⁷⁰ Seward, *op. cit.*, 498.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 499.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 499.

tinued years afterward to believe, that all this popular ferment was in the nature of a crazy fanaticism, stimulated by adroit appeals to popular sympathy. There was some truth in this opinion, yet it did grave injustice to the common sense of the American people, and gave undue importance to the power of politicians. The Whig popular demonstrations bore the same relation to the underlying public feeling that the foam and spray of Niagara do to the deep, swift, resistless undercurrent which produces them. The people had grown tired of twelve years of the dominant party's rule. They had suffered from "hard times", derangements of the currency and low prices, frequent and ruinous. They believed, whether justly or not, that these were the direct results of experiments in finance, made by their rulers. The overthrow of the United States Bank, the suspension of specie payments, the passage of the Sub-Treasury law, the refusal of protection by tariff, the tampering with the mails, and the denial of the right of petition were all regarded with apprehension and alarm, not so much because of actual ill effects as because they were proofs of the existence of arbitrary power at Washington, which, if not checked, might lead to still greater oppression. Nothing could be more acceptable to a majority entertaining such apprehensions than the nomination of a candidate known to be a patriot, and believed to be in a condition in life which would make his interests and sympathies identical with their own. They dreaded an aristocracy which might give them a king "Stork"; they had no fear, even if their own candidate should turn out to be a king "Log". It is quite probable that, with a different candidate, the Whigs would still have carried the election; for the popular mind, as the last two years had evinced, was bent upon a change of rulers. That the results of 1840 were not produced by the arts of politicians, or the infection of excitement, is sufficiently shown by the fact that politicians, with their utmost skill, have never been able to imitate them, even in times of greatest excitement, since. To this day, the highest praise that a party newspaper can bestow upon a great meeting is, that it was like the old scenes of "the Harrison campaign in 1840".⁷³

Every two or three days, as the campaign went on, the newspapers would announce that some prominent Democrat had left his party, and avowed himself for Harrison. Each

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 499, 500.

renunciation stimulated fresh ones, and, as November drew near, they came thick and fast.⁷⁴

As the dates for election drew near, that Harrison would be elected seemed scarcely possible to doubt, but that the Whigs would actually sweep the country was not really expected even by the most ardent among them. Presidential electors were to be chosen at various dates between the close of October and the last of November. But when it was known, on November 9, that of eleven states heard from, New Hampshire alone had been carried for Van Buren, that Pennsylvania and New York had chosen Whig electors, and that Harrison was sure of 153 electoral votes, even the Democratic journals conceded that Harrison was elected and the Whig press burst forth in expressions of wild delight.⁷⁵ At last, it was said, the reign of folly, corruption, and misrule is over. What a debt of gratitude do we owe to the Great Dispenser of Human Destinies, for the blessing he has vouchsafed to bestow on us. "Blessed be the Lord God who only doeth wondrous things. And blessed be His glorious name forever and let the whole earth be filled with His glory."⁷⁶

As the election news came in from the West and South it was little more than announcements of successive Whig triumphs. By November 11, it was known in the East that Michigan and Kentucky were in the Whig column, and by November 13, that Massachusetts, Delaware, and Tennessee should be added to the list. Next came news from Louisiana and Mississippi, Vermont and North Carolina. Nineteen states, it was said, had pronounced sentence of condemnation on Van Buren. To the Van Buren column, meantime, were added Virginia and Missouri; and the returns stood 234 electoral votes for Harrison and 34 for Van Buren. Alabama, Arkansas, and Illinois were then in doubt, and, in South Carolina, electors had not yet been chosen; but in the end it turned out that each had chosen Van Buren electors, raising his electoral vote to 60, and the number of states carried by him to seven.⁷⁷

On the second Wednesday in January the electors met in

⁷⁴ Seward, *op. cit.*, 500.

⁷⁵ John Bach McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1883-1910), VI, 587, 588.

⁷⁶ *National Intelligencer*, November 10, 1840, quoted in McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VI, 588.

⁷⁷ McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 589.

all the different states. In Virginia one Democratic elector voted for James K. Polk for vice-president; in South Carolina the entire college voted for Littleton W. Tazewell; in the other five Van Buren states the electoral votes were cast for Richard M. Johnson for vice-president.⁷⁸

Stung by defeat, the Democratic press from one end of the country to the other now gave vent to its disappointment in an outburst of unseemly rage. The following quotations will illustrate the type of statements appearing in Democratic organs:

The standard-bearer of the Federalist and Abolition party has been elected, if the process by which this has been brought about may be called an election. It was a hollow mockery, a result produced not by the action of the popular will, but in spite of it.⁷⁹

For the first time in the history of the Republic the power of money has triumphed over intelligence. Democracy has been beaten by a new description of voters, some having flesh and bones, and others mere men of straw. The former, raked and scraped from the jails and penitentiaries, had been gathered at the log-cabin rendezvous and organized for action. The latter were the pipe-layers, the illegal voters, the fraudulent voters trained to perpetuate fraud by voting twice, changing their names and dress, going to different polls, putting in two votes and using every device the ingenuity of man could devise.⁸⁰

The Bourbons are restored! Let the people, the real betrayed people, prepare for the new reign of terror that is approaching. For the first time since the adoption of the Constitution a Democratic president has been defeated when placed before the people. Painful and mortifying as the reflection is to the mind of every true patriot, discouraging as it must be to the advocates of popular liberty, fatal as it may be to the stability of our government, we trust in Heaven that the obsequiousness to wealth that has marked the conduct of those who have turned the scale against us will not become habitual with any great portion of the true people. As a lover of freedom and good order, an ardent advocate of the supremacy of sober thought over noise and senseless mummary, we sincerely hope the political buffoonery of 1840 will ever stand, solitary and alone, on the page of history, a damning stain on the brow of Federalism. No more may the world see coons, cabins, and cider usurp the place of principles, nor doggerel verse elicit a shout while reason is passed by with a sneer.⁸¹

Our contempt is increased for Federal Whiggery and its election paraphernalia. We detest its principles, scorn its treachery, and defy its power. Does it follow that because a majority of the electors have declared against the candidates of the Democratic party, the principles

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 589.

⁷⁹ *The Globe*, November 9, 1840, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 589.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1840, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 589.

⁸¹ *New Era*, November 9, 1840, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 590.

of Federalism are correct? Can success sanctify error or transform wrong into right? injustice into equity, falsehood into truth, special privileges into equality, or aristocracy into Democracy? Far, very far from it. Had we been beaten, in a fair field, by such men as Webster or Clay, by manly argument, we should feel but half the mortification that we do at being beaten by such a man as Harrison. And in such a fashion! We have been sung down, lied down, drunk down.⁸²

Naturally the Whig journals looked on the triumph of Harrison and Tyler from an entirely different angle, as the following quotations clearly reveal:

The contest of 1840 is over. The victory is won. The people are free again. Our Republican institutions are redeemed from the grasp of tyrants. Let the people, the whole people, rejoice.⁸³

The morn of a real political reformation is at hand. We hail the election of General Harrison as a most auspicious assurance of the future prosperity and happiness of our country. The sagacity and virtue of the American people are not mere empty names.⁸⁴

At length we can confidently congratulate the friends of reform, lovers of law and order, supporters of constitutional government, on the success of the great cause of civil liberty in this country.⁸⁵

The nation is redeemed. The sun has set on Martin Van Buren and risen in all its moral splendor on William Henry Harrison. The consummation so devoutly to be wished has been gratified.⁸⁶

The arrogant party which, but a short time since, set itself above all sympathy with the people, declared that the government was bound only to take care of itself and that the people must take care of themselves. is now in a miserable minority.⁸⁷

We confidently believe that General Harrison will realize the wishes and expectations of the real Whigs and his true friends; that he will serve but one term, will not remove honest and competent men from office for party reasons, will not appoint members of Congress to office, nor permit the patronage of the government to interfere with the freedom of elections.⁸⁸

The election is a great triumph of principle over power, of liberty over despotism, of right and justice over wrong and oppression, of prosperity and happiness over fearful and wide-spread ruin and desolation. A great people have placed their seal of condemnation upon a band of the most desperate, aspiring, and unprincipled demagogues that ever graced the annals of despotism, a band of bold and reckless innovators calling themselves the democracy of the land, at whose head was Martin Van Buren, a monarchist in principle, a tyrant and a despot in practice.⁸⁹

⁸² *Wheeling Times*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 590.

⁸³ *Lexington (Va.) Gazette*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 590.

⁸⁴ *Savannah Republican*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 591.

⁸⁵ *Bangor Whig*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 591.

⁸⁶ *Providence Journal*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 591.

⁸⁷ *New Haven Register*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 591.

⁸⁸ *Green River (Ky.) Gazette*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 591.

⁸⁹ *Toledo Blade*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 591.

It is not to be expected that a victory so important in its results, so signal and complete, should be passed over without public demonstrations of joy. It is right that we should rejoice; but let us rejoice like men and Christians.⁹⁰

We obtain yet a third view of the situation from a newspaper that claimed to be neutral:

For two years past the most ordinary operations of business have been neglected and president-making had become every citizen's chief concern. The result being uncertain, some have been afraid to engage in new enterprises, others have retired from business, others have not dared to prosecute their business with the old vigor. Millions of dollars will now change hands on election bets; millions of days have been taken from useful labor to listen to stump orators, and millions more to build log-cabins, erect hickory poles, and march in ridiculous, degrading, mob-creating processions; millions of dollars have been wasted in soul- and body-destroying intemperance, in paying demagogues for preaching treason and bribing knaves to commit perjury and cast fraudulent votes. However high the hopes inspired by the election of General Harrison, they will prove to be delusive. A national bank cannot be created; the Sub-Treasury cannot be repealed; the momentary expansion and speculation which the hope of these measures will create will be quickly followed by contractions, by ruin, and the prostration of the speculators.⁹¹

Such as the above were the typical comments, by Democratic, Whig, and neutral journals, respectively, on the outcome of the notable campaign and election of 1840. In general, it may be said that the Democrats were chagrined and angered, the Whigs jubilant and optimistic, and the neutrals skeptical or even pessimistic over the actual results of the election.

To contemporaries, the victory of 1840 seemed like a complete political revolution. It was the first time, in fact, since 1800 that there had been a real victory of an opposition over a well-organized administration party; for tho the election of Jackson in 1828 was of great significance, Adams elected to the presidency from the Cabinet of Monroe had had no well-organized party to support him. But the election of 1840 was, after all, less significant than it seemed to be. The popular majority of Harrison in most of the states was small, and, for the whole Union, in an aggregate of over 2,400,000 votes, it was less than 150,000. The congressional elections gave the Whigs a majority of 44 in the House and 7 in the Senate—enough to carry out a program if the people were

⁹⁰ *Newark Gazette*, quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 591.

⁹¹ *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), quoted in McMaster, *op. cit.*, VI, 592.

united in support of it, but not enough to make Congress independent of the executive. The significance of the election was mainly negative. It meant only that a little more than half the voters of the United States were for the moment arrayed against "Van Burenism", but what alternative they wished was not clear.⁹²

The inauguration on March 4, 1841, was a great occasion for the Whigs. They flocked to Washington in large numbers, many of them attracted thither by the hope of offices to be distributed by the new president to his party friends. There was an imposing procession of volunteer militia to escort General Harrison to the capital. The president-elect had arrived at the seat of government on the last day of February, apparently in the enjoyment of perfect health. He rode upon a white charger, flanked on either side by a body-guard of personal friends. The ceremony, which was witnessed by a vast concourse of people, was preceded by the inauguration of Mr. Tyler as vice-president, in the Senate chamber. After the long line of official and nonofficial witnesses had come from the building to the eastern portico, General Harrison arose and delivered his inaugural address, save the last paragraph. Then the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney, and the President pronounced the closing sentences of his address. While the cheers of the victorious Whigs were still rising, he retired, entered his private carriage, and drove to the White House.⁹³

But the joy of the Whigs was soon turned to sorrow, by the death of the new president just one month from the date of his inauguration. The anticipated legislative reforms of the Whigs were doomed to disappointment upon the accession of Mr. Tyler to the presidency. He was in reality a representative of the State Rights element of the Whig party, and thus was soon out of sympathy with the program of legislation proposed by Mr. Clay. This led to a split between Tyler and the greater portion of the party by which he had been elected. The result was that the Whigs profited little from their victory in so far as the enacting into law of a constructive program was concerned.

⁹² Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 49, 50.

⁹³ *Niles' Register*, LX, 18-20.

AMERICO-CANADIAN RELATIONS CONCERN-
ING ANNEXATION, 1846-1871

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AMERICO-CANADIAN RELATIONS CONCERN- ING ANNEXATION, 1846-1871

THE quarter-century between the Oregon Treaty and the Treaty of Washington was an interesting one in the evolution of American and Canadian national policies, especially concerning the problem of the destiny of the great Canadian Northwest, which was so largely affected by the results of the American westward movement and by the adjustment of international controversies arising in the American Civil War.

Almost twenty years before the transfer of Alaska, which marked the climax of Russo-American cordiality, England had contemplated the possible realization of America's youthful dreams for the annexation of Canada. Altho the storm center of American foreign relations for several years after the acquisition of California was largely determined by conditions beyond the southern borders where the southern statesmen who controlled the policies of the government sought new acquisitions and extending spheres of influence, British writers and statesmen saw that the American expansion spirit might turn northward and that the continued tenure of England in Canada was by no means certain. Peel's free-trade policy had a disastrous effect on the trade of the colonies and compelled them to seek new markets and more liberal intercourse on the American continent.¹ In March, 1849, Lord Elgin, governor-general of Canada, wrote that unless England should allow Canada reciprocal trade relations (and free navigation) with the United States, or should impose a duty on the products of the United States, the end of colonial rule in North America might be near.² As left by the free trade measures of England, the interests of Canada seemed to be annexation to the United States.³ The American government was alert in keeping touch with the situation. On July 6, 1849, after the Montreal riot, Secretary Clayton instructed I. D. Andrews to go as special agent to visit the British North

¹ Sydney Webster, *Canadian Reciprocity Treaty* (New York, 1892).

² T. Walrond, *Letters and Journals of Lord Elgin* (London, 1872).

³ Israel Buchanan, *Relations of the Industry of Canada with the Mother Country* (Montreal, 1864).

American colonies to collect information "especially in connection with their present and prospective relations, commercial and political, with the United States".⁴ Tho there was some correspondence in regard to a reciprocity treaty, the Taylor administration declined to agree to any such treaty which did not include the navigation of the St. Lawrence also.⁵

As the quasi-national union between the United States and Canada was growing closer, many believed that the majority in Canada desired annexation⁶ to England's growing rival, who was already seeking the control of the Asiatic trade, and who might easily control all North America by the construction of Whitney's proposed railroad across the continent and the termination of English colonial government in Canada. Englishmen interested in checking and diverting the trend of events urged that the construction of Whitney's proposed road would result in the inevitable loss of Canada, who "in her present condition could never resist the temptation of such a source of prosperity". The scheme of Captain Wilson for the construction of a continental road across Canada was urged as the only remedy that would relieve the distress of Great Britain and Canada.⁷ Many people of Canada, discontented with their form of government, continued the agitation in favor of closer relations with the United States, and English statesmen seemed to consider that the Canadas by their own consent and wish would ultimately be annexed to the United States.⁸

The condition of affairs in Europe early in 1854 made Great Britain immediately anxious to avoid difficulty with the United States and Canada. She realized that Canada was a hostage by which the United States could command her own security.⁹ Seward saw an opportunity to get Canada as a counterpoise to Cuba.¹⁰ On March 3, John Mitchel, the Irish agitator who had recently arrived in the United States, issued a proclama-

⁴ I. D. Andrews, *Reciprocity and Fisheries Treaty* (Washington, 1862).

⁵ James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 44. (Taylor's message to the House, May 7, 1850.)

⁶ *North American Review*, LXXIV (January, 1852); *De Bow's Review*, October, 1852.

⁷ F. A. Wilson and Alfred B. Richardson, *Britain Redeemed and Canada Preserved* (London, 1850).

⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 32-2, Appendix, January, 1853; *North American Review*, LXXIX (October, 1854).

⁹ Marcy to Andrews, April 15, 1854, *Special Missions*, III, 36.

¹⁰ In the debates on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Seward contemplated the future acquisition of Alaska and Canada by purchase. (Also see his speech at Yale College, July, 1854.)

tion for an Irish invasion for the conquest of Canada.¹¹ Lewis D. Campbell of Ohio, on April 3, proposed a resolution in the House requesting the president to open negotiations with England in order to ascertain the terms on which she would consent to the annexation of Canada to the United States. Tho it was rejected by a vote of 119 to 29, it attracted the attention of the London newspapers.¹² Both England and France sought to obtain from the United States a formal positive statement of her policy in regard to privateering and neutral rights.¹³

Tho Clarendon's explanation of his recent declaration in regard to an existing Anglo-French "understanding on policy in two hemispheres" was not entirely satisfactory to the American government, Buchanan at London seized the golden opportunity to initiate negotiations with England for a treaty on the freedom of commerce.¹⁴ Secretary Marcy also took advantage of the situation in the negotiations at Washington. Thru the anxiety of the British minister to secure a commercial treaty that would be satisfactory to Canada, and partly thru the influence of a special confidential agent, I. D. Andrews,¹⁵ whom Marcy had sent to the lower British provinces, the United States secured some liberal concessions in the reciprocity treaty which was concluded on June 6, 1854.

If the Pierce-Marcy administration expected the reciprocity treaty to result in the gradual, quiet, peaceful settlement of the Canadian question, by the growth of close relations which would develop into annexation,¹⁶ it was mistaken. With the rise of an influential protective movement which agitated Canada, the treaty did not bring the satisfactory results which Marcy had expected. Its spirit was violated by the increase of Canadian provincial protective tariffs which were laid by the influence of Lower Canada in spite of the objection of boards of trade in Upper Canada and the attempt of England to prevent. In 1859, Canada affirmed the right to regulate her own tariffs without interference from England, and in

¹¹ *New York Times*, March 27, and *New York Herald*, March 28, 1854. In the latter part of 1855 there were rumors of plans for an Irish filibustering expedition from the United States to free Ireland from English rule. (*London Times*, November 27, 1855.)

¹² *New York Herald*, April 7, and *London Times*, April 18, 1854.

¹³ *New York Herald*, April 29 and 30 and May 22, 1854; also see an article of J. Watson Webb in the *London Times*, October 3, 1854.

¹⁴ *New York Herald*, April 12, 1854.

¹⁵ *Special Missions*, III, 36, April 15, 1854.

¹⁶ *North American Review*, LXXIX (October, 1854).

1860 the British government ceased to make any open attempt to control the Canadian tariffs.¹⁷ The demand for the treaty in Canada had arisen from a desire to develop the resources of the provinces; but the development of canals and railways by which to secure the carrying trade of the Mississippi and the lakes produced debts which were partly met by the increased tariff.¹⁸ Altho western commerce was deflected from the Mississippi to the lakes, Canada was disappointed to find that shippers, instead of being attracted by the St. Lawrence route to the sea, continued to use the Erie Canal to New York, where freight rates to Europe were lower than at Quebec and Montreal.¹⁹

In the meantime new conditions in the Pacific and west of Lake Superior threatened to complicate American relations with Canada. Vancouver's Island and New Caledonia (later British Columbia) to which the United States had given up its claims by the Oregon Treaty of 1846, were increasing in importance. The discovery of gold along the Fraser River in 1857 caused an excited rush of people from California and Oregon, in the spring of 1858, to seek wealth in new fields. It was estimated that 23,000 sailed from San Francisco and 8,000 went overland from points farther north. This rapid settlement of the gold regions led to conflict with the British authorities, who feared seizure of the colonies.²⁰ John Nugent was sent, on August 8, 1858, as special agent of the United States to urge subordination to the British colonial authorities, to endeavor to secure from Governor Douglas of Vancouver the abrogation of the rigorous system of exactions, and to get information in regard to the mines. Tho he reported that the Americans had entered the colonies with no marauding propensities, he said that the ultimate accession of both Vancouver and British Columbia to the American possessions was scarcely problematical.²¹ Tho Malmesbury had assured Dallas of a desire to abate the rigor of exactions,

¹⁷ *Report of Committee on Commerce*, February 5, 1862 (in *State Department Pamphlets*); *House Reports*, No. 39, 38-1, Vol. I, April 1, 1864.

¹⁸ *House Executive Documents*, No. 96, 36-1, Vol. XIII, July 16, 1860 (I. T. Hatch Report).

¹⁹ F. E. Haynes, "Reciprocity Treaty with Canada", in *American Economic Association Publications*, November, 1892; *House Executive Documents*, No. 78, 39-2, Vol. XI, February 6, 1867. (Mr. Hatch in this report suggested that the Erie Canal should become national with no tolls except for repair and enlargement.)

²⁰ *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1858.

²¹ *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 29, 35-2, January 29, 1859.

many Americans departed. The governor continued to legislate by proclamation until 1864, after which he issued ordinances with advice and consent of a legislative council. In 1867, as the result of an agitation in Vancouver in favor of annexation to the United States, the island was united with the mainland to form the province of British Columbia.²²

The water boundary between Washington Territory and Vancouver was still unsettled. The United States claimed San Juan Island, upon which some Americans had settled in 1854-1856. In 1859 a bitter dispute in regard to a dead pig for which the Hudson Bay Company demanded payment led to the occupation of the island by American troops under General Harney and Captain Pickett.²³ General Scott, who arrived later, agreed to a joint occupation till the matter could be settled by treaty.

North of Minnesota, which had been organized as a territory in 1849 and admitted as a state in 1858, was a vast fertile region drained by the Red and Saskatchewan rivers, known as the Winnipeg district, and later formed into the territories of Manitoba, Assiniboia, and Saskatchewan, which was beginning to feel the awakening touch of American industry. A colony of Scotch settlers reached the Red River in 1812 under the encouragement of the enterprising Earl of Selkirk. For twelve years they had no regular form of government. Then for eleven years the Hudson Bay Company claimed the right to govern them. In 1835 they coöperated with the Hudson Bay Company in the formation of a government by a president, and a council appointed by the president from among the settlers. In 1857 they sent a petition asking that their country might be formed into a crown colony, but met with no success. In 1858-1859 they petitioned Canada for annexation, but Canada did not want to expand westward.

After the British colonial government on the Pacific was organized, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, British colonial secretary, proclaimed the policy of continuous colonies from Lake Superior to the Pacific and a highway across British America as the most direct route from London to Japan and China.²⁴ Upper Canada and the British government in 1859

²² Charles G. D. Roberts, *History of Canada*, 334.

²³ *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 29, 35-2, Vol. X, January 31, 1859; also *House Executive Documents*, No. 111, March 3, 1859.

²⁴ *House Executive Documents*, No. 146, 37-2, Vol. X, June 20, 1862 (*Taylor Report*), p. 45.

saw the importance of extending settlements to the prairies of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan, but Lower Canada was opposed to a westward expansion policy, and the Canadian government declined to institute proceedings in English courts to determine the validity of the Hudson Bay Company's charter—because the proposed litigation might be protracted. So, Lytton decided that the annexation of the Winnipeg basin to Canada was impracticable, and that the exclusive occupation of the Hudson Bay Company could be removed only by organizing a separate colony. The attitude of Canada in 1860 was expressed by the *Toronto Leader*:

We think that all sensible persons will agree that the conclusion come to was the right one. We have explored a small part of this country, and the operation has cost us \$70,000. What would it cost to make roads and to extend the jurisdiction of our government over this territory? Canada for a single government is large enough—so large that the opposition policy, if they have any, is to split it up into two or three governments. If it be too large already, on what principle is it that the same party now assails the government for not adding it to the Red River country? If any of our people want to go to the Red River we may bid them Godspeed, but it is not our business to follow them with our political institutions.

In the meantime a trade was increasing between the United States and Selkirk south of Lake Winnipeg. Red River carts went down twice a year to St. Paul, taking with them the furs and robes collected in that country, and returning with various kinds of merchandise. From Minnesota many American settlers crossed to the Red River country to found new homes.²⁵ The temptation to annex the country to the United States was great.²⁶ In 1860 the legislature of Minnesota sent

²⁵ E. D. Neill, *History of Minnesota*.

²⁶ *The Nor-Wester*, a paper printed in the Red River settlement at this period, spoke strongly in favor of annexation to the United States. In 1860, it said:

"The peculiar system of government which prevails in this country bids fair to drive us into annexation to the United States. What is the use of being connected with Britain when the connection is merely nominal? It is a mere name, an empty sound, a meaningless design. In Canada, Australia, Vancouver's Island or any other colony, the British name represents all that is valuable in government, and all that is glorious in history. And yet for years the home government has looked on us with indifference. It is surely no matter of surprise that public sentiment is in favor of annexation to the United States. The Red River country is the center of a most valuable British appendage. Is it the interest or duty of the imperial authorities to alienate the sympathies and chill the loyalty of the people here by such careless neglect? We are indebted to Americans for the only route that there is to and from this country. The difficulties, uncertainties, and delays that formerly beset our intercourse with the world have almost disappeared. Commercial activity has been infused into our system. Home industry is stimulated, and all this brought about by Americans. In fine, why

a long memorial to Congress setting forth the commercial and political advantages to be derived from the Americanization of the country. During the same year David Anderson, then Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land, presented an address, on behalf of the people of the country, to Governor Seward when the latter visited St. Paul in September, 1860. In his speech at St. Paul, Seward suggested that Canadians were building states that would later join the American union.

By the middle of 1861 the Canadian provincial legislature at Ottawa was slowly awakening to the future importance of the Red River and Saskatchewan districts, and the commerce westward to Vancouver (the "Cuba of the North Pacific"), but did nothing. James W. Taylor wrote from St. Paul: "Unless England responds to the manifest destiny of central British America the speedy Americanization . . . is inevitable." In October, 1861, the new settlements of Assiniboia were complaining of the need of organization as a new colony with a better system of government. *The Nor-Wester* said if Britain waited, the people might vote annexation to Minnesota and Dakota, or proclaim independence. Taylor said in case a struggle for natural existence should lead to a war with Great Britain, no British territory on the American continent would prove so assailable with certainty of occupation by American troops.²⁷ While the British authorities remained indifferent to their cries, and while some of the people of the eastern provinces preferred to contemplate the possibility of a plan for expansion into Maine, which stood like an entering wedge between Canada and New Brunswick, American influence from Minnesota continued to operate across the boundary into British territory.²⁸ By the middle of 1862

so anxious to be connected with Britain when such connection is nominal and fruitless? Let us rather seek to form part and parcel of the great country from which we are receiving and will ever receive such practical benefits."

The New York Herald about the same time, 1860, said:

"The eastern public may expect a considerable impulse next year in the direction of the fertile basin of Lake Winnipeg. A weekly mail through Minnesota to the interesting community at Selkirk is anticipated with confidence, and will doubtless enlist the cooperation of parties on both sides of the international boundary. The relation of the northwestern states to the valleys of the Red River and the Saskatchewan are already recognized as of commanding importance, affecting intimately the mail and revenue service of the United States, and destined, with the extension of steam navigation over immense areas, to work good commercial results."

²⁷ *House Executive Documents*, No. 146, 37-2, Vol. X, 1862 (Taylor Report).

²⁸ E. H. Derby, *Relations of the United States with the British Provinces*, January, 1867. (Quotes from the *Halifax Morning Journal*.)

there were renewed expressions of discontent at Selkirk and threats of annexation to the United States.

After the crisis of the American Civil War in the summer of 1863, when disintegrating secession was rapidly losing, the possibility of postbellum American expansion into disunited Canada was seen in England.²⁹ Eastern Canadians who favored self-government in Canada, contemplating the complications which might result from foreign questions growing out of the war, also scented danger and suggested that England, if involved in war with the United States, should consent to establish the neutrality of Canada, whose material interests were largely dependent upon the northern part of the United States.³⁰ The Confederate seizure of the Philo Parsons steamer on Lake Erie in September, 1864, and the later raid on St. Albans by Confederates from Canada produced an unhealthy excitement along the northern border and resulted in notices by the American government to terminate the reciprocity treaty.

The condition of affairs also stimulated Canada to take steps for a confederation. On October 10, 1864, delegates from the British North American provinces assembled in conference and agreed to the basis of the Act of Union, and submitted their resolutions to the Legislative Assembly of Canada in January, 1865. These resolutions were debated from February 3 until March 14, when it was agreed by large majorities to ask the Queen to submit the plan to the British Parliament.³¹ In the debates, the confederation was urged as a measure to counteract the American ambition for acquisition. On February 9, Thomas d'Arcy McGee said that the Monroe Doctrine in popular paraphrase had become:

No pent-up Utica contracts our powers
But the whole boundless continent is ours.³²

The later decision of Parliament in favor of confederation, by the passage of the North American Act and the authorizing of a guarantee of a Canadian loan of \$3,000,000 for the construction of the long desired intercolonial railway, was largely influenced by the American expression of annexation sentiment which attracted attention in England.³³ The act

²⁹ *London Times*, September 14, 1863, and July 1, 1864.

³⁰ Buchanan, *Relations of the Industry of Canada with the Mother Country*.

³¹ Roberts, *History of Canada*, chap. xxii.

³² E. W. Watkins, M.P., *Canada and the States, 1851-1836* (London, 1887).

³³ *London Times*, September 18, 1866.

received the royal assent on March 29, 1867, and became operative three months later—on July 1, which was thereafter celebrated as "Dominion Day".

The United States emerged from the Civil War with an optimistic consciousness and courageous confidence born of experience. Confronted by grave foreign complications, she did not seek to evade or postpone the settlement of accounts. She began at once to rid the continent of the most prominent sources of future troubles. She drove France from Mexico. She was determined to secure indemnity from England for damages to American commerce committed by English-built Confederate cruisers during the war. The danger of war was foreseen, and the idea of securing Canada as an indemnity for past wrongs, or to prevent future trouble, was considered.³⁴

The plan of hastening and compelling the annexation of Canada by the expiration and non-renewal of the reciprocity treaty was also advocated by many public men in the United States who thought that in a few years Canada would become tired of "remaining in the cold" and be constrained by commercial reasons to knock for admission into the American Union.³⁵ On February 6, 1866, when Mr. Galt (of Canada) before the ways and means committee at Washington suggested the policy of neutralizing the boundary waters, Senator Morrill said, "That will have to be postponed until you, gentlemen, assume your seats here."³⁶ On March 28, 1866, the House requested information in regard to commercial relations with British America for the year 1864-1865. James W. Taylor, who as special agent was asked by Secretary McCullough to furnish a report, sent his views from St. Paul under date of June 6. Referring to the slow but sure Americanization of the Red River region, he predicted a much more rapid Americanization of the Saskatchewan region by the camps of the treasure-seekers from Montana, which had recently (in 1864) been organized as a separate territory as a result of the settlements following the rich gold discoveries of 1861 and thereafter. Stating that overtures should be

³⁴ Callahan, *Neutrality of the American Lakes*.

³⁵ *New York Times*, May 21, May 24, and July 22, 1865; *Nation*, August 3, 1866; *Chicago Tribune*, January 6, 1866; also, an article in *London Times*, May 11, 1866, on "Proposal to Purchase Canada". The construction of the Northern Pacific Railway was also urged as a valuable politic measure in relation to Canada. (*Congressional Globe*, 39-1, Appendix, 195, April 25, 1866.)

³⁶ Watkins, *Canada and the States*, 425.

made for the union of the United States and British America, he proposed in detail a plan which provided organization of states, construction of canals and railways, payment of Canadian debts, and surveys of public lands. "The United States may interpose with the requisite guarantees", said he, "and if so why shall we not combine to extend an American union to the Arctic circle?" He concluded as follows:

I cannot resist the conclusion that events have presented to the people of the government of the United States the opportunity—let me rather say, have developed the duty—of interposing by an overture to the people of the English colonies on this continent, upon the fullest consultation with Great Britain, to unite their fortunes with the United States.³⁷

On July 2, Banks, chairman of the committee on foreign affairs, reported a resolution which was not acted upon, suggesting that when the Department of State should be informed officially that Great Britain and the several British provinces in Canada accepted the proposition of annexation, the President should declare by proclamation that Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Lower Canada, Upper Canada, and the territories of Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and of Columbia should be admitted to the United States as states and territories.³⁸

When Russell refused to arbitrate the Alabama claims many members of Congress were disposed to favor the Fenians, who for several months had threatened to carry the green flag into Canada. Mr. Ancona of Pennsylvania, in the House, on June 11, 1866, offered a resolution for the repeal of the United States neutrality laws (of April, 1818) under which the President had issued a proclamation against the recent Fenian projects. When this resolution was lost by a vote of 69 against 30, Schenck of Ohio offered a substitute resolution declaring that the President should reconsider his policy toward the British government and the Irish and requesting him to adopt the exact procedure pursued by England in 1861 by the recognition of both parties as lawful belligerents. Harding of Illinois proposed a substitute directing the committee on foreign affairs to report that the House "sympathizes with the Irish in their struggle and that the United States may recognize them as belligerents and will aid as far as the laws of nations modified by the conduct of Great Britain will permit." A motion of Hale to lay the resolutions

³⁷ *House Executive Documents*, No. 128, 39-1, Vol. XII, June 12, 1866 (36 pp.).

³⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 39-1, p. 3548; *American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, p. 78.

on the table was lost by a vote of 113 nays against 8 yeas—62 not voting. A motion of Mr. Ancona to refer the resolutions to the committee on foreign affairs was carried by a vote of 87 yeas against 35 nays—61 not voting.³⁹ Six weeks later, Banks, reporting on the resolutions, recommended a revision of statutes affecting our neutral relations, claiming that we had been too strict in enforcing provisions as to the fitting out of vessels and the sale of munitions of war. He stated that by stopping the recent Fenian raid the United States preserved to England possessions whose loss would be the precursor of calamities that would reduce her to a subordinate power.⁴⁰ A bill modifying our neutrality laws so as to permit war ships and military expeditions to be fitted out against friendly powers received the unanimous vote of the House (123 yeas and 63 not voting), but in the Senate it was referred to the committee on foreign relations, which failed to report it.⁴¹

In July, 1866, both the House and the Senate continued to request further information with the purpose of reaching a conclusion concerning the best policy to apply in relations with Canada. On July 27, after the publication of Taylor's reports and plans, the Senate requested the Department of State to furnish information in regard to relations with Canada. Six months later, Seward sent to the Senate a new report prepared by E. H. Derby, special agent to Canada. Derby had already furnished a report to the secretary of the Treasury, in which he advocated a new treaty of reciprocity, on the ground that the United States could seek annexation to better advantage after she had paid her debts and England had paid the claims for damage done by the Confederate cruisers. Favoring a policy of conciliation instead of retaliation, he said:

If Great Britain desires to propitiate this country after all that has occurred, would it not be her true policy to cede to us a portion of her remote territories, valuable to us, but of little value to her? Were she to cede us Vancouver's Island and British Columbia, so important to our Pacific coasts, and so remote from England, and settled in a great part by our own citizens, might she not easily bring our claims to a peaceful solution, and would not this be preferable to a specie payment or reprisals for the ravages of cruisers?⁴²

³⁹ *Congressional Globe*, June 11, 1866, p. 3085.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1866; *House Reports*, No. 100, 39-1, Vol. I, July 25, 1866 (12 pp.).

⁴¹ *Congressional Globe*, 39-1, pp. 4193-4197.

⁴² E. H. Derby, *Preliminary Report on a Treaty of Reciprocity with Great Britain* (Treasury Department, Washington, 1866), 20.

When Derby wrote Seward, a petition had just been received from Victoria, Vancouver Island, requesting the annexation of British Columbia, whose slow growth was noticeable in painful contrast to the rapid progress of California and Oregon. Submitting a plan for the annexation of the Canadian provinces to the United States, and indicating the economic, political, and international advantages of annexation, he said:

Is not America designed for the Americans? Annexation would dispense with custom houses and fortresses on a long frontier, give proper control of our telegraph lines to Asia and Europe, and ensure future pacific relations with Great Britain. The most effective mode to remove all difficulties would be the union of all parts of our continent in one harmonious whole. But this requires the sanction of England. Learning from the past and with a wise forecast of the future, should she not wisely take the initiative and seek to obliterate memories of three wars and to win the love and gratitude of a continent by an act of magnanimity? While she consolidates provinces and fortifies Halifax and Victoria, or at Esquimalt harbor, can she wonder that the United States seeks alliance with Russia?⁴³

The intimation that consolidation of the eastern provinces of British America would cause the United States to seek closer coöperation with Russia was significant. In Congress there was much opposition to the evident purpose of the Canadian movement. On March 27, 1867, the House, without opposition, passed a resolution from the committee on foreign affairs expressing the solicitude of the United States concerning the proposed confederation which was to be formed without the consent of the people of the provinces to be confederated, and stating that such a measure would probably increase the embarrassment already existing between the United States and Great Britain.⁴⁴ Three days later a counter-movement against the future extension of the confederation westward from the lakes to the Pacific was inaugurated by the treaty for the transfer of Alaska to the United States. Russia, so recently defeated in Crimea, and still hunting territory that would give her an outlet to the sea on Asiatic coast south of Siberia, decided to retire from America, expecting England to retire also. She doubtless had other motives than the mere desire to be friendly with the great reunited American republic. Possibly, as Sumner intimated,

⁴³ Derby's *Report* to Seward, January, 1867.

⁴⁴ *American Annual Cyclopedic*, 1867, 275.

she wished to give England a maritime rival. Clay wrote from St. Petersburg that the Russians hoped the cession might ultimately lead to the expulsion of England from the Pacific.⁴⁵ Seward, in an interview soon after the purchase, stated that the purpose was to prevent the possible extension of England's coast line on the Pacific, to strengthen American influence in British Columbia, and to hasten the destiny of Canada to form a political union with the United States that would result in the development of her resources and the removal of causes of irritation between England and the United States.⁴⁶

Many who approved the policy of acquiring Alaska were largely influenced by the expectation that it was a step toward the peaceful absorption of Canada by a natural process of accretion, beginning with a "necessary annexation of over-taxed British Columbia". Many expected Great Britain to tender to the United States the British North American colonies.⁴⁷ Senator Sumner, in his speech on the Alaska Treaty, on April 7, 1867, said: "The present treaty is a visible step in the occupation of the whole North American continent. As such it will be recognized by the world and accepted by the American people."⁴⁸ As such it was recognized by many of the leading newspapers.⁴⁹

The editor of a St. Louis paper urged upon Seward the necessity of taking initiatory steps to close the gap between Washington Territory and 54° 40', and secure contiguity of our possessions by a reasonable proposition for the purchase of British Columbia, which was so near to us and so distant from England. A Pacific coast paper of August 31, 1867, said

⁴⁵ *House Executive Documents*, 177, 40-2, 130; *Diplomatic Correspondence*, 1867, 390.

⁴⁶ *New York Sun*, January 29, 1893.

⁴⁷ *House Executive Documents*, No. 177 (February 27, 1868), 40-2; *Colburn's New Monthly Magazine*, June, 1867, p. 247.

In 1884 (January 22) Senator Ingalls considered Alaska of little use to the United States except as a step (under the Monroe Doctrine) toward the "unification of this continent under American domination" from the Polar Sea to the interoceanic canal across the isthmus. (64 *Congressional Record*, 48-1, 566.)

⁴⁸ Charles Sumner, *Works* (Boston, 1874-1877), XI, 222.

⁴⁹ *New York Times*, April 2, 1867, "The Monroe Doctrine and the Russian American Treaty". *Ibid.*, April 19 (English views); also *London Times*, April 1, April 10, and May 1. *Ibid.*, April 21 (French opinions). *Ibid.*, June 23 (editorial on "Russian America and Vancouver's Island"). *Every Saturday*, May 4, 1867, 563, 564, "The United States and Russian America" (From *London Review*). *Colburn's Monthly Magazine*, June, 1867, 247, 248. In England and France some also believed that the treaty was the result of a general Russo-American understanding by which Russia was to have the passive coöperation of the United States in the seizure of Constantinople and the settlement of the Eastern question. (*Ibid.*, 248.)

that there were indications that "sandwiched" British Columbia, "the sick man of the Pacific coast", would place her fortunes with the United States. *The London Times*, while denying that the purchase of Alaska really furthered any design for the absorption of all North America by the American Union, recognized that Canada must be allowed to choose its future destiny and philosophically admitted the possibility that British Columbia, which was closer connected with California than with the British colonies, might be attracted to the United States.⁵⁰

Early in 1868, R. J. Walker in an article in the *Washington Chronicle* stated that the territory between 49° and 54° 40' which had been abandoned in 1846 must ultimately gravitate back to the United States.⁵¹ Later in the year, in a talk with Banks during the House debates on the appropriation for the Alaska purchase, he declared that he had always regarded the acquisition of Alaska as a measure of the highest importance to the United States, particularly in connection with the acquisition of British Columbia and the prevention of European possessions on the Pacific coast.⁵²

A few American politicians and statesmen also suggested the policy of purchasing Greenland as a further step toward "hemming in" the possessions of Great Britain. In the summer of 1867, Walker, being informed by Seward as to the treaty negotiated with Denmark, suggested the propriety of buying both Greenland and Iceland also. At Seward's request to communicate his views in writing, so they might be on file ready for use in the future, Walker at once began work and secured an exhaustive report from the United States Coast Survey.⁵³ On April 24, 1868, in a letter declaring that the North American confederacy in Canada was conceived in hostility to the United States, and reiterating his previous statements that the acquisition of Russian America had flanked British America on the northwest, he suggested that

⁵⁰ *St. Louis Times*, April 10, 1867; *Philadelphia North American Gazette*, April 12, 1867; *Pacific Tribune*, August 31, 1867; *House Executive Documents*, No. 177, 40-2, 118.

England recognized (*Parliamentary Debates*, June 9, 1868) that there was a growing desire of British Columbia to join the United States and that she must build a railroad across the continent to preserve her Pacific possessions, and retain her influence in the Pacific ocean. (Banks' speech of June 30, 1868, *Congressional Globe*, 40-2, 386-388.)

⁵¹ State Department, *United States Diplomatic Questions*, II.

⁵² *House Reports*, No. 35, 40-3, Vol. I.

⁵³ Benjamin Mills Pierce, *Report on Resources of Greenland and Iceland*, 1868 (72 pp. with maps).

the purchase of Greenland would flank it on the northeast, and "greatly increase her inducements peacefully and cheerfully to become a part of the American Union".⁵⁴

In the meantime Canada was preparing for expansion as a counter-movement to American expansion toward the north. For a time the success of the confederation hung in the balance. In the eastern provinces, except in Nova Scotia, there was a growing aspiration for self-reliance, union, and nationality. Tho it was admitted that Canadian "sympathies might in time have ripened into political connection", commercial union and self-reliance was now urged as a political necessity to prevent the success of the "starvation policy" which it was asserted had been adopted by Seward in order to drive the provinces to seek annexation.⁵⁵ In Nova Scotia, where the effects of the repeal of the reciprocity treaty had fallen heaviest, and the conditions of commerce were critical, there was much opposition to the confederation. In 1867 an assembly at Halifax demanded permission to secede; but, after an unsuccessful application to Parliament at London in 1868, Nova Scotia was reconciled in 1869 by the promise of the Dominion government to pay her a subsidy of \$82,698 a year for ten years as compensation for certain losses of revenue. Various causes combined to strengthen the bonds of the confederation and to substitute a sentiment of nationality for the sentiment of annexation to the United States.

The acquisition of Alaska, which was regarded by some as a kind of set-off or counter-movement⁵⁶ against the recent consolidation of the British-American possessions, contributed much toward the stimulation of a determined Anglo-Canadian policy of completing the scheme for the confederation of the British colonies from sea to sea, including also the territory of the Hudson Bay Company.⁵⁷ The union of Quebec, Ontario,

⁵⁴ In September, 1897, a rumor was afloat in Canadian circles that the United States government had made overtures to Denmark with the object of acquiring Greenland, and probably was the cause of the hoisting of the British flag over Baffin's Land. (The *London News* declared that England should acquire Greenland, if the United States had not already done so.) Officials at Washington denied the truth of the report and said there had been no negotiation by the American government for acquiring Danish territory since the days of Seward. The acquisition of the territory would give the United States an advantage in connection with the Hudson Bay grain-carrying route from Winnipeg, and would dispose of the danger of a transfer to Germany or to other European powers.

⁵⁵ R. G. Haliburton, *International Trade our only Safeguard against Disunion* (Ottawa, 1868).

⁵⁶ *London Times*, April 16, 1867.

⁵⁷ *Colburn's New Monthly Magazine*, June, 1867, 250-252.

Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick was the beginning of an era of expansion and consolidation. The greatest event in the first session of the Dominion Parliament, which was opened at Ottawa November 7, 1867, was the movement started by Hon. William McDougall for annexing the Northwest over which the Hudson Bay Company had so long been a sovereign power in disguise. The imperial government was asked to transfer to the Dominion government the jurisdiction over all those vast territories. It was urged that their annexation to Canada would forestall an attempt to annex them to the United States. It was seen that the increasing American growth on the frontier and on the western coast of America, and the acquisition of new ports on the Pacific, must be met by the colonization of western Canada and British Columbia and by the opening of roads across the continent.

This Canadian movement met with some opposition in the United States, especially in Minnesota, where the proposition that England should transfer to the Dominion (by an order in council) all the territory between Minnesota and Alaska, which had been "settled largely from the United States", was regarded as an "unwarranted interference with the principles of self-government" which could "not be regarded with indifference by the people of the United States". In December, 1867, and again in January, 1868, Senator Ramsey, who had had an active part in the development of Minnesota, offered to the Senate a resolution directing the committee on foreign relations to inquire into the expediency of negotiating with the Dominion a treaty of reciprocity⁵⁸ with a clause providing that Canada with the consent of Great Britain should cede to the United States the districts of North America west of 90° longitude, on condition that the United States pay \$6,000,000 to the Hudson Bay Company, assume the public debt of British Columbia to the amount of \$2,000,000 to aid in the construction of a northern Pacific railway from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, and agree to organize the region into not less than three territories with the laws and rights of Montana as far as they could be made applicable.⁵⁹ A few weeks later (on March 6) the Minnesota legis-

⁵⁸ The resolution provided for a duty of only five per cent *ad valorem* on the exclusive products and manufactures of each country, the assimilation of excise duties by concurrent legislation, the navigation of the St. Lawrence, freedom of the Atlantic coast fisheries, and a common system of laws regulating copyrights, patents, and postage.

⁵⁹ *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 4, 40-2, Vol. I, December 9, 1867; also, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 22, 40-2, January 31, 1868.

lature sent a memorial to Congress requesting the ratification of the Alaska Treaty, opposing the transfer of the Hudson Bay territories to Canada, and closing with a resolution

that the legislature of Minnesota would rejoice to be assured that the cession of northwest British America to the United States, accompanied by the construction of a northern Pacific railway, are regarded by Great Britain and Canada as satisfactory provisions of a treaty which shall remove all grounds of controversy between the respective countries.⁶⁰

The expediency of negotiating a reciprocity treaty with Canada was still under consideration. On March 27, 1868, Hatch was instructed to secure information in regard to commercial relations with the British North American provinces, to supplement a report which he had already made on May 6, 1867, in response to the House resolution of July 9, 1866. January 12, 1869, his report was submitted. After reviewing the effects of the treaty of 1854, and referring to the aggressive policy of Canada in building railways and canals, he concluded that any commercial treaty in order to be thoroly reciprocal should be comprehensive in details, so neither party could evade its spirit or substance.⁶¹

By the close of 1868 and during the year 1869, there was a growing sentiment that the annexation of British America was the best solution of the irritating international problems. Joseph Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* in a letter to Sumner, December 2, 1868, urged acquisition as the only adequate solution, and suggested the payment of a million or two million of dollars to save British pride. Prominent newspapers suggested that England, to secure a new and real friendship between England and America, should promptly and frankly tender to the United States in full satisfaction of the debt she owed us not only the amount of the Alabama claims due to individuals, but also "the relinquishment of her sovereignty on this continent".⁶² Some urged the pressure of claims as the best means to get Canada as compensation. Chandler in an aggressive speech proposed to obtain by negotiation a peaceful surrender of all the British possessions in North America as a basis for the settlement of our claims, at the same time suggesting that 50,000 Michiganders could seize Canada by force in order to conquer a peace. "We cannot

⁶⁰ *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 68, 40-2, March 31, 1868.

⁶¹ *House Executive Documents*, No. 36, 40-3, Vol. IX, 21.

⁶² *New York Herald*, February 3; *New York Tribune*, February 22 and April 7; *New York Times*, March 30, April 13 and 22, and August 28, 1869; Smith, *England and America after Independence*, 367.

afford to have an enemy's base so near us", said he. "It is a national necessity that we should have the British possessions."

In the debate on the Johnson-Clarendon convention, in the executive session of the Senate, on April 13, 1869, there was dimly outlined the policy of closely associating the question of Canadian independence with the question of settlement of claims. Senator Sumner, who made a vigorous and famous speech in opposition to the treaty, desired the peaceful acquisition of Canada—the first step toward which was the withdrawal of England from this hemisphere.⁶³ He believed that the not remote withdrawal of all English flags from the western hemisphere was a logical development of the Monroe Doctrine and the doctrine of manifest destiny. Cobden had written him twenty years before that Canada and the United States must become one for all purposes of intercommunication.⁶⁴ He believed that the time for the fulfilment of that prophecy was at hand—that the British possessions could be peacefully annexed "by the voluntary act of England and with the cordial consent of the colonists".⁶⁵ It was with the expectation of carrying out his plans, in shaping the destiny of a hemisphere by annexing the "whole zone from Newfoundland to Vancouver", that he secured the appointment of his friend Motley as minister to England and endeavored to usurp the functions of the Department of State.

After the rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty by a vote of 54 to 1, senators such as Schurz preferred to leave the question of claims open in order to give England a fair chance for a quiet consideration, but at the same time gradually to familiarize her with the idea that the decided wish of the American people was to settle all claims by the annexation of the North American provinces.⁶⁶ Many far-sighted statesmen

⁶³ E. L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, IV, 409, *et seq.*; Sumner to Motley, June 15, 1869. Goldwin Smith in a speech at Ithaca, N.Y., May 19, 1869, said Sumner's speech had rendered renewal of negotiations almost impossible. While endeavoring to calm the international waters which had been so much stirred by oratory, he stated that the tale of the British "empire" would soon be told—that England would soon cease to rule Canada, and that she even thought of returning Gibraltar to Spain.

⁶⁴ Sumner, *Works*, XII, "Prophetic Voices".

⁶⁵ On September 22, 1869, Sumner in a speech which he delivered in Massachusetts, picturing the destiny of the United States to cover the continent from the Arctic to the Gulf, said that the future voluntary union of Canada with the United States was an appointed destiny; but, believing that government should stand on the consent of the governed, he opposed the cession of British colonies except with the peaceful consent of the people of the territories conveyed.

⁶⁶ C. F. Adams, *Treaty of Washington* (Appendix "C", Schurz to Fish, June, 1869).

believed that the greatest menace to our peace with Great Britain was the maintenance of a colonial dependency on our north. In fact it was believed that Great Britain regarded Canada as a source of weakness, especially in the existing state of international affairs. This belief was not without foundation. On December 18, 1869, the *London Times*, which was supposed to be inspired by the British government, stating that any deliberate conclusion by the colonies that it is "more convenient to slip into the Union" than to remain in the Dominion should not be opposed by England, said: "Instead of the colonies being the dependency of the mother country, the mother country has become the dependency of the colonies." This view of the situation was enforced by the completion of the Union Pacific Railway,⁶⁷ by the contemplation of the early construction of a northern Pacific railway⁶⁸—plans for which had been under consideration since 1866—as well as by the fishing troubles growing out of the attempt of Nova Scotia to establish a more effectual control of her fisheries by the establishment of a marine police (1869) which seized American fishing ships (1870).⁶⁹

The Grant administration soon took occasion to ascertain whether the territorial methods of settling claims would be satisfactory to England. On June 9, 1869, Fish, referring to the fact that the American claims were too large for a money settlement, sounded Thornton on the question of ceding Canada. Thornton replied that while England did not wish to keep Canada she "could not part with it without the consent of the population".⁷⁰

In the following November at a Cabinet meeting President Grant, suggesting the possibility of a withdrawal of England from Canada, and intimating that in such case the United States ought to be satisfied with direct claims for actual losses by Confederate cruisers and a satisfactory settlement of the principles of international law, expressed a desire to postpone⁷¹ the adjustment of claims until England was ready to give up Canada.

⁶⁷ *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 90, 41-2, Vol. II, May 23, 1870.

⁶⁸ *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 75, 41-2, Vol. II, March 30, 1870.

⁶⁹ Arthur Mills, "Canada and the Treaty of 1873", in *Contemporary Review*, XXI (March, 1873).

⁷⁰ C. F. Adams, *Before and After the Treaty of Washington* (N.Y., 1892, 106, *et seq.*); Pierce, *Sumner*, IV, 409, Sumner to Motley, June 11, 1869.

⁷¹ For instructions to Bancroft, see *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 114, 41-2, Vol. III, July 13, 1870.

In the meantime within the imperial heritage of the Northwest to which the Dominion fell heir, after the Hudson Bay Company, under pressure from the English crown, released its ancient proprietorship and gave up its ancient monopoly of the trade,⁷² there was considerable opposition to the prospective change of government. The Selkirk Red River country, with a population of twelve thousand (the largest part of which were half-breeds) vigorously protested against the general demeanor and activities of the Canadian subordinates who were sent to build roads and survey the lands for settlement. The people feared they would be asked to pay heavy taxes to meet the expenses of the surveying and the road building. Some who dreamed of a Red River republic and others who were determined to secure annexation to the United States were strenuously opposed to the policy by which they were to become a colony of a colony. Under the leadership of Louis Riel, a youthful half-breed, the people rose in rebellion and refused to receive the new governor, William McDougall, who had journeyed from Canada thru the United States on his way to assume the government. In November they seized Fort Garry and the treasure of the Hudson Bay Company and proclaimed the independence of the settlement. After some time for deliberation, however, they sent to Ottawa to ascertain the terms of union and decided to submit without resistance. When the military expedition arrived at Red River in August, 1870, after a long march along the northern border of Lake Superior,⁷³ Riel had fled to the United States. The new government was inaugurated, and the district received the name of Manitoba. When the rebellion proved a fiasco, many of the half-breeds, unwilling to submit to the new authority, sullenly withdrew to the farther west, seeking fuller freedom along the shores of the

⁷² Liable to be dispossessed by force if it refused to come to terms, the Hudson Bay Company agreed in 1869 to transfer its territorial rights for 300,000 pounds and one-twentieth of the lands surveyed for settlement by the government for the next twenty years. It retained its posts and its special facilities for the fur trade. The northwest territories were ceded to Canada by an order in council of June 24, 1870. England had just prepared the way for the self-reliance of Canada, by withdrawal of all except two thousand British regulars, and by giving to Canada all the fortifications except Halifax.

⁷³ In May, 1870, Secretary Fish requested Governor Baldwin of Michigan to refuse the use of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal to any English or Canadian steamer carrying munitions of war or troops, but he subsequently permitted the passage of the *Chicora* towards the west after he was assured that it formed no part of a military expedition. (*Senate Executive Documents*, No. 88, 41-2, May 21, 1870.)

Saskatchewan, but their places were rapidly filled by pioneers from the East and from Europe who came on American railroads to Minnesota, and transferred to canvas-covered wagons for the remainder of the distance to the exhaustless wheat lands.

When Congress met, in December, 1869, the subject of relations with Canada arose at once. The Senate asked the President to furnish information concerning recent negotiations in regard to a reciprocity treaty, and twelve days later requested copies of correspondence bearing on pending relations with England since the rejection of the claims convention in the previous April. The President replied to both resolutions. On the subject of reciprocity there had been no formal negotiations nor correspondence, and all conversation relating to it had been too informal for a report. The Grant administration decided to investigate the situation on the northwest border. On December 30, 1869, Fish, who had succeeded Seward as secretary of state, sent James W. Taylor to the Red River region on a special and strictly confidential mission⁷⁴ to secure information upon the following subjects: (1) full details of the revolt against the Canadian confederation and the expulsion of McDougall; (2) the geographical features and commercial affinities of the Selkirk, Saskatchewan, and Columbia districts; (3) the character and disposition of the population; (4) the existing routes of commerce between Canada and the United States; (5) the political relations of the several British possessions between Minnesota and Alaska; (6) the general question of the commercial and political relations between Canada and the several provinces.

At the same time both in December, 1869, and in January, 1870, Fish in his conversations with Thornton was urging the entire withdrawal of Great Britain from Canada as a basis for the immediate settlement of the Alabama claims. Thornton replied that altho the Canadians did not desire it, "We are ready to let them go whenever they shall wish." In January, 1870, Fish informally called his attention to the original copy of a paper which had recently appeared in the newspapers, purporting to be a memorial from the inhabitants of British Columbia and urging the transfer of the colony to the United States. At the same time he suggested that

⁷⁴ 8 *Special Missions*, III. Five weeks later Taylor's *Report* of 52 pages was sent to the Senate. (*Senate Executive Documents*, No. 33, 41-2, February 2, 1870.)

possibly the desire indicated by the petition, together with the troubles in the Red River settlement and the strong opposition of the maritime provinces against the confederation, might cause the British government "to consider whether the time was not near when the future relation of the colonies to Great Britain must be contemplated with reference to these manifestations . . . of dissatisfaction with their present condition".

In instructions to Motley, the American minister in England, after referring to the practical arguments in favor of the independence of British American colonies, Fish wrote:

You will exercise your discretion . . . availing yourself of every opportunity to obtain information as to the real sentiments of the British government on the question of the separation of the colonies from the mother country and, when opportunity offers, indicating the facts which seem to make such separation a necessity.⁷⁵

In March, 1870, on the eve of the Franco-Prussian War, Fish again urged that the American provinces were a menace of danger to Great Britain and that their independence would remove the cause of irritation and possible complication which existed especially in times of Fenian activity. Thornton considering the contingencies of possible European wars⁷⁶ in which England might be involved replied that altho Great Britain could not inaugurate a separation she was "willing and even desirous to have one".

Altho Fish had gradually drifted from Sumner's policy and never again urged withdrawal,⁷⁷ he had occasion to refer to the subject in subsequent conversations with Thornton. In September, 1870, on the day that the German army invested Paris, he intimated to Thornton that the independence of Canada was the proper solution of the fishery disputes. Thornton, after repeating what he had said before, significantly added:

It is impossible to connect the question of Canadian independence with the Alabama claims—not even to the extent of providing for the

⁷⁵ 22 *Instructions to Great Britain*, 163, January 14, 1870.

⁷⁶ Grant's administration doubtless would have prevented the seizure of Canada by any European power. In his message of May 31, 1870, urging the acquisition of San Domingo, he considered it proper to assert a corollary of the Monroe Doctrine which he declared was as important as the original doctrine: "That hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject to transfer to an European power."

⁷⁷ On May 19, 1870, Senator Pomeroy offered a resolution requesting the President if expedient to open negotiations with Great Britain in order to ascertain whether the union of the British North American provinces with the United States could be accomplished upon terms equally advantageous and honorable to Great Britain, the British provinces, and the United States. (*Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, No. 140, 41-2.)

reference of the question of independence to a vote of the people of the Dominion. Independence means annexation. They are one and the same thing.

Altho in subsequent negotiations Fish dropped Canada from the discussion, the President, who was determined to annex San Domingo, was favorable to the annexation of Canada also. He was still under the influence of the view held by Sumner, that the settlement of money claims should be combined with a movement in the direction of the withdrawal of the British flag in whole or in part from the North American continent. In suggesting to Fish instructions for a minister to replace Motley at London, he proposed that he should attempt a negotiation of the Alabama claims upon a basis of payment of actual losses, revision of the principles of international law, and "the submission to the voters of the Dominion of the question of independence". Fish, altho he did not doubt the eventual destiny of the Canadian provinces to be annexed to the United States and still hoped for early annexation, was now not so sure of the realization of the president's expectations of annexation during his administration.

Near the close of 1870 a series of events contributed to hasten the negotiations with Great Britain for the adjustment of the Alabama claims. About the middle of November, Constantin Catacazy, the Russian minister, suggested to Fish that the condition of European affairs indicated that it was an opportune time to press for an immediate settlement. On November 20, 1870, in a conversation with Thornton, Fish alluded to Catacazy's suggestion and in reply to Thornton's inquiry, stated a basis of settlement which omitted any mention of Canada.

Two weeks later Grant sent to Congress his annual message in which he devoted considerable space to Canada, whose policy was so intimately associated with future American development. Advocating the annexation of San Domingo, not only as a good financial and economic measure, but also as a cure for evils in Cuba and Porto Rico, and with a view to Cuba, Hawaii, Canada, and other future acquisitions, he declared, "The time is not distant when, in the natural course of events, the European political connections with this continent will cease." Regretting that the attitude of Great Britain (who was unwilling to admit that she had been guilty of any negligence) had made it impossible to reach any con-

clusion for the adjustment of the claims, he recommended the authorization of the appointment of a commission to take proof of all private claims, and the settlement of those claims by the United States, in order that the government could assume "responsible control of all demands against Great Britain".

On December 6, when France was rapidly succumbing to the rising power of Germany, this "menacing" message appeared in the London papers and visibly quickened the speed of negotiations for a peaceful settlement. Sir John Rose, who had served on the commission for the settlement of the claims of the Hudson Bay Company, in a note which Fish read at Cabinet meeting on December 9, had already intimated that the British Cabinet was "disposed to enter into negotiations". Exactly one month later, January 9, 1871, Mr. Rose reached Washington and in an after-dinner talk at the home of Mr. Fish prepared the way for referring all questions to a joint commission which should adjudicate them or arrange by treaty for such adjudication.⁷⁸ On January 11, he submitted a confidential memorandum of a plan for the "full and final adjustment" of the various questions of difference in order to secure the rights and interests of both nations and the "foundation of lasting bonds of amity".

In considering the success of the plan it was important to know the attitude of Sumner, whose friend Motley had recently been recalled from London. On January 15, Mr. Fish, after a conference with Senator Conkling and General Schenk (the newly-appointed successor to Motley) called on Sumner with the memorandum in order "to ask his opinion and advice", and above all to secure his approval of the proposed plan. After two days' reflection Sumner, who had recently favored an Arctic expedition "not only in the interests of science but for the sake of the near future",⁷⁹ submitted his written reply in the form of an ultimatum based on the policy of Canadian independence. Referring to Mr. Rose's idea that "all questions and sources of irritation between England and the United States should be removed absolutely and forever that we may be at peace really and good neighbors", he said:

Nothing could be better than this initial idea. It should be the starting-point. The greatest trouble, if not peril, being a constant source

⁷⁸ John Bassett Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I, 521-523.

⁷⁹ Sumner, *Works*, XIII, 385.

of anxiety, is from Fenianism, which is excited by the proximity of the British flag in Canada. Therefore the withdrawal of the British flag cannot be abandoned as a condition or preliminary of such a settlement as is now proposed. To make the settlement complete the withdrawal should be from this hemisphere including provinces and islands.⁸⁰

The administration determined to ignore this ultimatum and to shape its foreign policy without further reference to Sumner. After consulting with Sumner's colleagues, and taking other precautions to enable him to feel sure that the Senate was ripe for revolt against Sumner's domination, Fish invited Rose to his house on January 24 and informed him that the United States would enter on the proposed negotiations. Sumner's "flag withdrawal" ultimatum was shown to Mr. Rose in confidence, and doubtless had an important influence in the negotiations that followed; but Fish stated clearly that, if Great Britain should send commissioners to treat on the basis agreed upon, the administration would spare no effort "to secure a favorable result even if it involved a conflict with the chairman on foreign relations in the Senate".⁸¹

Events now moved rapidly. By aid of the submarine telegraphic cable, Rose and Thornton were able to report, on February 1, that the Liberal Gladstone ministry were ready to send a special mission to treat on all questions at issue. In another week President Grant named five commissioners, whose appointments were at once confirmed by the Senate. On February 27 the joint high commission organized in Washington, on May 8 the treaty was signed, and two days later it was submitted to the Senate and referred to the committee on foreign relations,⁸² from the chairmanship of which Sumner had been displaced in March. On May 24, the Senate approved it, Sumner casting his vote for it.

The treaty contained: a statement of a formal apology for the escape of the Confederate cruisers from British ports; three rules of international law which practically admitted

⁸⁰ J. C. B. Davis, *Mr. Fish and the Alabama Claims* (Boston, 1893); J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I, 525, 526; C. F. Adams, *Treaty of Washington* (N.Y., 1902), 141; *Nation*, February 23, 1871 (also see *New York Times*, January 9, 1871); *North American Review*, July-August, 1878, 61 (article by E. L. Pierce on "A Senator's Fidelity Vindicated"); also *New York Herald*, January 4, 1878. On January 11, 1871, Senator Stewart of Nevada said: "The fact that the American people are in the market to purchase or annex all the adjoining lands will not be controverted . . . Canada cannot live long without us."

⁸¹ Moore, *International Arbitrations*, I, 528-530.

⁸² Thru a leakage somewhere the treaty was published at once in the *New York Tribune* of May 11, 1871.

that the British government had failed to do its duty; provisions for submitting to different commissions of arbitration the various questions relating to the Alabama claims, the San Juan boundary, and the northeastern fisheries; and an agreement on several other questions such as bonded transit, certain features of the coasting trade, the navigation of certain rivers and canals as roads of commerce, and the use of the St. John River by the American lumbermen.

On several points the treaty did not satisfy the wishes of the Canadians.⁸³ On March 6, and later, the British commissioners by the wish of Canada had suggested the renewal of the reciprocity treaty in principle, but the Americans declined.⁸⁴ The British offered to concede the navigation of the St. Lawrence for the navigation of Lake Michigan; but the United States claimed that she had a natural right to navigate the St. Lawrence from 45° to the sea. The British then offered to recognize the St. Lawrence as forever free and asked the right of navigating the Alaskan waters—which the United States granted. For the use of the Canadian canals, the Americans gave the free navigation of Lake Michigan for ten years and also the American canals connecting the lakes. The Canadians, who had urged the presentation of the claims for Fenian raids as one of the subjects to be adjusted, were indignant because the English commissioners had found it necessary to insist that they must withdraw them.

The treaty for the peaceful settlement of difficulties was doubtless a surprise to the Russian government, which apparently expected that the United States would continue to press large war claims and ask England to withdraw from her North American colonies at a time when it would embarrass

⁸³ *Messages, Despatches, and Minutes of the Privy Council* relative to the Treaty of Washington (Ottawa, 1872). (State Department Pamphlets, No. 8486.)

⁸⁴ On June 23, 1870, the House had sought further information in regard to the state of trade between the United States and British America. The data requested were obtained by J. N. Larned, a special agent of the Treasury Department, whose report was not submitted until February 3, 1871. He urged that the United States could never agree to trade relations on the basis of the reciprocity treaty of 1854; and, in case Canada should not decide upon political union with the United States, he was inclined to a Zollverein or commercial union. Stating that the cause of Canada's tardy growth was isolation, he said in substance: "If the provinces do not choose to become one of us politically they must become one of us commercially. Canada wavers, much affected by dissatisfaction with relations with England and also with the mistaken belief that it is the American policy to coerce them to surrender themselves and their territory to the United States. The United States cannot give Canada the advantages of statehood so long as she holds her relation with Great Britain. Canada must decide her own destiny by determining which affects her interests most—political relations with Great Britain or commercial and industrial association to the United States." (*House Executive Documents*, No. 94, 41-3, Vol. VIII, February 3, 1871, 39 pp.)

England and prevent her from interfering with Russian movements against Turkey. That the American claims could be adjusted by a treaty and by peaceful arbitration was not regarded as probable. The Russian minister, Catacazy, used methods at variance with diplomatic practice to defer or to prevent a peaceful adjustment with England. He did not hesitate to use the newspaper press to influence the public on questions pending before the government. A New York paper⁸⁵ contained a remarkable Washington letter on "Russia and America", which was at once attributed to him. Subsequently he attempted to prejudice and defeat the negotiations of the Anglo-American joint high commission and in the spring of 1871 after the Treaty of Washington had been signed, he continued his methods of interference to prevent the successful execution of its provisions, resulting in a request for his recall, to which Russia finally acceded, and which was followed by the recall of Curtin, the American minister at St. Petersburg.⁸⁶

The new policy of Canada made her anxious to see a prompt settlement of all Anglo-American disputes which affected her interests or her future destiny.⁸⁷ She needed tranquility, and recognized that friendly relations between the United States and Great Britain would prove as beneficial to Canada as to the empire. In urging her to pass the acts necessary to give effect to the treaty, Earl Kimberley, secretary of state for the colonies, emphasized the advantages which she derived by the settlement of the questions "imperiling perhaps the peace of the whole empire". Canada was not entirely satisfied, altho she emphatically disclaimed "the imputation of desiring to imperil the peace of the whole empire in order to force the American government to change its commercial policy". She did not consider that, in the settlement of the Alabama claims, England had secured such advantages as would require her to make further concessions at the expense of Canada.⁸⁸ After

⁸⁵ *New York World*, November 29, 1870; *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 5, 42-2, Vol. 1, December 7, 1871, 12; Fish to Curtin, *ibid.*, No. 110, November 16, 1871.

⁸⁶ *Wheeling Intelligencer*, January, 1872; Moore, *International Law Digest*, VI, 27. *New York Times*, January 5 ("Gortchakoff on the Catacazy Trouble"), and January 17 ("Russian Complications with the United States on the Catacazy Business"), 1872; *New York Tribune*, January 15, 1872. *Desps. Rus.*, XXIV, No. 188, June, 1872, and No. 190, July 1, 1872. For the circumstances of Curtin's recall, see *New York Times*, January 29, 1872.

⁸⁷ *Contemporary Review*, XXI (March, 1873).

⁸⁸ *Messages, Despatches, and Minutes* of the Privy Council relative to the Treaty of Washington (Ottawa, 1872), (State Department Pamphlets, No. 8486), Canada, No. 444, Kimberley to Lord Lisgar (governor-general), June 17, 1871; No. 149, Lisgar to Kimberley, August 15, 1871.

some controversy the Dominion Privy Council, on January 22, 1872, still adhering to previous objections, but admitting the unprofitableness of prolonged controversial discussion on points of difference, proposed that the imperial government as a means of surmounting the difficulties in the way of obtaining the consent of the Canadian Parliament to the measures necessary to give effect to the treaty should propose to Parliament a guarantee for a Canadian loan not to exceed £4,000,000 to aid in constructing a railway to the Pacific and in enlarging and extending the Canadian canals. The British government agreed to guarantee a Canadian loan of £2,500,000 as soon as the treaty should take effect; and on April 15, 1872, the Canadian Privy Council, feeling it was "their duty in the interests of both Canada and the empire at large", reluctantly accepted the modified proposition. The maritime provinces also passed appropriate legislation for carrying the treaty into effect.

In the meantime the American movement for excluding the Dominion from the Pacific coast, by peacefully securing control of the entire region between Alaska and Washington Territory, had been frustrated by a new Canadian counter-movement. British Columbia (including Vancouver Island) was finally "enticed into the confederation" only by the promise of a railway to the Pacific.⁸⁹ On May 26, 1871, she was united to the Dominion of Canada after a heated debate in the Canadian Parliament on the question of agreeing to the clause providing for the construction of a transcontinental railway, which British Columbia had exacted as a condition of her accession to the union. Canada agreed to begin the road within two years, and to complete it within ten years, but she did not complete it until 1883. Altho British Columbia contributed to the Dominion an irritating Alaskan boundary dispute⁹⁰ which was not settled until 1902, its annexation was a factor of the greatest importance and significance in connection with the destiny of Canada and the later development of the British empire.

⁸⁹ P. Bender, "Canadian View of Annexation", in *North American Review*, April, 1888.

⁹⁰ Thomas Hodgkins, Q. C., *British and American Diplomacy affecting Canada* (Toronto, 1900), 89-100; Hodgkins, "The Alaska-Canadian Boundary Dispute", *Canadian Law Review*, 525-537 (September, 1902).

SOME INTER-RELATIONSHIPS IN CANADIAN-
AMERICAN HISTORY

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SOME INTER-RELATIONSHIPS IN CANADIAN-AMERICAN HISTORY

IN view of the fact that so many interesting and important parallels exist in the history of the two countries, it is rather surprising that so little attention has been given to the study of the history of Canada in the colleges and universities of the United States and likewise so little attention to the history of the United States in Canadian institutions of higher learning. Several factors have contributed to this situation. In the first place, the development of Canadian nationalism within the British commonwealth of nations, while comparatively rapid, has been gradual, and it has been easy for Americans to continue to regard Canada merely as a colony belonging to the British Empire. The impartial study in either country of the history of the other has also been delayed by the influence of old misunderstandings. The old popular antipathy to Great Britain which was transmitted from one generation of Americans to another by elementary textbooks in American history and by the tendency of earlier American generations to look forward to the ultimate annexation to the United States of British North America not only delayed the recognition of the fact that another nation with Anglo-Saxon institutions was growing up alongside the American republic but it also tended to place Canada in a sort of defensive attitude,—defensive against ideas as well as against facts or conditions.

The World War influenced American thought in many important respects, many of which we cannot at present determine or evaluate. Two facts, however, which stand out more clearly as a result of the history of the last decade are the necessity for greater international coöperation and an advance in the status of Canada from a position as a self-governing colony belonging to the British Empire to that of a nation within the British commonwealth of nations. This latter fact not only justifies but demands that Canadian history should receive more serious attention by American scholars. Lines of economic activity do not always coincide

with national boundaries, and the drawing of an artificial line from the Atlantic to the Pacific, which we call the boundary line between the United States and Canada, has little effect upon that economic activity except in so far as intercourse is modified by artificial tariff regulations. The international boundary line has been a sort of Chinese wall, however, so far as the serious study of the history of either of the two countries by the other is concerned, and this situation has tended to prevent or obstruct the true interpretation of many movements or developments in the history of the two countries. Many facts in American history cannot be properly understood without a knowledge of the history of Canada, and many developments in the history of one country illustrate corresponding developments in the other. The purpose of this paper is to point out some of the parallels in the history of the two countries and to indicate some ways in which the history of one country has been influenced by the history of the other. Much research by American and Canadian scholars will be necessary before the full significance of all of these inter-relationships will be fully appreciated and interpreted, but enough has already been done to indicate some of the influences which one of these countries has had upon the other.

When New France was transferred to Great Britain in 1763 as a result of Wolfe's victory over Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham, certain lines of development were started which have influenced conditions on the North American continent from that day to this. Some of these influences have been fully appreciated and, so far as present information permits, they have been properly interpreted. In some ways, however, we have probably missed the full truth because of our failure to view American developments at times from the Canadian point of view and because we have not rated at its full value the influence which Canada has had upon our history. The Proclamation of 1763 is a good illustration of the difficulty or impossibility of understanding a fact without viewing it from *all angles*. To most men of that day the obvious purpose of the proclamation was to put a barrier to westward expansion on the part of the English colonies in America in order, as Lord Hillsborough later said, to keep them in greater commercial and political subjection.¹ Professors

¹ George Henry Alden, *New Governments West of the Alleghenies before 1780* here by Authority of Parliament, was a principal Cause of setting them upon petitioning

Alvord, Carter, and others have shown that British statesmen had something of a conception of the fact that a new and larger British Empire had come into existence as a result of the Seven-Years' War, and that the Proclamation of 1763 was only a temporary step until a larger and more satisfactory imperial policy could be determined upon. The American West of that day, the region between the mountains and the Mississippi River, presented many difficult problems to the governing authorities in England, and it was, without doubt, an extremely important factor to be considered in the formulation of a new imperial policy, but its importance in the minds of the British statesmen of that day might easily be exaggerated. The West was a region which was little understood at that time and, so far as it was concerned, Indian relations and the fur trade seemed to be the two problems most pressing for solution. Until a definite policy could be determined upon, the logical thing for British statesmen to do, or to try to do, was to limit westward migration or to divert the stream of migration elsewhere than to the West where difficulties with the Indians were certain to be encountered. The West was not the only problem, however, and possibly not the most difficult one, which British statesmen faced. The Treaty of 1763 transferred Canada to Great Britain, and Canada was inhabited by French people who had no desire to become Englishmen. On the contrary, there was a determination, not fully appreciated by those in authority in England not only at that time but for many years afterwards, on the part of the French Canadians to retain their racial identity. This situation presented a new colonial problem to British ministers. The first thought of the British ministry was that Canada would become an English colony, and it was upon this supposition that British policy was formulated. The four new colonies defined in the Proclamation of 1763 were to have representative assemblies "so soon as the state and circumstances of the said Colonies will admit thereof",² and it was hoped that this liberal provision would attract English settlers to these regions and thus relieve the pressure on the Indian frontier west of the mountains.

² Lords of Trade to Earl of Halifax, October 4, 1763, and *Privy Council Register*, Geo. III, p. 112. Also the Commission to James Murray as governor of Quebec. These documents are published in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (Ottawa, 1918), I, 156, 159, 165, 175, 185.

In the instructions issued to Governor Murray in December, 1763, it was stated that it was the intention of the British ministry that an assembly should be called as promised in the Proclamation of 1763.³ British experience with English colonists in America had already revealed some weaknesses in the colonial system of government, however, and some of these defects were to be corrected in the proposed government for Canada. The instructions to Governor Murray stated that "the Members of several Assemblies in the Plantations have frequently assumed to themselves Privileges no ways belonging to them", particularly in claiming protection from suits at law during their terms of office, by adjourning themselves at pleasure without first obtaining leave from the governor, and by framing money bills without allowing the Council to alter or amend them, and these practices were not to be permitted in the government of Quebec.⁴ The provision in the Treaty of 1763 that the inhabitants of Canada might "profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit", was to be observed, but land was to be set aside to establish and maintain "Protestant" ministers and schoolmasters who should be licensed by the Lord Bishop of London.⁵ Thus while efforts were to be made to attract English settlers to the new colony, the colonial officials were to hold them in check and keep them from developing such tendencies of independent action as had already appeared in the colonies along the Atlantic coast. It was also hoped that perhaps the French Canadians might in time become good "Protestants" as well as good Englishmen.

Civil government was formally established in Canada on August 10, 1764, and on September 17 civil courts were established by ordinance.⁶ It long remained a matter of some doubt as to just what extent English law was substituted for French law and custom, and the legality of any such substitution being made by proclamation rather than by act of Parliament was finally questioned in Canada.⁷

Influenced partly no doubt by the promises of liberal government, some English-speaking settlers soon appeared in

³ Shortt and Doughty, *op. cit.*, I, 185.

⁴ Canadian Archives, M. 230, p. 1, published in *ibid.*, I, 187.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 192.

⁶ Canadian Archives, M. 230, p. 1, in *ibid.*, I, 187.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 192.

the new colony. These men were interested primarily in trade, and they were extremely anxious to secure the liberal government, including an assembly, which had been promised them. As a consequence they were soon at outs with Governor Murray and the leading French Canadians who knew nothing and cared nothing for an assembly. Governor Murray regarded these English traders as "Licentious Fanaticks" who wanted to expel the French Canadians, and there soon developed the peculiar situation where a British governor took the side of the French Canadians, whom he characterized as "perhaps the bravest and best race upon the Globe", against his own countrymen.⁸ The Quebec traders petitioned the king for the redress of the grievances which they suffered at the hands of Governor Murray,⁹ and they were joined by the London merchants, who requested that the government of Canada be put "upon the same footing with the rest of your Majesty's American Colonies".¹⁰ Governor Murray, as well as Francis Maseres, who was appointed attorney-general of the province of Quebec in 1766, believed that the proposal for an assembly was premature. The bulk of the inhabitants were French Catholics, who could not sit in an assembly if one was established, and the government of the colony would consequently fall into the hands of a very small minority. Governor Murray wished to reconcile the French clergy and nobility to British rule and depend upon them to keep the *habitants* reconciled. This policy would be impossible if the English traders secured control of the government thru an assembly. The dispute became so bitter that Governor Murray was recalled to England in 1766 and was finally succeeded by Sir Guy Carleton. Instead of securing redress, however, the traders were in a worse situation than before because Sir Guy Carleton followed Murray's policy and became more and more determined to make Canada British by preventing it from becoming English. This policy, and Carleton's determination to maintain it, had important consequences.

As early as November, 1767, Carleton argued that Canada would never be settled by any large number of Englishmen, that the French element would always predominate in

⁸ Murray to Lords of Trade, October 29, 1764. Canadian Archives, Q. 2, p. 233, in *ibid.*, I, 231.

⁹ Canadian Archives, B. 8, p. 6, in *ibid.*, I, 232.

¹⁰ Canadian Archives, 10, in *ibid.*, I, 235, 236.

Quebec,¹¹ and that the policy announced in the Proclamation of 1763 would never be successful. In December, 1767, he again wrote to Shelburne arguing against the substitution of English for French law.¹² Under the old French system the *habitants* were held in subordination, as Carleton believed they should be, and they might be kept in that position if French law should be restored. The *habitants* were rapidly learning that they were not so completely under the control of the seigneurs as they had been before 1763, and Carleton viewed this situation with misgivings or alarm. Carleton stated that the French Canadians generally had not yet realized that their laws and customs had been abolished, but that when full realization did come "the Consternation would become General". The best method of correcting the mistake in policy, Carleton thought, would be to repeal the Ordinance of September 17, 1764, "as null and void in its own nature, and for the present leave the Canadian Laws almost entire".¹³ Such alterations as should later seem advisable could, and should, be made gradually "without risking the Dangers of too much Precipitation". Lord Hillsborough, in a letter to Carleton, March 6, 1768, acknowledged that a mistake had been made regarding Canada, and he expressed the hope that it would soon be corrected.¹⁴ The British government still intended to grant a general assembly to the province and in 1768 again instructed Carleton "to give all possible attention to the carrying this Important Object into Execution".¹⁵ Carleton did not take steps in this direction, however, and about 1770 a number of the English settlers again petitioned for an assembly.¹⁶ The French Canadians also petitioned for the restoration of French law and custom.¹⁷ Carleton went to England about this time, and, probably as a result of his arguments, action was taken in 1771 to restore the seignorial

¹¹ Carleton to Shelburne, November 25, 1767, Canadian Archives, Q. 4, p. 130, in Shortt and Doughty, *op. cit.*, I, 281-285.

¹² *Ibid.*, I, 288-291.

¹³ Carleton to Shelburne, December 24, 1767, Canadian Archives, Q. 5-1, p. 316, in *ibid.*, I, 288-291.

¹⁴ Hillsborough stated that he was at the Board of Trade in 1763 and knew "what was the Intention of those who drew the Proclamation, having myself been concerned therein; and I can take upon me to aver, that it never entered into our Idea to overturn the Laws and Customs of Canada, with regard to Property, . . ." Canadian Archives, Q. 5-1, p. 344, in *ibid.*, I, 297, 298.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 304.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 417, 418.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 419, 420.

system of land holding "as hath been practiced heretofore antecedent to the Conquest".¹⁸ This marked a beginning in the change of policy as announced in 1763, but the complete reversal did not come until the Quebec Act of 1774.

Meanwhile, the British ministry was giving serious thought to the matter of boundaries for the province of Quebec, particularly with respect to the Illinois Country. "There is no longer any Hope of perfecting that plan of Policy in respect to the interior of the Country, which was in contemplation when the Proclamation of 1763 was issued", Dartmouth wrote to Cramahé in December, 1773, adding that "many Circumstances with regard to the Inhabitancy of parts of that Country were then unknown, and there are a Variety of other Considerations that do, at least in my judgment, induce a doubt both of the Justice and Propriety of restraining the Colony to the narrow Limits prescribed in that Proclamation".¹⁹ Nothing having been done to grant an assembly, the English inhabitants again petitioned, in November, 1773, that this part of the Proclamation of 1763 be put into effect.²⁰ This action was caused, so Cramahé wrote to Dartmouth, by a rumor that Parliament intended to tax the colony.²¹

It is not necessary here to go into the full history of the Quebec Act, but we have probably missed part of the truth regarding this important measure because of our failure to give full consideration to the Canadian angle of the problem. For years it was generally believed in the United States, as the colonists believed at the time, that the Quebec Act was merely one of the Coercive Acts of 1774 intended to force the colonies into submission. It is now recognized that this view was erroneous, at least to the extent that was formerly believed. Professor Alvord has shown that the Mississippi Valley was a large factor in the formulation of the policy embodied in the Quebec Act, and his views are now generally accepted. It is doubtful, however, whether we have given adequate consideration to the situation in Canada at that

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 423.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 485, 486.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 493-497.

²¹ "His majesty's old subjects in this Province, tho' collected from all Parts of His extensive Dominions, have in General, at least such as intend remaining in the Country, adopted American Ideas in regard to Taxation, and a Report, transmitted from one of their Correspondents in Britain, that a Duty upon Spirits was intended to be raised here by Authority of Parliament, was a principal Cause of setting them upon petitioning for an Assembly, . . ." *Ibid.*, I, 503, 504.

time. Sir Guy Carleton was in England between 1770 and 1774 and was consulted by British ministers in regard to the formulation of the new policy regarding Canada, and one of Carleton's chief points was to reconcile the French Canadians by extending privileges to the clergy and nobility. In other words, Sir Guy Carleton was trying to prevent the development in Canada of the revolutionary ideas then prevalent in the English North American colonies. For this reason the English traders with their demands for an assembly received little favorable consideration. The French clergy and nobility must be satisfied at all odds for they could then be depended upon to keep the *habitants* quiet. This is the reason why such favorable provisions for these classes were included in the Quebec Act. With clergy and nobility satisfied there would be no rebellion in Canada even if matters should come to the worst in the English colonies, and further if war should come between the colonies and the mother country, Canada would be a good base for military operations against the rebels. This was the substance of Carleton's policy, and it was embodied in the provisions of the Quebec Act. As one Canadian historian has said, "The Quebec Act was formed with an eye fixed, not on Quebec, but on Boston."²² This phase of the problem should receive more consideration than some American historians at present are inclined to give it if the full truth about the Quebec Act is to be known.

Late in the year 1773, the British ministry seems to have begun to give serious consideration to the formulation of a new policy regarding Canada. A "Memorandum on Government of Quebec", found among the papers of Lord Dartmouth, stated that the first action necessary was "to get rid of the Proclamation of 1763 with the Commissions & Ordinances depending thereon and to restore the old Law and Constitution".²³ In getting rid of the Proclamation of 1763, however, there was no intention of encouraging settlement in the western country by white men from the English colonies. The Illinois Country was annexed to Quebec partly to right the wrong of 1763 when the settlers in the Illinois villages were left without civil government, but a chief reason for this action was that the French clergy and nobility re-

²² Duncan McArthur in Shortt and Doughty (eds.), *Canada and Its Provinces*, III, 45.

²³ Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, I, 533, 534.

quested it, and the British ministry was trying, as far as possible, to satisfy these classes.²⁴ The former policy of trying to make Quebec English was definitely reversed in the Quebec Act, and it was determined to keep Quebec French, even to the extent of discouraging the immigration of English settlers. The restoration of French civil law was in large measure an act of justice, but this provision together with feudal land tenures and the guarantees given to the Roman Catholic clergy would tend to make Canada, and the Illinois Country, objectionable as a field for settlement by English colonists. This was what the French clergy and nobility wanted, and this was attempted by the Quebec Act.²⁵ In actual practice these objectionable features had little effect upon the movement of population into the region covered by the Quebec Act. Americans went to Canada and the West as readily as they violated the injunctions of the Proclamation of 1763 about settling west of the divide or as they later went into Texas and took oath to be good Mexicans and good Catholics.

As to the consequences of the change of policy announced in the Quebec Act, little need be said here. Whether it really was, or was not, part of the coercive policy of the British government, the colonists regarded it as such, and it thus became one of the causes of revolution. By keeping the French clergy and nobility satisfied and loyal the measure probably had some influence in keeping Canada from following the English colonies into rebellion. It is certain that Arnold and Montgomery did not receive the assistance which they probably expected when they invaded Canada in 1775. Even if this be true, however, Great Britain paid a price for that loyalty on the part of the French clergy and nobility. The Quebec Act became a sort of charter of liberties to the French Canadians and had a lasting influence in Canadian history. Measured by its consequences, immediate and remote, the Quebec Act was one of the most important measures ever passed by the British Parliament regarding British North America.

This reversal of policy towards Canada in 1774 forms an interesting step in the process by which responsible government was finally worked out in Canada. Between 1763 and

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 541, 542, and notes.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 552, 553, and notes.

1774 the idea was that Canada would become an English colony, with certain modifications of government to check the tendency towards independent action on the part of the colony. Between 1774 and 1791 the policy of the British government was, as Sir Guy Carleton's policy had been for some years before that time, to make Quebec British by preventing it from becoming English. In the meantime, however, other important factors had entered into the situation as a result of the American Revolution, and the principles of the Quebec Act instead of solving the problem greatly aggravated the situation.

Because of the migration of Loyalists from the revolting British colonies to Canada, the American Revolution had far-reaching consequences in Canadian as well as in American history. Except for that event coming when it did the maritime provinces of Canada would doubtless have developed along much the same lines as did the New England colonies. New Englanders were already going into Nova Scotia before 1775, and the natural trade routes were, and are today, between these maritime provinces and New England. During the American Revolution, the British fleet prevented whatever tendency there might otherwise have been for that part of the population of Nova Scotia which had migrated from New England making common cause with the revolting colonies, and there was something of a tendency in that direction. During and after the Revolutionary War the migration of Loyalists changed the character of the population of Nova Scotia and swamped the older New England influence.

With respect to the Loyalists, as in the case of the Quebec Act, there has been a change of interpretation by American historians, and here again it is necessary to consider the Canadian angle of the problem. Some American historians may even have gone too far in their defense of the Loyalists to be entirely correct.²⁶ The expulsion from the United States of the large number of Loyalists, who were conservative, had much to do with the radical tendencies of the period of the Confederation and with the ultimate triumph of democracy in the United States. Great as were the effects upon the United States, however, the effects upon the history of Canada

²⁶ "Indeed, some of these writers, in their anxiety to stand straight, have leaned backwards; and by no one perhaps will the ultra-Tory view of the Revolution be found as clearly expressed as by them." W. Stewart Wallace, *The United Empire Loyalists* (*Chronicles of Canada Series* (Toronto, 1921), II).

were even greater. The Loyalist element became very strong in Nova Scotia and in the province of Quebec, and the Loyalist migration caused the creation of two new provinces, New Brunswick and Upper Canada. Loyalist influence upon the development of the Canadian constitution was equally pronounced in that it brought about another change of policy on the part of the British ministry with respect to the government of Canada.²⁷ Altho they wished to live under British rule, the Loyalists carried with them to Canada their ideas of, and desires for, English institutions, including representative assemblies. In fact, many of the Loyalists had gone along in their political thinking with men who later became Patriots almost to the point of independence. While they were not willing to break the tie which bound them to the British Empire, many of the Loyalists had disapproved of the British policy with respect to taxation in the years before 1775. These Loyalists went in large numbers to the province of Quebec, the section which had been set off by the Quebec Act as a region which was intended to be French, with French civil law, feudal land tenures, and the Catholic religion. Conflict in interests and aspirations was the inevitable outcome of this situation, and a change of policy on the part of the British government became imperative. The French Canadians regarded the guarantees contained in the Quebec Act as being in the nature of a sacred compact, and this greatly complicated the problem of colonial government.²⁸

The Constitutional Act of 1791 was by no means a solution of the British problem of colonial government. By this act Canada was to be divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. The population of Upper Canada was chiefly English, but that of Lower Canada was predominantly French, and whatever English element was there was effectually swamped by the French. Moreover, the system of government as provided in the Act of 1791 proved to be unworkable. It has sometimes been said in the United States

²⁷ "La guerre de l'indépendance américaine, à part son influence sur les vues de la politique britannique à l'égard du gouvernement des dépendances, réagit d'une façon très prononcée sur le développement de la constitution canadienne. . . . L'acte constitutionnel de 1791 fut une heureuse tentative de parer aux nécessités de l'heure." Arthur G. Doughty et Duncan McArthur, *Documents relatifs à L'Histoire Constitutionnelle du Canada, 1791-1818*. Introduction, o. x.

²⁸ "It was the settlement of Upper Canada that rendered the Quebec Act of 1774 obsolete, and made necessary the Constitutional Act of 1791, which granted to the Canadas representative assemblies." Wallace, *op. cit.*, 6.

that Great Britain learned a lesson from the American Revolution regarding the government of colonies. Whatever truth there may be in this statement in a general way, it is quite certain that no such lesson had been completely learned by 1791. On the surface, the government of the Canadas after 1791 resembles that of an English colony before 1776, but there were important differences. It is true that there was an assembly, but that assembly was not given the power, nor the possibility of securing it, which had been enjoyed by the earlier English colonies.²⁹ Actual government was vested in the lieutenant-governor, the executive council, which was appointed by him, and the legislative council, also appointed by him. These agencies could block the measures proposed by the assembly. There could be but one outcome of the experiment of transplanting English institutions into French Lower Canada, confusion and final deadlock.³⁰ This form of government existed until after the Rebellions of 1837-1838, and under it small groups of men, the "Family Compact" in Upper Canada and the "Chateau Clique" in Lower Canada, maintained control in spite of all efforts at reform.

The Loyalists were not the only Americans who went to Canada in the years between the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Colonel John Graves Simcoe became lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada in 1791 and was very energetic in building up the new province. While the chief feature of Simcoe's policy was to build up the province on a military basis, he encouraged the migration of Americans to Upper Canada. Simcoe had so much faith in the excellence of English institutions that he believed there were many people still residing in the United States who thought as he did and who would gladly come to live under British rule if given encouragement to migrate. He adopted a land policy whereby it was easy for Americans to obtain land in Upper Canada by taking the required oath of allegiance to the king. Some of the Americans who migrated to Canada at that time were

²⁹ The Constitutional Act of 1791 is printed in Shortt and Doughty, *Documents*, II, 1031-1051.

³⁰ "The Constitutional Act granted British institutions of government to a community prepared and determined to employ them for the purpose of extinguishing all else that was British. Principles fundamentally contradictory were introduced and a conflict became inevitable. The history of the succeeding fifty years is but the story of the contest between conservatism allied with British constitutional principles and reform sheltered beneath the protection of authority." McArthur, in Shortt and Doughty (eds.), *Canada and Its Provinces*, III, 138.

land speculators who eventually returned to the United States after selling the land thus easily obtained, but many of them remained and became permanent settlers in Upper Canada.

The migration of population back and forth between the United States and Canada, together with its influences, merits a more detailed study than it has yet received, and it is still an important problem for Canada.³¹ The word "land" goes far in explaining this early migration of colonists, as well as in explaining much in regard to the War of 1812, the assistance given to the Canadian rebels in 1837-1838,³² and the migration of Americans to the western provinces of Canada in our own day. The settlement and development of Canada is comparable in many ways to the history of the American West. Our frontier disappeared some forty years ago, but Canada still has a frontier, and its influences are operating there much as ours did here. In this respect conditions may be found in Canada today which have disappeared forever from the United States. A journey of only thirty or forty miles from Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion of Canada, brings one today to primeval conditions where a white man dares not go without compass or Indian guide.

In regard to the history of the West, there are many interesting parallels in the history of the two countries. The stories of explorations, internal improvements, the tariff, public land policy, banking, sectionalism, agrarian unrest, and many other topics have a striking similarity in the two countries. Sectional differences are inevitable in countries as large as the United States and Canada. What seems to satisfy Ontario and Quebec today in the way of a protective tariff may prove very unsatisfactory to the maritime or prairie provinces. One sees evidence of the clash of sectional interests in Canadian newspapers today just as he does in our states. In Nova Scotia some people are inclined at times to raise the question whether that province derives more good than harm by being included in the Dominion of Canada. A recent editorial in a Nova Scotia newspaper states the question clearly and answers it conclusively:

³¹ During an extended tour of Canada, including the maritime provinces, in the summer of 1925, one of the most frequent comments which the writer heard in regard to Canadian economic conditions was that some policy must be adopted to keep young Canadians from migrating to the United States.

³² The writer hopes to develop this topic at greater length in a forthcoming article.

In the first place, Nova Scotia is a part of the Dominion of Canada, and, whether we like it or not, must continue as such while the Dominion stands. We believe that this Province was cunningly seduced, at the beginning, grossly deceived and unlawfully coerced, in the end, into Confederation. We believe that its interests were not foreseen, and not properly safeguarded by those who negotiated and procured the enactment by the British Parliament of the terms of Union. This, we have always believed and asserted; this, we still contend. But we recognize that, after nearly sixty years, it has become a matter of opinion concerning "ancient history". We are in the Dominion, and we must make the best of it.³³

The *Winnipeg Free Press* has been a rather severe critic of the policies pursued by the Dominion government, evidently believing that the interests of the agricultural West are sacrificed to those of the industrial East. The *Free Press* believes that the "so-called national policies are in very large measure policies sectional in their origin and in their operation". To these statements the *Ottawa Journal* makes the following reply:

Nothing but gain can come to any part of Canada from prosperity in the West. It is the selfish interest of all of us, East as well as West, to see that the West prospers to the utmost. Nobody but a fool, or a newspaper blinded by sectional selfishness and misled by self-satisfaction, like the *Winnipeg Free Press*, could dream that any intelligent person in the eastern provinces of the Dominion could feel anything but pride in the West, and desire to go the limit to coöperate with it.

This Canada of ours is a vast country. Many of our provinces are larger than the largest kingdoms of Europe. It is impossible, in such a country, that public policies of any kind shall be equally well suited or equally profitable to all parts. One part may benefit most by some public course, another part may benefit most by another public course. But what all of us in the Canadian brotherhood should look to and have a right to expect all to look to, is that in discussion of public policy, while each of us argues his own view, he shall not accuse those who differ with him of differing because they dislike him, want to hurt him, are narrow-minded, jealous, selfish. But this latter is the customary manifestation of the *Winnipeg Free Press* in its discussion of subjects in which the West is concerned with national action. Everybody East will agree that "a Canadian citizen on the banks of the Red has just as much right to his view" as one who lives anywhere else; but it is reasonable to think also that he ought to have the common decency not to keep crying that Canadian citizens elsewhere hate him and want to murder him.³⁴

Just how it came about that two nations of the federal type of government, both based on English institutions, one with

³³ *The Morning Chronicle* (Halifax), July 11, 1925.

³⁴ *The Ottawa Journal*, July 24, 1925.

the presidential form and the other with the cabinet form of government, grew up side by side on the continent of North America is an interesting study. The American colonies declared their independence of Great Britain before the cabinet system of government had been perfected, or was fully understood, and thus the United States missed whatever advantages this system of government may possess. Canada, on the other hand, remained with the mother country and finally came to enjoy "responsible" government within the Empire. There is a striking similarity in the steps by which the United States Constitution and the British North American Act of 1867, which constitutes an important part of the Canadian constitution, were made. The American student who reads of the Charlottetown conference, and its adjournment to Halifax, and finally of the Quebec conference, of 1864, is continually reminded of our Alexandria conference, Annapolis convention, and Philadelphia convention. The labors, the anxiety, and the compromises of Madison, Jay, Wilson, and Hamilton have parallels in those of John A. MacDonald, George Brown, D'Arcy McGee, and A. T. Galt. In both cases the "Fathers" worked amid the greatest difficulties and discouragements, and in both cases they builded even better than they dared to dream. The creation and the development of two such nations as the United States and the Dominion of Canada by Anglo-Saxon peoples are no mean achievement, and not only have two such nations grown up side by side but they have given to the world a practical demonstration that neighboring peoples can live together in friendship and that fortified boundaries and armed vessels of war are not always the best guarantees of peace.

Altho the American government was built upon a British foundation, our political system differs in at least two fundamental points from the English constitution. These points are the theory of the separation of powers and the doctrine of constitutional limitations. Perhaps no point of the American government has been believed in more thoroly than the idea that the division of power among legislative, executive, and judicial departments is essential to the preservation and enjoyment of political liberty, and yet this idea was founded upon a misconception of fact, it was never applied in practice as it was thought of in theory, and it may well be questioned

whether or not it is sound political science. So thoroly have we believed in the saving grace of this political formula that we have applied it to all forms of government, federal, state, and municipal. Within the last twenty-five years we have largely given up the idea when applied to municipal government, we are now considering how state governments may be reconstructed on the city manager plan in order to make them more efficient and more responsive to the public will, and the day may come when Americans will consider this theory as a fundamental defect in our federal government.

That the theory of the separation of powers became so thoroly intrenched in American political thought was due largely to Montesquieu, who made his study of English political institutions before the cabinet system of government was perfected and who transmitted to the Americans of the eighteenth century the misconceptions which he held regarding the English government. It is a rather striking and interesting fact that Anglo-Saxon peoples have often made their greatest contributions to political science when they were deliberately trying to do the opposite of what really constituted the achievement. The English people were trying to bring about a separation of powers and prevent the growth of the Cabinet. Montesquieu "was only assuming as accomplished an ideal at which the House of Commons deliberately aimed in the early part of the eighteenth century".³⁵ The Cabinet was developing by convention rather than by law, and this made it more difficult to understand. For this reason also Blackstone and other eighteenth-century writers gave misleading accounts of the English government as it actually was.³⁶ Montesquieu's chief error was that he thot he saw what was not there, while Blackstone's fault was that he used old terms to describe new political concepts. The chief mistake that the American lawyers of the eighteenth century made was to accept Montesquieu and Blackstone at face value without any qualifications or mental reservations whatever. In this way the theory of the separation of powers found its way into American political

³⁵ Albert F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament* (London, 1920), 237.

³⁶ A. V. Dicey, *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (London, 1915), 8th ed., 8, 9. Dicey quotes at length from Blackstone's *Commentaries* and then adds: "The language of this passage is impressive; . . . It has but one fault; the statements it contains are the direct opposite of the truth. . . . The terms used by the commentator were, when he used them, unreal, and known to be so."

thought and became one of the chief foundation stones upon which our political institutions were constructed.³⁷

Another eighteenth-century idea that has played a large part in the American government is that of distrust. This idea follows logically from the theory of the separation of powers. Since officials could not be trusted, no group of officials should have sufficient power to do harm. Hence followed our whole system of checks and balances by means of which we have often been lulled into a position of false security, a sort of fools' paradise, while the politicians have played politics at our expense to their heart's content. When one considers the number of times since 1865 that Congress (one or both houses) has been in the hands of one political party while the executive department has been in the hands of the other party, it might well make one wonder whether or not something might be defective in our machinery of government, and whether or not the system of checks and balances is all that it has sometimes been thought to be. Not only was there distrust of officials but there was distrust of democracy in the eighteenth century. Two evils which the makers of the United States Constitution hoped would never be visited upon the young nation in whose welfare and happiness they were sincerely interested were political parties and democracy, and yet both became characteristic features of American political history. This is an illustration of the fact that a later generation often regards as an achievement what an earlier generation regards as a danger to be avoided.

The achievement of "responsible" government in Canada illustrates the same point. Just how colonial authorities could be responsible to a colonial legislature and still the district represented by such a legislature continue to be part of the British Empire was a problem which seemed to present insuperable difficulties. Said Lord John Russell in 1837:

That part of the constitution which requires that the ministers of the crown shall be responsible to Parliament and shall be removable if they do not obtain the confidence of Parliament is a condition which exists in an imperial legislature and in an imperial legislature only. It is a condition which cannot be carried into effect in a colony—it is a condition which can only exist in one place, namely the seat of empire.³⁸

³⁷ In this discussion the writer is under constant obligation to the writings of Professors Dicey and Pollard.

³⁸ Quoted in William P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada* (London, 1922), 177.

In spite of the impossibility of such a situation, however, Lord John Russell lived to see "responsible" government an accomplished fact in Canadian history, and, instead of the severing of Canada's connection with the British Empire being the result, the opposite effect was produced.

In regard to constitutional limitations there is some similarity between the situations in the United States and Canada.

Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland enjoy wide freedom to change their constitutions, but Canada has no authority either to alter the distribution of legislative powers or to vary the essential form of government. . . . All changes made in the constitution of 1867, other than those of small detail, have required imperial legislation. . . . Canada is thus dependent on the imperial parliament for any important alterations in the instrument of government.³⁹

This sounds to an American very much like the necessity of first securing an amendment to the Constitution before legislation of a particular character may be legal.

Many other parallels and relationships in Canadian-American history might easily be enumerated and discussed. Such points as annexation movements,⁴⁰ reciprocity,⁴¹ and the influence of the United States upon the formation of the Dominion of Canada⁴² have been treated elsewhere. Anyone familiar with the history of the two countries could doubtless suggest many others. With a more careful consideration in each country of the history of the other, more significance will be seen in many points of history. As stated above, the erection in the new world of two such nations as the United States and Canada is an Anglo-Saxon achievement of world importance. The next century will doubtless witness some such development in Canada as the last century has witnessed in the United States. With friendship and mutual understanding what may these two nations not accomplish in the history of the world!

³⁹ Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada*, 450.

⁴⁰ See Professor James Morton Callahan's essay in this volume.

⁴¹ Allin, C. D., and Jones, G. M., *Annexation, Preferential Trade, and Reciprocity* (Toronto, 1911).

⁴² Trotter, R. G., "Some American Influences upon the Canadian Federation Movement", in *Canadian Historical Review*, V, 213-227 (September, 1924).

JOHN BROWN

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JOHN BROWN

JOHN BROWN was born at Torrington, Conn., May 9, 1800. He was of good New England stock, being of the sixth generation from Peter Brown, an English carpenter who came over in the *Mayflower* and who signed the famous compact in the cabin of that vessel. When about five years of age he was taken to Ohio. His youth was uneventful. At the age of twenty he was married.¹ Several years later his first wife died and he married again. Twenty children were born of these two marriages.² He was by turns a tanner, a surveyor, a sheep farmer, and a wool merchant, but was unsuccessful in everything, went thru bankruptcy, and in 1842 did time in the county jail at Akron, Ohio.³ In 1849 he went to North Elba, N.Y., where at this time his "body lies a-mouldering in the grave".⁴

When about forty years of age he seems to have adopted opposition to slavery as the great purpose of his life.⁵ He was not influenced by any of the usual motives which control men, such as wealth, fame, or power. To him slavery was the sum of all villainies, and to resist it was the most noble of all purposes.

In 1854, four of his sons and other of his kindred joined the ever-increasing procession of emigrants moving to the westward and settled in Kansas.⁶ They did not go to fight, but they did believe that the territory should be free. They built their humble cabins on Pottawatomie Creek and hoped to make homes for themselves in peace, but this was not to be. The proslavery marauders were coming into the territory at this time in considerable numbers for the avowed purpose of insulting, plundering, and driving out the men who believed that the soil of Kansas should be free.

¹ John Brown, *Autobiography*; James Redpath, *Life of Captain John Brown* (Boston, 1860), 24-35.

² F. B. Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown* (Boston, 1885), 40, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 97.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 202.

At first John Brown did not plan to go to Kansas. The hardships of his sons in the new country and the desire to resist the encroachments of the proslavery invaders caused him to change his mind, however, and, after a long and tedious journey, he arrived at their settlement, October 6, 1855.⁷

He was soon given a commission as "Captain" in the forces of the free state men,⁸ and quickly became the most aggressive and militant of their leaders in the dreadful guerrilla warfare that had recently begun in Kansas.

For two years he engaged in this border warfare. He is credited with two so-called victories and one deliberate butchery of five unarmed proslavery men who were dragged from their homes under cover of darkness and killed in the most fiendish and brutal manner.⁹

In January, 1857, he was in Boston and appeared before a joint committee of the General Court, or legislature, of Massachusetts. Here he related all that he had seen in Kansas in order to secure an appropriation of money to aid the free state cause in that territory.¹⁰ While in the East, he seems to have planned a stroke against slavery in some other part of the country than Kansas. This plan was communicated to some of his abolition friends. Strange as it may seem, he interested a large number of them in his scheme. Many of them were people of wealth or standing in the communities where they lived.

His idea was to secure a small body of trusty men, establish a rendezvous in the mountains of Virginia, make forays into the cultivated districts, seize, arm, and liberate slaves. He thought he could fortify himself against attack, subsist on the enemy, and make slavery insecure. He believed that the field of his operations could be extended indefinitely, that recruits would join him, and that in the worst event he could retreat to the North or into Canada.¹¹

An adventurer from Europe was engaged to drill the men whom Brown had enlisted for this purpose. Being of a greedy

⁷ Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 200 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁹ These "executions" have been defended by many of Brown's admirers. Redpath, *op. cit.*, chap. i; Sanborn, *op. cit.*, chap. ix. No unprejudiced modern historian justifies them. See James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (7 vols., New York, 1893-1914), II, 164, and Oswald Garrison Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859* (Boston, 1910), 181.

¹⁰ Redpath, *op. cit.*, 176 ff. No appropriation was made, however.

¹¹ Villard, *op. cit.*, 313 ff.

and unscrupulous disposition, he endeavored to extort money from Brown's eastern friends. Failing in this, he informed Senators Wilson, Sumner, Seward, and other prominent persons of the scheme. They promptly interposed such objections to it that any further thought of it was out of the question.¹²

On June 25, 1858, John Brown was in Lawrence, Kan., again. Formerly smooth shaven, he now wore a long, white, patriarchal beard which served as a partial disguise. He assumed the name of Shubel Morgan and soon had another small company of men enlisted and armed for further fighting.¹³

In December of that year a negro appeared at the cabin door of one of the followers of "Osawatomie" Brown, as he had now come to be known from the name of the town where one of his battles had been fought. The negro belonged to a Missouri slave-owner, who was about to sell him. He begged for assistance to escape. Brown immediately responded. With two companies he marched into Missouri, liberated eleven slaves, seized numerous horses belonging to the owners of the negroes, and returned to Kansas. He and a few of his followers conducted the slaves safely thru Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, and Michigan to Windsor in Canada. While on the way he was given much assistance and encouragement by Quaker and abolition friends and admirers. The governor of Missouri offered a reward of \$3,000 for the capture and return of Brown to that state. To this President Buchanan offered an additional reward of \$250. Brown replied with a printed handbill offering the sum of \$2.50 for the capture and delivery at Trading Post of James Buchanan "well tied".¹⁴

Kansas saw no more of Osawatomie Brown, but he had never given up the idea of striking a blow at slavery in Virginia. He was not the kind of a man to give up such an enterprise after having fully decided to undertake it. To his abolition friends and admirers in New England and elsewhere, he was a hero whose career was well worthy to be encouraged. They now aided him with money and arms and did not ask too many questions. His equipment of arms consisted of

¹² *Ibid.*, 338, 339; Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 427 ff.

¹³ Brown to his son John Brown, Jr., August 9, 1858, in Villard, *op. cit.*, 354, 355; Redpath, *op. cit.*, 199 ff.

¹⁴ William E. Connelley, *John Brown*, 324-327; Villard, *op. cit.*, 379 ff.

200 Sharpe's rifles, the same number of revolvers, and 950 pikes. The pikes were the weapons which he thought rescued slaves could use to the best advantage.¹⁵

After mature deliberation he resolved to strike a blow at Harper's Ferry, Va., which is on the south side of the Potomac River at the mouth of the Shenandoah. A bridge spanned the river here and made access from the Maryland side very easy. In July, Brown rented what was known as the Kennedy farm. It was about four miles from Harper's Ferry almost north and in an unsuspecting neighborhood. His followers gradually joined him at that place. There were twenty-two in the company, including John Brown himself. Five of them were negroes. Parties of these men could often be seen looking about and occasionally filling bags with what they said was ore of valuable minerals.¹⁶

Quietly and gradually the arms for their enterprise were shipped to Chambersburg, Pa., and from that place conveyed to the Kennedy farm in large boxes, addressed to I. Smith and Sons.¹⁷ Everything being in readiness, it was decided to strike the blow on Sunday night, October 16, 1859. Brown now called his followers about him and, like a Scottish chieftain who had summoned his clansmen, gave them final instructions concerning the proposed attack. He urged them to respect life and not to kill unless absolutely necessary to save their own lives.¹⁸

Several of these men had been with Brown in Kansas; one was a brother of the wife of Governor Willard of Indiana;¹⁹ one of his negroes had been educated at Oberlin College; all doubtless understood their leader and were men worthy of a better cause. Two of them were left at the Kennedy farm that they might attend to certain matters later, while Brown with eighteen of his men, each armed with revolvers and a Sharpe's rifle, moved forward in darkness and in silence.

The telegraph wires were cut on the Maryland side of the river, the watchman at the bridge seized, guards placed there,

¹⁵ Sanborn, *op. cit.* 491, 493, 464; Blair's testimony in *Report of Senator Mason's Investigating Committee*.

¹⁶ *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (by himself), (Hartford, Conn., 1882), 325; Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 538-542; Villard, *op. cit.*, 403 ff.

¹⁷ Testimony before Mason's Committee.

¹⁸ Confession of John E. Cook, one of Brown's men captured and afterward hanged, in *New York Tribune*, November 26, 1859.

¹⁹ John E. Cook. He was defended in the Virginia courts by Daniel W. Voorhees, later a noted U.S. senator from Indiana. The Oberlin negro was J. A. Copeland, Jr. Villard, *op. cit.*, 680, 681, 684.

and then in turn the policeman on duty at the arsenal, the armory, and the engine-house near Harper's Ferry on the Virginia side were quietly seized and made prisoners. It was now midnight and Brown and his men were masters of Harper's Ferry. Six of them were sent out to bring in as prisoners two prominent planters living near with as many slaves as they could find, also teams, wagons, and other property of slaveholders. One of the men so captured was Colonel Lewis Washington, a relative of the first president. All of this was done so quietly that no alarm had been given to the town.²⁰

At 1:30 a.m., the Baltimore and Ohio train from the west came in. When the trainmen stepped upon the platform they were immediately arrested, and the train was held until almost daylight when it was allowed to proceed. In the meantime the station porter, a free negro, faithful and trustworthy, coming out on the bridge to look for the watchman was ordered to halt. He refused to do so and was instantly shot and mortally wounded by Brown's guard on the bridge. Their move for the liberation of slaves was begun by killing a harmless negro.²¹

When the northbound train was allowed to go forward, news of the affair was telegraphed from the first station beyond Harper's Ferry to Baltimore and elsewhere. When the people of Harper's Ferry awoke on the morning of Monday, October 17, it was to find their town in possession of an armed hostile force. Numerous citizens were seized and held as prisoners along with the captured planters as Brown's "hostages". Such arms as could be found in the town were brought out, an alarm was sounded, military companies began to come in, and fighting took place. Men fell on both sides. Finally a company crossed over to the Maryland side of the river and approached the bridge, which was soon taken. This cut off Brown's only chance to retreat. In a short time all of those not under his immediate command were killed, captured, or dispersed.²²

With his remaining followers and eleven of his most prominent prisoners, he went into the engine-house in the armory yard. This was a strong brick building without windows

²⁰ Mason's *Report*, 29-40; Villard, *op. cit.*, 431-433.

²¹ Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 555; Villard, *op. cit.*, 432-434; Mason's *Report*.

²² Alex. R. Boteler (an eye-witness), "Recollections of the John Brown Raid", in *Century Magazine*, XXVI, 404 ff. (July, 1883); Villard, *op. cit.*, 438 ff.

and with heavy oaken doors in front. In it were two old-fashioned fire engines. Here he prepared for a final stand. His prisoners were placed where there would be the least danger, the doors were barred, and portholes cut thru the walls. During the entire afternoon of Monday, October 17, a terrific fire was poured upon the engine-house. Brown and his men kept at their posts, returning the fire whenever armed assailants could be seen. His men were directed to shoot only at those who had weapons in their hands. That was a terrible afternoon. One of Brown's sons was instantly killed and another was shot thru and lay dying. The old man felt the pulse of his dying son with one hand while he loaded and fired his rifle with the other. Night came and the firing ceased.²³

Before the dawn of Tuesday the steady tramp of soldiers could be heard entering the town. Colonel Robert E. Lee (afterward the famous Confederate general) arrived with two companies of U.S. marines from Washington. Guards were immediately placed so that no raiders could escape.²⁴

The first move in the morning was to send a flag of truce to the engine-house with a demand for an unconditional surrender, which was refused. The honor of carrying the stronghold by assault was then tendered to the Virginia militia. After consideration of the offer it was declined. They were afraid they might kill some of their own friends and relatives who were prisoners in the engine-house.²⁵

A storming party was now formed and provided with sledge hammers. The party was to be followed by a supporting column. The attempt was a failure. Something more powerful than sledge hammers was needed. A heavy forty-foot ladder was now used as a battering ram by an assaulting column of the marines. The doors finally yielded to repeated blows. A portion of one of them was knocked in. Just at that moment there came the crack of Sharpe's rifles from within, and two of the marines reeled and fell wounded, one of them mortally. Lieutenant Green and others now rushed in, and after knocking Brown senseless and killing two of his men,

²³ Speech of Governor Wise at Richmond, Va., a day or two after the raid in Redpath, *op. cit.*, 273; statement of Captain Dangerfield, one of Brown's prisoners in the engine-house, in *Century Magazine*, June, 1885.

²⁴ Villard, *op. cit.*, 449, 450.

²⁵ Statement of Captain Dangerfield, in *Century Magazine*, June, 1885; Villard, *op. cit.*, 450 ff.

captured those who were yet alive. Brown's prisoners were promptly released. Not one of them had been hurt. A severe sword cut on the scalp and two bayonet wounds in the body had all but killed the old man.²⁶

The contest was over. Of the nineteen raiders who had passed over the bridge on Sunday evening, ten lay dead; five, the leader among them, were prisoners; and four had escaped. Two of these were afterward captured and brought back. Five of the inhabitants and attacking parties had been killed and nine wounded.²⁷

One looks in vain for anything of merit in Brown's undertaking even when considered from his own viewpoint. His plan involved not only treason and murder, but it invited defeat and death from the very start. He attacked not only the federal government when he seized the armory and arsenal, but he also made deliberate war upon the state of Virginia. To attempt such a move with the force at his command was the act of a madman. It was worse than supreme folly. The slaves brought into Harper's Ferry on the first night refused his offer of freedom, and, deserting as soon as possible, returned to their masters and their former state of bondage.²⁸ At any time prior to ten or possibly eleven o'clock on Monday forenoon he might have retreated with his little band into Maryland and thereby have greatly improved their chances of final escape. When urged to do this by some of his best men he refused, and allowed their one chance to be cut off.²⁹

²⁶ Lieutenant Israel Green, "The Capture of John Brown", in *North American Review*, CXXI, 564 ff. (December, 1885); Villard, *op. cit.*, 452, 453; S. K. Donovan (an eyewitness), *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 318 ff. Colonel Lee while directing operations stood in an exposed position for a brief time. Edwin Coppoc, one of Brown's men in the engine-house, drew a bead upon him with a Sharpe's rifle but was dissuaded from firing. Statement of J. W. Graham, one of Brown's prisoners in the engine-house, in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 413.

²⁷ Villard, *op. cit.*, 454; Colonel Lee's *Report*.

²⁸ Villard, *op. cit.*, 446, 447; A. R. Boteler, in *Century Magazine*, XXVI, 400, 401; see also testimony of Washington and Allstadt, in *Mason's Report*.

²⁹ Villard, *op. cit.*, 438. A few years before his death S. K. Donovan, of Columbus, Ohio, personally gave to the writer many interesting facts about the John Brown raid. When it occurred he was a reporter on the *Baltimore Daily Exchange*. Learning of the trouble at Harper's Ferry he hurried over there and was the first newspaper man to enter the town. From a vantage point he watched the fighting and saw the engine-house stormed and Brown with his followers captured. He went with them afterward to Charlestown where he frequently interviewed Brown in jail, attended and reported his trial, and was present at the execution. He made and kept very careful notes of everything at the time. From them he afterward prepared a lecture which he sometimes delivered before audiences in Ohio and other states. This was printed in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 300-336. Donovan was afterward colonel of a Pennsylvania regiment in the Civil War.

To understand this one must have some idea of what manner of man John Brown was,—some notion of his character. In physical courage and iron nerve he was the equal of any Spartan that ever lived; in zeal and fanaticism for the "cause" which he advocated, he could not have been outdone by any of the mediaeval crusaders or the modern Mohammedan dervishes; in narrow-mindedness and stern puritanical spirit he was of the type which interprets the teachings of the Old Testament literally. Combined with all of these characteristics there was a tenderness and a sympathetic spirit like that of a woman. Last but not least he possessed a personal magnetism which attracted and held to him all manner of men whom he cared to interest. His men were animated by his own intrepid daring and would follow him to the death.³⁰ He thought himself as much of a chosen instrument to deliver slaves from bondage as Gideon of old was to deliver the chosen people with his little band. Only a week before his execution he wrote to Rev. H. Humphrey:

"He shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines." This was said of a poor erring servant many years ago; and for many years I have felt a strong impression that God had given me powers and faculties, unworthy as I was, that he intended to use for a similar purpose.³¹

In all fairness it may be said of John Brown that he was a peculiar type of misguided fanatic. Perhaps our more modern word, "crank", would fit him very well.

The affair at Harper's Ferry created a profound sensation thruout the whole country. Virginia was thoroly frightened.³² No one knew the extent of the plot or what would happen next. Several companies of troops were called into service and strangers forbidden entrance to Harper's Ferry. Brown and his associates were taken to Charlestown and placed in jail. The town was then placed under martial law

³⁰ Colonel Donovan's estimate of him. The colonel once said to the writer in substance: I have been a life-long Democrat. I went to Harper's Ferry hating abolitionists and especially John Brown. But after I became well acquainted with him as a result of long interviews while he was in jail, I was completely won over. When the old man ascended the scaffold I was a John Brown man.

³¹ November 25, 1859, in Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 604.

³² "But the atrocious attempt of John Brown at Harper's Ferry came like a fire bell in the night", said W. H. Browne, of Maryland, in *The History of a Palatinate*, quoted in Villard, *op. cit.*, 475. The writer's father was in South Carolina at the time. He often spoke of the great excitement created by the Harper's Ferry affair. "Are you all from the North coming down here to steal our niggers?" was the question most often asked of him.

by the Governor. The machinery of the law was speedily set in motion, as the regular term of court began the same week that Brown was captured. He was indicted without delay by the grand jury on the separate counts of murder, treason, insurrection, and inciting slaves to insurrection. His case was called within a week. Local counsel were appointed to defend him, and these men were aided by eminent northern lawyers retained for his defense. His counsel proposed at first to defend him on the ground of insanity. He was still weak and suffering from the effects of bayonet wounds. He was carried into court on a stretcher and lay on a pallet while there.³³ The old man struggled in an attempt to raise himself from the pallet on which he was lying. Resting upon one elbow his eyes flashed as he said with emphasis and dignity, "I am perfectly unconscious of insanity, and I reject, so far as I am capable, any attempts at interference in my behalf on that score."³⁴

His lawyers worked for him faithfully and made eloquent pleas in his behalf on technical grounds, but all to no purpose. The jury was out only forty-five minutes and returned with a verdict of guilty on all of the counts. Exceptions were taken to some of the rulings and an appeal taken to the superior court at Richmond, but the lower court was sustained.

On November 2 he was brought into court to receive his sentence. When asked whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced upon him he said in a distinct voice that he denied any intent to commit treason or murder or to destroy property or to incite slaves to rebellion. He said further that he would admit, as he had done from the start, a design to free slaves. Continuing he said:

If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust exactments, I say let it be done.

The judge then sentenced him to be publicly hanged on Friday, December 2, just a month from the day on which sentence was pronounced.³⁵ Dr. Von Holst conveys the im-

³³ Villard, *op. cit.*, 479 ff.

³⁴ Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 575. Colonel Donovan once told the writer that he never could forget that scene in the courtroom, or John Brown's manner of rejecting the plea of insanity.

³⁵ Villard, *op. cit.*, 498, 499; speech reported in *New York Herald*, November 3, 1859.

pression that John Brown did not receive fair treatment.³⁶ There seems to be no basis for such a view, if all of the facts are taken into consideration. The presiding judge was a man of great learning and ability in his profession. He had previously served in Congress, was of distinguished family and of excellent reputation. In his charge to the grand jury which returned the indictment he urged that all feeling and prejudice should be laid aside and that above all other things the commonwealth owed it to the prisoner to be fair with him. The men who defended him were abler perhaps than the prosecutors, and nowhere in the course of the trial did they complain of unfairness or lack of courtesy. The commonwealth's attorney threw open his own office and library to them, and extended to them every courtesy consistent with his own duties. It may be charged that Brown was railroaded to the gallows and executed with unseemly haste. In answer, it may be stated that the regular term of court began in Jefferson County, where Harper's Ferry is situated, only two days after Brown's capture, and in cases of this kind the law of Virginia required a trial within five days after an indictment was returned. If he had not been indicted and tried at that term of court it would have been necessary to wait for a trial until the following spring with an excited populace and "yellow" newspapers thruout the state clamoring for a lynching. This would have been both imprudent and unwise. It is difficult to see what else could have been done than to pursue the course which the state took or what verdict could have been rendered except the one brought in by the jury.³⁷ Brown himself said, "I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received in my trial."³⁸

As the days went by the eye and ear of the nation was turned toward Charlestown, Va. Thousands admired the courage and fortitude of the old man who was ready to give his life for what he thought was a just cause. Letters with expressions of sympathy poured in upon him. Many of them contained one-dollar gold pieces. In a letter to his brother he said, "I am worth inconceivably more to *hang* than for any

³⁶ Hermann E. von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (8 vols., Chicago, 1881-1892), VII, 44, 45, 48 ff.

³⁷ General Marcus J. Wright, "The Trial and Execution of John Brown", in *Papers of the American Historical Association* (New York, 1890), IV, 121.

³⁸ See his remarks to the court just before he was sentenced, in Villard, *op. cit.*, 499.

other purpose.³⁹ In this he doubtless stated the case accurately.

There were hints of a plot to rescue him, and the authorities were suspicious. It is now known that some of his northern friends, aided by adventurous spirits from Kansas, did arrange a scheme to free him and that on at least two occasions spies found their way into his cell to acquaint him with the details of their plan. He gave them no encouragement, however, and the plan was finally abandoned because of the difficulties and dangers to be overcome.⁴⁰

He looked upon himself as a martyr and said in a letter written just a few days before his death: "I think I feel as happy as Paul did when he lay in prison. He knew that if they killed him it would greatly advance the cause of Christ; that was the reason he rejoiced so. On that same ground 'I do rejoice.'" In the same letter he said: "I have no regret for the transaction for which I am condemned. I went against the laws of men it is true but 'whether it is right to obey God or men, judge ye.'" ⁴¹ A little earlier he had written: "I neither feel mortified, degraded, nor in the least ashamed of my imprisonment, my chains, or near prospect of death by hanging. . . . No part of my life has been more happily spent than that I have spent here."⁴² On still another occasion he said, "I feel no consciousness of guilt in the matter."⁴³ On November 17, he wrote to a young friend: "Men cannot imprison or chain or hang the soul. I go joyfully in behalf of millions that 'have no rights' that this great and glorious Christian Republic 'is bound to respect'," ⁴⁴—a quotation in part from the Dred Scott decision. The sentiments here expressed are those of the famous song that everyone knows. Only four days before his execution he wrote, "It is a great comfort to feel assured that I am permitted to die for a cause."⁴⁵ In his last letter to his family he urged them

³⁹ November 12, 1859, quoted in Redpath, *op. cit.*, 351.

⁴⁰ Villard, *op. cit.*, 511 ff.

⁴¹ Letter to Rev. Mr. McFarland, November 23, 1859, in Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 598, 599; Redpath, *op. cit.*, 359.

⁴² Letter to his cousin, Rev. Mr. Humphrey, November 19, 1859, in Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 594.

⁴³ Letter to his wife and children, October 31, 1859, in *ibid.*, 579.

⁴⁴ Letter to T. B. Musgrave, November 17, 1859, in *ibid.*, 593.

⁴⁵ Letter to Judge Tilden, November 30, 1859, in Redpath, *op. cit.*, 364.

"to abhor with *undying hatred* that sum of all villainies,—slavery".⁴⁶

His wife came to see him on the day before the execution. They met without emotion and spent a few hours together after which she returned to Harper's Ferry to await the delivery of her husband's body.⁴⁷

Finally the day of execution arrived. John Brown arose early, spent some time in reading his Bible, wrote a few letters, and made his will. A gallows had been erected in an open field less than a mile from the jail. About eleven o'clock a spring wagon with a coffin in it was driven up close to the jail. Fifteen hundred soldiers were on duty, and two long lines of them formed on either side of the prison.⁴⁸

The old Puritan was ready. The prison guards, the jailer, and his wife had all been completely captivated by their prisoner in his stay of a month and a half with them. Tears now fell fast as each shook his hand and bade him good-bye. To one of the guards he handed a slip of paper upon which were probably his last written words: "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away, but with blood. I had, as I now think, vainly flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done." In view of subsequent history this statement sounds almost prophetic. From the jail door he walked with a firm step between the two lines of soldiers, climbed into the wagon, and seated himself upon the box containing his coffin.⁴⁹ There is a familiar story that while on the way to execution a slave mother held up her little black baby to him and that with arms pinioned he stooped forward and kissed the child. As a matter of fact the story is a myth pure and simple.⁵⁰

It was a bright, clear, December day. The most unconcerned man in that company was John Brown. He remarked about the fine day and the beautiful scenery as he looked toward the mountains. Arrived at the scaffold he ascended it with

⁴⁶ November 30, 1859, in Villard, *op. cit.*, 553.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 549.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 550 ff.; Colonel Donovan's account, in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 330, 331.

⁴⁹ Villard, *op. cit.*, 554 ff.; Colonel Donovan, in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 331 ff.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 294. See for statement of Murat Halstead, who was present. The writer once asked Colonel Donovan about this story. He said that nothing of the kind happened, that no negro or other sentimental person could have come near to John Brown on that occasion. The Colonel's memoranda of everything were complete, and being present he would have been sure to see and record such an incident.

alacrity and removed his old felt hat. He made no speech. None would have been permitted. The sheriff adjusted the noose about his neck and pulled the white cap⁵¹ down over his head. He was now standing on the death-trap momentarily expecting to be launched into eternity, but all was not ready. Some of the military companies were not yet in position. For ten minutes or more he stood in that awful position without the slightest sign of fear or trembling, erect and firm. Finally an officer called out to the sheriff that they were ready. The sheriff did not understand, and the statement had to be repeated. He then descended the stairs and with a single blow from a sharp hatchet cut the rope which sustained the trap, and John Brown was hanging between heaven and earth. Colonel Preston, the officer on duty, broke the awful silence by exclaiming, "So perish all such enemies of Virginia: all such enemies of the Union: all such foes of the human race." Such was doubtless the sentiment of the entire South.⁵²

In the North, especially where Abolitionists and those of like views prevailed, there were strong expressions of sympathy. Louisa M. Alcott wrote in her diary that December 2 was "the day of execution of St. John, the Just".⁵³ Mr. Emerson spoke of Brown as "that new Saint . . . who . . . will make the gallows glorious like the cross".⁵⁴ Longfellow wrote in his diary: "This will be a great day in our history; even now, as I write, they are leading old John Brown to execution in Virginia for attempting to rescue slaves. This is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind, which will come soon."⁵⁵ Thoreau, Emerson, and others spoke at a public meeting on December 2 in the town hall at Concord, Mass. Their sentiments were expressed without reserve.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Colonel Donovan told the writer that a woman living in the North, an admirer of John Brown, had made of the purest white wool,—the emblem of purity,—a cap which she sent to the sheriff and asked that it be pulled down over the old Puritan's head when he was to be hanged. Her request was granted. Perhaps it is the only case on record where a man was hanged with a *white* cap over his head instead of a *black* one.

⁵² *Life and Letters of M. J. Preston*, 111 ff.; M. Halstead, in the *Independent*, December 1, 1898; Colonel Donovan, in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 332, 333. Colonel Preston's account was written a few hours after the execution. Colonel Donovan was also present and made notes of all that happened. Halstead was present but his account was prepared from memory long afterward.

⁵³ *Life and Letters of Louisa M. Alcott*, 105.

⁵⁴ James Elliot Cabot, *Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1888), 597.

⁵⁵ Samuel Longfellow, *Life of H. W. Longfellow* (Boston, 1886), II, 347.

⁵⁶ Sanborn, *Life and Letters of John Brown*, 629, quoting from Mr. Alcott's diary of December 2, 1859.

Services of humiliation and prayer were held in many churches at the North at eleven o'clock, on that memorable second of December,⁵⁷ and the American Anti-Slavery Society denominated 1859 as the John Brown year in their calendar.⁵⁸ There seemed something prophetic in all of this, when twenty-seven months later (March 1, 1862), a Massachusetts regiment led by Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel Webster, gathered on the spot where the execution had taken place at Charlestown and sang with fervor, "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on."⁵⁹

When the conspirators at the North who had aided Brown saw what they had done, they became frightened and destroyed all questionable correspondence in their hands. Most of them fled to Canada.⁶⁰ When Congress met a strong effort was made to fix the blame for the Harper's Ferry affair upon the Republican leaders of the North⁶¹ instead of on the small number of idealists who were really guilty, but who had no political influence. The effort failed, of course, but it served for the time being as something out of which to make political capital.

An eminent American historian once said in the presence of the writer that no other single event did so much to cause the South to withdraw from the Union as did the John Brown raid. The truth of the matter is that it was only a minor happening which did not seriously disturb the great current of historical events of that period. If it had never happened, Lincoln would have been elected, the South would have seceded, and the slaves would have been freed just the same.

It is not easy to estimate correctly the place of John Brown in history. More harsh things have been said about him than about any other American unless it be Benedict Arnold or Jefferson Davis. To the slaveholders and the people of the South he was only a red-handed murderer and a criminal who justly met a felon's death. He was to them a fair sample of the extremists among Black Republicans and Abolitionists who would with pleasure excite a servile war, a slave insur-

⁵⁷ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, II, 410; *Independent*, December 8, 1859.

⁵⁸ *The Liberator*, November 25, 1859.

⁵⁹ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, II, 416. For the origin of this famous song, see *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 339, 340.

⁶⁰ Villard, *op. cit.*, 529 ff.; Sanborn, *op. cit.*, 514. T. W. Higginson remained at home. Gerrit Smith became insane as a consequence of worrying over his own part in it.

⁶¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1 Sess., 36 Cong., 553, 554.

rection, which would bring about conditions worse than anarchy or death itself.

On the other hand, to idealists like Louisa M. Alcott, Victor Hugo, R. W. Emerson, and Thoreau, he was a hero and a martyr, who deliberately sacrificed his own life in a cause which to them was most sacred and just. To the more moderate people whose sentiments were anti-slavery, his method was not to be approved, and, while they did not abuse him, they felt that the cause for which he stood had been advanced by at least one decade. Perhaps a just estimate lies between these great extremes. John Brown was the type of man whose real contemporaries lived in the age of Oliver Cromwell and John Knox, or of Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards. In the world of that day he might have been a hero or a saint, but the world at the middle of the nineteenth century had entirely outgrown the stern ideals of two hundred years before. If he had been killed at Harper's Ferry, his place in history would have been a very small one. If his purposes and motives on the whole were worthy, his methods were those of a fanatic who was near to "the fringe of lunacy". If it be true that his soul went marching on after his death, it is equally true that John Brown himself was not the "liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia",⁶² but only a historic failure.

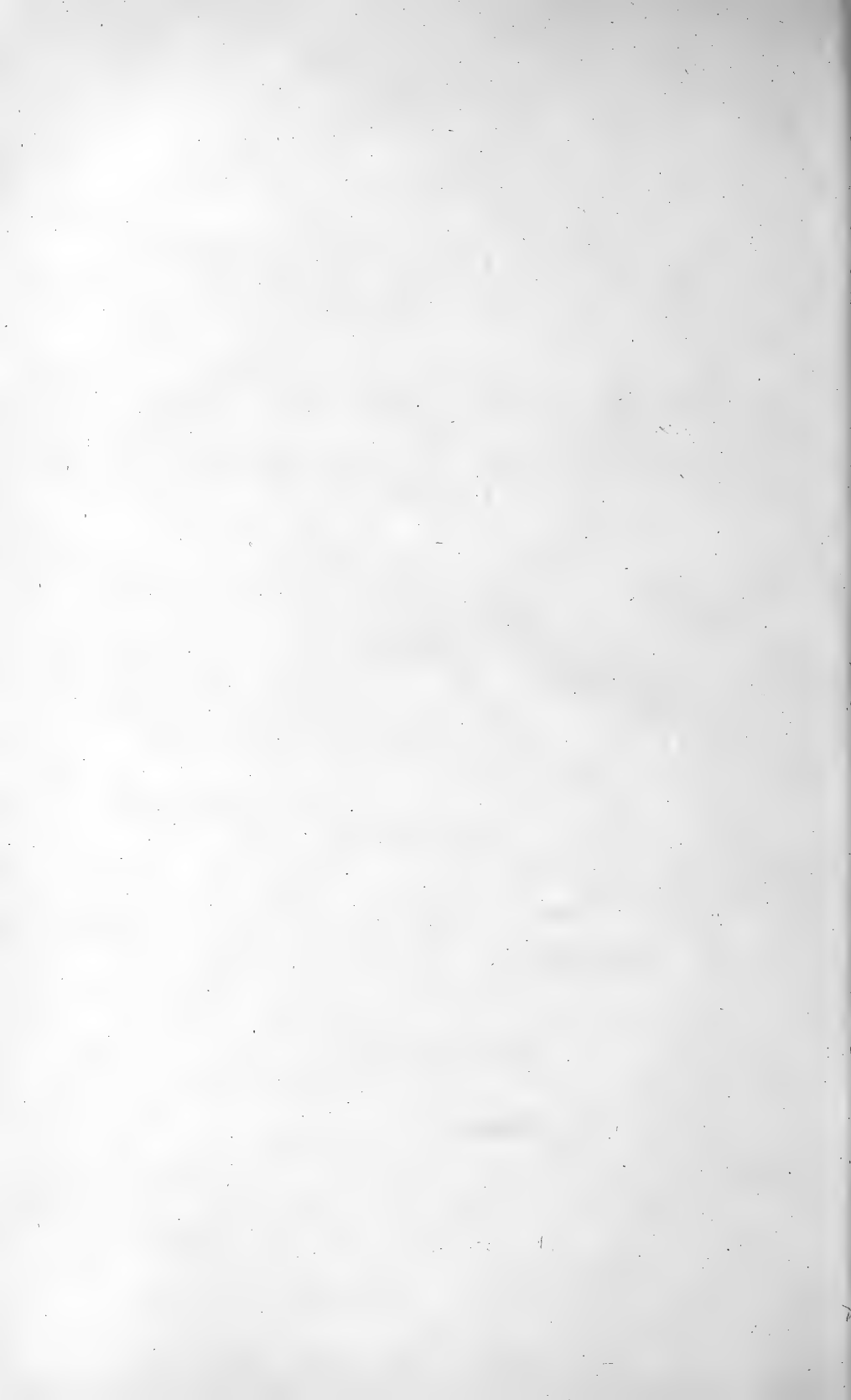
⁶² Part of the title of Mr. Sanborn's biography of John Brown.

THE INFLUENCE OF RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION ON THE CIVIL WAR

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THE INFLUENCE OF RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION ON THE CIVIL WAR

It is always interesting to speculate on the effects a particular invention may have on the movements or tendencies in world history, but until such invention has passed the acid test of use under trying conditions, it is not safe to predict its ultimate success. Before 1861, the railroad had proved its undoubted value in the commercial field, but military experts were still speculating on the value of and the best means of using the railroad as a war agency. It is true that the British realized that there might be great possibilities in the use of the railroad as a military agency as early as 1830 when a regiment was carried a two-days' march in two hours over the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, but this was a rather insignificant troop movement.¹ A more ambitious movement of troops took place in 1859 in the war between France and Austria when several thousand French troops were moved by rail to the sea coast of France and thence by ship to Italy, but the railroad in this war was only an aid and not a determining factor.²

So it was left for the great Civil War in America to test to the limit the powerful agency made possible by the application of the steam engine to land travel and transportation. The vast size of our country, the long battle front extending from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River and beyond, and the long line of communications that must be maintained in such campaigns as that of Sherman's around Atlanta, made it next to impossible to bring such a war to a successful conclusion without the help of the railroad.³ Even where water transportation was reasonably efficient, as in the case of McClellan's Peninsular campaign, the difficulties of moving troops over the execrable roads made campaigning

¹ Edwin A. Pratt, *Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest, 1833-1914* (Philadelphia, 1915), 1.

² *Ibid.*, 10.

³ William T. Sherman in his *Memoirs* (New York, 1875), II, 398, says that the Atlanta campaign would have been impossible without the railroad.

almost beyond the powers of man.⁴ In the first months of the war Lee met with similar difficulties in trying to campaign without railroad facilities in the mountains of western Virginia, and at a later period when he twice tried to invade the North he had to face the difficult problem of transporting supplies and munitions largely by wagon roads. Probably General George B. Crittenden⁵ had to face this problem in a more serious form than the generals involved in either of the above cases, when, in January, 1862, he was forced to attack Thomas at Mill Spring. Crittenden's army was starving; the Federals commanded the Cumberland River at Columbia; there were no railroads in this section of country; and, as it was impossible for him to carry supplies over the poor roads from Knoxville 130 miles away, there was nothing left for him to do but to attack.⁶ Rosecrans also was placed in almost as embarrassing a position at Chattanooga, as will be shown in another connection.

Railroad construction began in the United States at a time when the internal improvement mania was at its height and consequently got its share of attention. The West was rapidly filling up with settlers both from the East and from Europe; promoters and speculators pushed the sale of canal and railroad stock with vigor; and states and cities vied with private corporations in securing transportation facilities in order to bring settlers and business to their particular localities.⁷ So in spite of panics like that of 1837 there was an overdevelopment of railroads especially in the North by 1860. In the race of railroad building the North easily outstripped the South, very largely due to the type of industry and labor system of the latter. Railroad construction requires a large outlay of capital, but the southern planter used most of his surplus capital in the purchase of additional slaves or invested it in more tobacco or cotton land. Furthermore, farmers are as a class conservative and individualistic, and neither of these characteristics tend to promote the development of large business enterprises where coöperation is absolutely necessary. Then, too, the seasonable nature of business in the South to-

⁴ *Autobiography of Oliver O. Howard* (2 vols., New York, 1907), I, 216; (George B.) McClellan's *Own Story* (New York, 1887), 254.

⁵ Brother of the Union general, Thomas S. Crittenden; Henry W. Elson, *History of the United States of America* (New York, 1904, 1914), 678.

⁶ Edward A. Pollard, *The Lost Cause* (New York, 1867), 200.

⁷ Emory R. Johnson, *American Railway Transportation* (New York, 1903), 25.

gether with the scarcity of towns tended to discourage the extension of numerous railroad lines. The bulk of the freight business was cotton which was largely marketed between September and January. Thus traffic was light during a large part of the year since there were few towns and cities to help the passenger business. Finally the railroad had to compete with the large number of navigable rivers in the South as well as with the numerous dirt roads and smaller number of turnpikes. Bulky products like cotton could be hauled by water much more cheaply than by rail, and since the steamboat had the advantage of being several years ahead of the railroad in this territory, it developed a trade which it was difficult for a competitor to capture. The seasonal distribution of labor on a plantation was also quite a help to the river traffic. The period when cotton was marketed was a slack period for labor, and cotton was often hauled by wagon to a river town or to a seaport as far as a hundred miles.⁸

Not only had the North outstripped the South in the number of miles of railways but these lines were far better organized. Neither section had great systems as we have today, and a large number of the roads in the South were especially local tho relatively long because cities were far apart. This was due largely to the fact that local lines had been promoted by ambitious cities like Charleston, Mobile, Nashville, and New Orleans to direct business to their markets and to supplement river traffic.⁹ The tendency is for such small systems to work in opposition to each other rather than to coöperate, and coöperation is absolutely essential in times of great stress. In some respects this situation has not been much improved up to the present for in many of the smaller railway centers and even in some of the largest cities the traveling public is inconvenienced by having to transfer from one railway station to another often located on opposite sides of the town. The lines meeting at Petersburg, Va., and in many other cities both North and South were not linked together, and it seems that military authorities could not get them connected because of the opposition of the local transfer

⁸ Balthasar Henry Meyer in commenting on the scarcity of railroads in the South adds to the reasons given above the lack of "floating" labor and the absorption of able southern leaders in agriculture.

⁹ Ellen C. Semple, *American History and its Geographical Conditions* (New York, 1903), 372 ff.

interests.¹⁰ Because of such conditions congestion resulted all along the lines.

Even if prejudices and jealousies could have been conquered there would still have remained serious obstacles to be overcome on account of the different gauges used by the various railroads. Within the last sixty years railroad equipment of all kinds has become largely standardized, but this was not the case in the sixties of the last century. Today a locomotive and cars can usually be transferred from one railway system to another without inconvenience, but this could be rarely done then because the distance between the irons of the track varied from four to six feet.¹¹ The European nations have deliberately built their tracks of different widths to prevent an enemy country from using them in time of war, but these differences in the United States were due to the whims of the builder or at least to the fancied belief that one gauge had advantages over another. Whatever may have been the motives back of this, it is plain that it was a serious handicap to both the North and the South at a time when there was the utmost need that every agency should work in harmony and with the least friction.¹²

In spite of this tendency toward short lines of various gauges and equipment, the decade prior to 1860 showed a decided tendency toward consolidation of short lines into systems.¹³ Necessity, together with a greater ease in securing capital, brought this about. The short lines with the vexations and costly transfers they necessitated did not meet the needs of an expanding business, and so the process of welding several short lines into one was carried out especially in the North. In 1850, seven companies owned the lines connecting Buffalo and Albany, but the next year these were brought into one system, and by 1858 the Hudson River and five other lines were added to this system, since then called the New York Central. The Pennsylvania, the Baltimore and Ohio, and the Erie roads went thru a similar reorganization,

¹⁰ General James Longstreet asserts in his *From Manassas to Appomattox* (Philadelphia, 1896), 434-437, that such conditions were very common.

¹¹ Sidney L. Miller, *Railway Transportation, Principles and Point of View* (Chicago and New York, 1924), 74.

¹² When Hooker was sent from Culpepper Court House, Va., to the aid of Rosecrans at Chattanooga his troops and supplies had to be hauled from one railway station to another and even ferried across the Ohio River at Louisville.

¹³ Johnson, *American Railway Transportation*, 25; R. S. Cotterill, "Southern Railroads, 1850-1860", in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, X, 396 (March, 1924).

and the eastern seaboard had closely linked the old North-west Territory to itself with bands of steel.

While the consolidation movement was not so pronounced in the South, yet it must not be inferred that this region was entirely deficient in both long and short lines of transportation. Richmond was connected with Chattanooga and the Southwest directly by way of the James River gap thru the Blue Ridge and the great Appalachian trough, and indirectly by means of lines running south parallel with the mountains and then turning west below the southern limits of the mountain ranges. The importance of these lines to the Confederacy will be shown presently in connection with the Chattanooga and the Atlanta campaigns.

In the early history of the settlements west of the Appalachians the attention and the interests of the people were directed southward, for the great river systems flowing in that direction were the only practicable economic outlets for the products of this region. At first the products of the northern section were sent by flatboat down the streams of Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Illinois to the Ohio and Mississippi and thence to New Orleans where they either found a market to be distributed in the lower South, or were shipped abroad.¹⁴ However, as western Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana became populated and the planters of this region turned their attention largely to cotton culture, the communities from up the river found on the southern plantations an excellent market for their bacon, flour, and other farm products. The introduction of the steamboat greatly facilitated the movement of such products and hastened the development of manufactures in such cities as Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis. Union soldiers campaigning in the South during the Civil War were constantly impressed by the finding of manufactured articles from northern cities.¹⁵ Short railroad lines were built to supplement the river traffic and capture this trade.¹⁶ By 1860 the states of the Old Northwest had been connected with the South by a railway line passing thru Cairo, Ill., to Memphis, Jackson, Corinth, and by various connections on to the Gulf and Atlantic ports.

¹⁴ James Schouler, *History of the United States* (New York, 1910), VI, 90, 91.

¹⁵ James Ford Rhodes in his *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York, 1893-1914), 375, tells of the scorn for the South of a Union officer when he found that the steps of the courthouse at Vicksburg were manufactured at Cincinnati.

¹⁶ Semple, *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, 372.

Farther to the east the Louisville and Nashville intersected the line connecting Memphis, Corinth, and Chattanooga, while the latter city was connected with Atlanta and Richmond by other lines which will be mentioned later.

Southern statesmen and economists were fully aware of the advantages, both commercial and political, of binding the West to the South and of making some southern city like Nashville, Memphis, or New Orleans the center for great continental systems. The yearly economic conventions held in the South seriously considered these problems,¹⁷ and Calhoun and Jefferson Davis were intensely interested in them. In fact careful investigation may bring to light the fact that the enmity of southern leaders toward Stephen A. Douglas was not entirely due to his indifference to slave interests, but also to his influence in securing governmental aid for railroads centering in Chicago, thus blocking the efforts of southern politicians to secure such aid for cities of their section.

But in spite of the desires and efforts of southern statesmen the products of the West in constantly increasing amounts were deflected to eastern manufacturing centers especially during the decade 1850-1860. Thus when southerners boasted that "Cotton is king" believing that New England and Great Britain must have the great product of the plantations of the lower South, and also that the West was economically dependent on the South, they were thinking in terms of earlier experience when water transportation was dominant and so did not take into account the fact that rapid railroad communication and a hungry factory population had won for the East the support of the economic interests of the West.¹⁸ In drawing the foregoing conclusion, it must not be forgotten that the European market was quite important to the West and that the railroad was carrying products to this market by way of New York and other eastern ports whereas in earlier times it went down the Mississippi. This lessened the strength of another bond between West and South and strengthened the tie between East and West.

No sooner had the war begun than the vast part that railroads and railroad centers would play in the strategy of the great game was evident. The events at Baltimore on April 19,

¹⁷ Charles H. Ambler, "The Cleavage between Eastern and Western Virginia", in the *American Historical Review*, XV, 4 (July, 1910), 771-773; Cotterill, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Semple, *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, 283, 284.

1861, illustrate this. A glance at a railroad map of this period shows that Washington was connected with the North by only one railroad line and that this line passed thru Baltimore. When in response to the president's call the Massachusetts troops were on the way to Washington and were transferring from one depot to another they were attacked by a mob of southern sympathizers and the whole city thrown into a frenzy. That night the railroad bridges between Baltimore and the Pennsylvania boundary line were burned to prevent the further movement of Federal troops. Thus Washington was cut off from land communication with the North, and since Virginia had seceded two days previously and was moving to seize Norfolk and Harper's Ferry, the national capital was at least thought to be in the greatest danger and remained in such condition till troops came to its defense via Annapolis. Not till May 13 did General B. F. Butler occupy Baltimore, tho the bridges and railroad had been repaired the day before, and only after this date was the regular movement of troops thru the city resumed.¹⁹

The disturbance at Baltimore was only an inconvenience and not a serious factor in the war, but a few months later an event happened to the south of Washington that proved conclusively to military authorities that in the strategic movement of troops the railroad was an almost indispensable means of transportation. All students of history are familiar with the insistent but unreasonable clamor in the North for an advance against Richmond. Neither the Union nor the Confederate forces were ready for war, tho each side had established defensive lines. The Federal forces extended from the Ohio River to Fortress Monroe, Va., including a part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the Potomac River, Chesapeake Bay, and Hampton Roads. A similar line was established by the Confederates extending from the mountains of western Virginia to the Dismal Swamp, embracing the Shenandoah Valley, the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, the Manassas Gap Railroad, the lower Potomac, Yorktown, and Norfolk.²⁰

The authorities at Washington were anxious that the attack on Richmond be made along the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad as far as Manassas Junction and thence

¹⁹ John G. Nicolay, *Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1903), 199.

²⁰ A. L. Long and Marcus J. Wright, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee* (Philadelphia, 1887), 104.

southward by Fredericksburg, because this route would cover Washington and at the same time threaten Richmond.²¹ Manassas Junction was quite important to the Confederates because it is the point of intersection of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad and the Manassas Gap Railroad, the latter leading into the Shenandoah Valley. McDowell with about 30,000 Union soldiers marched toward Manassas Junction, which was defended by Beauregard, who had a force of 21,900 men south of the stream called Bull Run. The Federal commander agreed to make the attack upon the Confederates, provided that Joseph E. Johnston, who was in the Shenandoah Valley with 9,000 men, could be prevented from joining Beauregard at Manassas. To prevent such a juncture General Patterson was sent to the Shenandoah with approximately 20,000 men, but utterly failed to carry out his part of the scheme.²²

When the Confederate authorities saw that Richmond was threatened, they ordered Johnston to join Beauregard if practicable.²³ Tho sixty miles from Manassas, the latter easily eluded Patterson and started on his journey.²⁴ It took his troops nearly ten hours to march from Winchester to the Shenandoah River, a distance of thirteen miles, and their commander almost despaired of reaching his destination on time. However, at Piedmont he secured trains for his infantry on the Manassas Gap Railroad and arrived at Manassas Junction with his troops fresh and vigorous at noon Saturday, while, if they had been compelled to march the thirty-four miles yet before them, they could hardly have hoped to reach the scene of conflict before Sunday evening and would not have been in condition to participate in a strenuous battle.²⁵ The cavalry and artillery continued on the wagon road and arrived in time to take part in the battle.²⁶

As nearly every schoolboy knows, the First Battle of Bull Run began about ten o'clock on Sunday morning, July 21, with an attack upon the Confederate position, and at first the

²¹ Long and Wright, *op. cit.*, 104, 105.

²² Rhodes, in his *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, 37, estimates Patterson's forces to have been between 18,000 and 22,000.

²³ See *Rebellion Records* for middle of July, 1861.

²⁴ Long and Wright, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, 110.

²⁵ Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative and Military Operations during the Late War between the States* (New York, 1874), 36. Longstreet, in his history *From Manassas to Appomattox*, 43, tells substantially the same story.

²⁶ *Autobiography of Oliver O. Howard*, I, 151.

Union forces drove their antagonists back. As the fight continued, the position of the Confederates became more serious till about three o'clock in the afternoon when loud cheering was heard proceeding from fresh Confederate troops. They were the remainder of the army of the Shenandoah who had followed their commander as fast as trains could convey them.²⁷ They were at once ordered to attack McDowell's right flank and the Federals were routed. It would not be safe to assert that McDowell's raw recruits could have taken Richmond and ended the war had not the Manassas Gap Railroad brought Johnston's troops from the Shenandoah Valley in time to turn the tide of defeat into victory, yet it is safe to predict that the Union forces would have won an important victory and might have changed the nature of the war and forced the final conflict to be fought farther south.²⁸

Perhaps in no other battle or campaign in the East was the railroad of so much immediate importance, tho, as will be shown later, the breaking of railway communications was the object of many of the movements of troops and the cutting of railway lines on the south and southwest of Richmond by Sherman and other generals ultimately greatly helped in forcing Lee to surrender.

The inadequacy of railroad transportation between Washington and Richmond together with the large number of navigable bodies of water help to explain this situation. McClellan tried to take advantage of the naval superiority of the North in his Peninsular campaign and found water transportation very satisfactory.²⁹ In fact, our railroads would have broken down under the strain placed upon them had they not been supplemented by the steamboat and sailing ship, yet McClellan could not have fed or equipped this vast army if the railroads from the North and West had not been pouring supplies into

²⁷ Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, 41; E. P. Alexander in his book, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate, a Critical Narrative* (New York, 1907), asserts on pages 18 and 19 that the railway authorities had promised to deliver all four of Johnston's brigades at Manassas Junction by sunrise of Saturday, July 20, but because it had no relays of employees it could not do so. Kirby Smith and Elzey arrived about noon Sunday with 2,000 men, marched six miles to the critical point at the critical moment and saved the day.

²⁸ John G. Nicolay in his history, *The Outbreak of the Rebellion* (New York, 1881), 168, says: "It was these 9,000 men of Johnston's army who not merely decided, but principally fought the battle."

²⁹ On page 238 of *McClellan's Own Story* he states that 113 steamers, 188 schooners, and 88 barges in 37 days transported from Perryville, Alexandria, and Washington to Fortress Monroe 121,500 men, 1,150 wagons, 44 batteries, 74 ambulances, pontoon bridges, and other equipment,

Washington and other points in its vicinity. At the same time Joseph E. Johnston, tho holding a strong position at Centreville and at various points on the Potomac, could not take the offensive partly because of lack of supplies and support, and partly because his army was connected with Richmond by a single track railroad which might be cut at any moment.³⁰

The history of the Peninsular campaign is a long-drawn-out affair filled with charges and countercharges by the commanders of the two armies and their respective governments.³¹ While the conflict was still undecided Johnston was replaced by Robert E. Lee, who conceived the idea of recalling Jackson from the Shenandoah Valley and taking the offensive against McClellan. He at once sent Whiting by rail with a strong detachment to help Jackson drive the Union forces out of the valley and asked Jackson to move with his forces toward Richmond to aid in the attack.³² Jackson hastened ahead to confer with Lee, leaving his army to follow him by rail. His forces did not get in position on the north side of the Chickahominy on June 26 in time to help in the attack on Fitz-Hugh Porter, who with the Fifth Corps was guarding McClellan's communications with his base of supplies at White House on the Richmond and York River Railroad and Pamunky River.³³ The next day the combined forces of Jackson, the Hills, and Longstreet beat Porter, who had fallen back to Gaines Mill, and demoralized McClellan's plan.³⁴ Thus by making the best possible use of his transportation facilities Lee skilfully mobilized his forces, saved Richmond from grave danger, and broke up the Union plan of campaign. On the other hand, in April, 1862, the wholesale destruction by the Confederates of the Fredericksburg line, connecting Richmond and Washington, prevented the union of the Federal armies of the Potomac and the Rappahannock, neither of which could act without the other, while neither could join the other without rail communication.³⁵

Following the failure of the campaign on the Peninsula,

³⁰ James D. McCabe, Jr., *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*, 551.

³¹ Before Joseph E. Johnston was severely wounded and relieved from command he quarreled incessantly with Jefferson Davis, and it is well known that McClellan and the authorities at Washington were suspicious of each other.

³² Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, 135; also Jefferson Davis, *A Short History of the Confederate States of America* (New York, 1890).

³³ Woodrow Wilson, *History of the American People* (New York, 1902), IV, 228.

³⁴ Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, 138, 139.

³⁵ Pratt, *Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest*, 29.

Pope decided to take Richmond by moving along the Orange and Alexandria Railroad toward the Rappahannock, threatening both Gordonsville and Charlottesville which would cut Lee's communications with southwestern Virginia.³⁶ This road was valuable for transporting troops and supplies as far as Culpepper Court House, where it turned southward to Gordonsville, and was of less use between these points because it could be cut so easily.³⁷ To prevent the capture of Gordonsville, Lee sent Jackson by rail to that point, where he arrived July 19. He found that Pope had arrived at the Rapidan and was threatening the Central Railroad and its connections. Lee and Longstreet followed Jackson, and when Stuart was sent to cut Pope's communications at Rappahannock Station on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad the latter fell back across the Rappahannock.³⁸ On August 26 by rapid marching Jackson got in Pope's rear, captured Bristoe Station, tore up the railroad track and cut the telegraph wires, severing his line of supplies and direct telegraph communication with Washington. That night he captured Pope's base of supplies at Manassas Junction and destroyed it before retreating to Bull Run.³⁹ These movements completely baffled Pope and led to his final defeat at the Second Battle of Bull Run.

After Pope's defeat, Lee decided to carry the war into the enemy country by invading the North. Among other motives he probably had in mind the capture of Harrisburg and the destruction of the long bridge on the Pennsylvania Railroad over the Susquehanna River. Since he had already cut the Baltimore and Ohio there would be left no railway connection between the eastern and western states except the line along the Great Lakes. The people of the North were greatly disturbed. Stanton feared that communication between Washington and the North would be severed. Men in New York City were "terrified and panic-stricken",⁴⁰ but the battle of Antietam saved them and forced Lee back into Virginia. However, Harrisburg was again threatened in the Gettysburg campaign when Early seized York and sent an expedition to seize the Columbia bridge over the Susquehanna River. He

³⁶ McCabe, *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*, 194.

³⁷ John Cadman Ropes, *The Army under Pope* (New York, 1881).

³⁸ McCabe, *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*, 201.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 208-210.

⁴⁰ *Diary of Gideon Welles* (Boston, 1911), I, 123, 131.

intended to cross this bridge, cut the Pennsylvania Railroad, and attack Harrisburg from the rear, but the fleeing Pennsylvania militia burned the Columbia bridge and prevented Early from crossing.

Early in the war the Confederates found it difficult to feed their troops around Richmond, and after the capture of Vicksburg, Knoxville, Chattanooga, and Atlanta, Lee had to depend upon an ever-narrowing region to the south and southwest of the Confederate capital for his supplies.⁴¹ He readily saw the value of Petersburg as a railroad center, and when he occupied it he desired the Confederate government to abandon the Weldon Railway line and get supplies over the Danville Railroad because the former would be hard to defend, but he was asked to defend both.⁴² Grant fully appreciated the importance of the railroads to the existence of Lee's army and especially after the disastrous attacks on Lee's intrenchments in the summer of 1864, began the systematic destruction of all Confederate lines he could reach.⁴³ His concentrated attack on Petersburg was a premeditated attempt to cut off the two lines of communication meeting here and very necessary for the support of Richmond.⁴⁴ Petersburg lies twenty-two miles south of Richmond and is connected with the latter city by railroad and turnpike. Two railroads of importance begin here: the road to Weldon leaving the city on the south, and the South Side line, running to Lynchburg and connecting with the Richmond and Danville Railroad at Burkesville. When Petersburg and these roads fell into Grant's hands there was left to Lee the alternative of surrendering at once or retreating toward Appomattox Court House along the only line held by the Confederates.

In some respects the armies in the West had bigger transportation problems than those in the East because the former had such a large field of operation. The fact is often overlooked that the Army of the Potomac was never many miles

⁴¹ Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate, a Critical Narrative*, 431-434.

⁴² McCabe, *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*, 524.

⁴³ Colonel Thomas L. Livermore in, "Again the Tissue of History", in Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, 1914-1915, XLVIII, 94, mentions the following: July 7, Sheridan against Virginia Central, north of Richmond; July 22, Wilson against Weldon, Lynchburg, and Danbury; McCabe, *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*, mentions: Heth, August 18, destroyed a part of the railroad south of Reams Station, and Sheridan, on February 27-March 3, destroyed part of the Virginia Central.

⁴⁴ Long and Wright, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*, 370; also McCabe, *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*, 569.

from Washington and the Potomac, while in his Atlanta campaign Sherman was several hundred miles from the Ohio. Since the opening of the Mississippi was the outstanding purpose of the campaigns in the West, up to the capture of Vicksburg, the fact is also sometimes lost sight of that the railroad played quite a prominent part in the outcome of the struggle west of the Appalachians. Since this region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi was open to attack both by way of the rivers and railroads, the military leaders were constantly compelled to take both means of transportation into consideration and place their lines of defense so as to protect both railroad and river lines of communication. The Union line along the Ohio included such railway centers as Cairo, Paducah, Louisville, and Cincinnati, while Forts Henry and Donelson were built not only to guard the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers but also to protect the railroad line running from Louisville thru Bowling Green and on to Memphis, together with the lines converging at Nashville on the southern bend of the Cumberland River.⁴⁵ After the fall of Forts Henry and Donelson, the Confederates fell back to the railroad line extending from Memphis thru Corinth, Chattanooga, and on to Richmond by way of Knoxville. Grant moved again and A. S. Johnston concentrated at Corinth not only because it was an important railway center on this east and west line but it was also near the point where the Tennessee River turns sharply from a westerly direction to the north. Since Corinth was at the junction of two very important railroads, one extending east and west and the other north and south, trainloads of Confederate soldiers came from every direction. Beauregard had already come from Richmond to help raise forces, and Bragg brought his troops all the way from Florida to try to stop the Union advance. The battle of Shiloh was fought with almost disastrous results to Grant's forces, but Corinth was finally taken, tho the slowness of Halleck enabled Beauregard to ship over his railway lines his sick and wounded and his heavy artillery and stores.⁴⁶ The capture of this important center left only the Vicksburg line connecting the Mississippi Valley with Richmond and the Old South.⁴⁷ Now

⁴⁵ James K. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms* (New York, 1907), 86. Also Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, 87; and Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 201.

⁴⁶ Manning F. Force, *From Fort Henry to Corinth* (New York, 1881), 189.

⁴⁷ *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885-1886), I, 330. Also Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 320.

the Confederates had their turn at cutting communications for they could so easily strike the Memphis and Charleston Railroad that the Federals had to employ railroads from Columbus, Ky., via Jackson, Tenn., to Corinth and Grand Junction.⁴⁸

A little later when Grant started on his Vicksburg campaign he was forced to leave Dodge at Corinth with 10,000 men for fear Bragg might cut his communications with the North.⁴⁹ In spite of these precautions, while Sherman was advancing on Vicksburg and Grant was threatening Pemberton's army to the east, Van Dorn destroyed Grant's secondary base of supplies at Holly Springs, and Forrest cut the railroad between Jackson, Tenn., and Columbus, Ky. This demonstrated the impossibility of drawing supplies over such a long railroad line in an active enemy's country, consequently the Mississippi was used for this purpose.⁵⁰

On July 4, 1863, the Vicksburg campaign was brought to a close with the capture of that place. This was a serious blow to the South, for it closed the richest grain and cattle country in the Confederacy.⁵¹ Prior to this a strip of land 250 miles long between Vicksburg and Port Hudson protected the mouth of the Red River and allowed its products to go to the Confederacy. Louisiana had furnished it with sugar, while Texas had supplied grain and beef besides affording an avenue for munitions of war coming from Europe by way of Mexico.⁵² Not only was the Confederacy deprived of an abundant food supply but its man-power from Texas became a very negligible quantity tho it must be admitted that the transportation facilities of the region west of the Mississippi were so poor that no very effective aid was ever rendered by this section.⁵³ According to the census of 1860 Texas alone had 300 miles of railway, but when Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur James Freemantle, a British soldier, passed thru the state on an observation trip in April, 1863, he found it very difficult to cross Texas and reach the Mississippi.⁵⁴ It is also true that Texas had 100,000

⁴⁸ Sherman, *Memoirs*, 260.

⁴⁹ Major-General Grenville M. Dodge, *The Battle of Atlanta and other Campaigns*, 111.

⁵⁰ *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant*, I, 432, 433.

⁵¹ Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 252.

⁵² Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, 123, and James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (8 vols., New York, 1893-1914), IV, 299.

⁵³ Richard Taylor, *Destruction and Reconstruction* (New York, 1879), 103.

⁵⁴ Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur James Freemantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, April-June, 1863 (New York, 1864).

more population in 1860 than had the Boer Republic at the time of the Boer War tho this little country mustered 90,000 men against the British.⁵⁵ According to this ratio Texas should have been able to raise and feed a much larger army than Grant had around Vicksburg if there had been means to get them to the seat of war.

While these events were happening around Vicksburg a more interesting scene from the standpoint of railroad transportation was being enacted around Chattanooga.⁵⁶ Cumberland Gap and the pass cut by the Tennessee River in the wall of the Cumberland plateau below Chattanooga were the two practicable passes into the valley of east Tennessee and were very valuable to the Confederates.⁵⁷ The Confederacy also controlled the outlets to Atlanta and the south Atlantic states and dominated the passage up the Great Appalachian Valley to Virginia and central Kentucky.⁵⁸ The Confederates used this "Shenandoah of the West" in their invasions of Kentucky, and, so long as they held Chattanooga, could threaten Cincinnati and make flank movements against the Federals in the Mississippi Valley.

Mention has already been made of a railroad line around the southern extremity of the Appalachians along the route used by the Cherokee traders. A chain of many links from Savannah and Charleston thru Atlanta and Chattanooga to river navigation at Nashville had been completed by 1854, while another line to Memphis had opened connection with the Mississippi by 1858. Another line starting at Norfolk on Chesapeake Bay reached Lynchburg in 1854, and crossing the Blue Ridge by the James River Gap passed southwestward in the valley of Virginia to Bristol and thence down the valley of eastern Tennessee thru Knoxville to Chattanooga, which it reached in 1858. A short distance to the west of Chattanooga, the line to Memphis connected with a northern line thru Nashville to Louisville. This latter road, tho only a single-track line, was the Federal line of operations against Chattanooga and had to be used later when Sherman was making his Atlanta campaign.

⁵⁵ Charles Francis Adams, *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (New York, 1911), 242.

⁵⁶ Michael Hendrick Fitch, *The Chattanooga Campaign* (Wisconsin Historical Commission, Madison, 1911), 7, 8.

⁵⁷ Semple, *American History and its Geographic Conditions*, 293.

⁵⁸ E. Kirke, "Chattanooga the Southern Gateway of the Alleghanies", in *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1887,

On June 24, 1863, Rosecrans, who was at Murfreesboro on the last-mentioned line, started his campaign against Chattanooga and manoeuvred Bragg out of the city without having to fight a battle. He moved forward in pursuit of what he supposed to be a beaten foe but soon had to concentrate his forces and fight the almost disastrous battle of Chickamauga since the railroads had rushed reinforcements to Bragg. Buckner's corps had come from Knoxville, a part of Joseph E. Johnston's forces came from the vicinity of Vicksburg, and Longstreet had brought his corps all the way from the Army of Northern Virginia.⁵⁹ Longstreet had been urging the advisability of the movement of troops from Virginia and estimated that he could carry his corps to Chattanooga via Lynchburg and Knoxville in two days, for the distance was only a little over 500 miles.⁶⁰ The success of the plan depended on quick action, but the Richmond authorities did not act promptly, and before Longstreet could move from Virginia, Knoxville and Cumberland Gap had been taken by Burnside.⁶¹ This forced Longstreet to go thru the Carolinas to Augusta, and on to Atlanta and Ringgold, a distance of 925 miles, which consumed sixteen days instead of two.⁶² Bragg made his first attack on Rosecrans on September 19. Up to September 18, the latter had his forces greatly scattered, and they might have been destroyed in detail had Bragg and his government displayed a little more energy and decision. Bragg did not accomplish this, yet drove the Union army back into Chattanooga and closely invested the town. A glance at a railroad map of the time shows that Rosecrans' supplies, if shipped by rail, had to come from the north to Stevenson and thence east over the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad, which enters Chattanooga from the south side of the Tennessee River along the foot of Lookout Mountain. By seizing the latter point Bragg broke Rosecrans' railroad communications with Stevenson and sent Wheeler to seize the lines to Nashville, but Crook was able to drive Wheeler back.⁶³ Under such conditions sufficient supplies could be conveyed to Stevenson, but had to be hauled by wagon a distance of sixty miles.⁶⁴ When the fall

⁵⁹ Rhodes, *History of the Civil War, 1861-1865*, 293, 294.

⁶⁰ Longstreet, *From Manassas to Appomattox*, 434-437, and Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate, a Critical Narrative*, 447.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Fitch, *The Chattanooga Campaign*, 160, 161.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 155, 156. See also Davis, *Short History of the Confederate States of America*, 346.

rains came these roads became almost impassable and the Union army nearly starved.⁶⁵

Even before the battle of Chickamauga, Grant had been ordered to reënforce Rosecrans, but, owing to the delay in getting the dispatch, the shallowness of water in the Mississippi, and the bad condition of the railroad lines east of Vicksburg and Memphis, the troops were slow in getting under way.⁶⁶ Secretary Stanton was convinced that greater haste was necessary and urged that troops be sent from the Army of the Potomac to the aid of Rosecrans. He was able to persuade the President to send Hooker with the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps. These were transported from Culpepper Court House to Washington by rail, transferred to the Baltimore and Ohio and carried via Wheeling, Columbus, Indianapolis, Louisville, and Nashville to Stevenson and Bridgeport, a distance of 1,200 miles in a week.⁶⁷ These forces arrived in October. In the meantime, Sherman was coming up with his four divisions from Memphis, but had to repair 300 miles of track as he advanced in order to maintain his communications.⁶⁸ With Grant in command of these combined forces Bragg was defeated and driven toward Dalton, Ga.

Grant now went to Washington to superintend in person the operations against Richmond, leaving Sherman in command in the West. The latter started toward Atlanta on May 6, 1864, with 99,000 men. Joseph E. Johnston was intrenched at Dalton, Ga., with 53,000 men. The disparity in numbers seemed to give Sherman a big advantage, but the roughness of the country and the constantly lengthening line of supply and a consequent dwindling of his main force thru detachments needed to protect this line put the two forces nearly on equal terms. By constant flanking and fighting Sherman gradually forced Johnston down the railroad line, since the dirt roads were so rough that the latter would not risk leaving the railroad. As they proceeded Sherman's difficulties increased, for he was left with an ever-longer line to defend.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Under such conditions Southern critics think Bragg should have forced Rosecrans to surrender. See W. E. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis* (Philadelphia, 1907), 316.

⁶⁶ Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, IV, 399.

⁶⁷ *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (3 vols., New York, 1907-1908), III, 59; Pratt, *Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest*, 23-25.

⁶⁸ Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, IV, 399.

⁶⁹ On May 22 Sherman wrote from Kingston, "I am already within fifty miles of Atlanta, and have added 100 miles to my communications, every mile of which is liable to attack by cavalry."

It required about 130 carloads of provisions daily for his army, and both cars and locomotives had to be seized at Louisville and sent to him.⁷⁰ Everything had to be carried over a single-track railroad approximately 500 miles long, and most of this had to be rebuilt for as fast as Johnston retreated he destroyed as much of the track as possible and burned the bridges.⁷¹ The troubles were not all on Sherman's side for the equipment on the Confederate railroads was so poor by this time that the movement of trains was very uncertain.⁷² Even fuel was so scarce that full trains could not be pulled, and as a consequence baggage and artillery horses were in poor condition for such a strenuous campaign.⁷³

In this campaign Sherman learned the valuable lesson of bringing up and storing immense quantities of supplies in order that the breaking of his line of communications for a few days might not handicap him.⁷⁴ In the light of this experience, he collected immense stores at Atlanta before starting on his famous march to the sea, and then ordered sixty miles of track back of him destroyed to prevent the Confederates using it.⁷⁵

The fall of Atlanta was a terrible blow to the Confederacy.⁷⁶ It was not only a very important manufacturing center, but it was the key to the network of railroads extending to all parts of the Gulf states, and the cutting of these lines meant the loss to the Confederacy of the resources of extensive areas. In the campaign around Atlanta and on his march thru Georgia, Sherman destroyed more than 265 miles of railroad and rendered useless to the Confederacy 1,103 miles in the state of Georgia alone.⁷⁷

After the capture of Savannah, so serious was the trans-

⁷⁰ Rossiter Johnson, *The Fight for the Republic* (New York, 1917), 267.

⁷¹ Schouler, *History of the United States*, VI, 311; Sherman's *Memoirs*, II, 398; Davis, *Short History of the Confederate States of America*, 420; *Autobiography of Oliver O. Howard*, I, 503.

⁷² As early as May 31, 1863, it required an hour and ten minutes for a train on which General Bragg and Colonel Freemantle were riding to travel eight miles because the rails were so bad. Freemantle, *Three Months in the Southern States*, April-June, 1863, 127.

⁷³ Johnston, *Narrative and Military Operations during the Late War between the States*, 278.

⁷⁴ Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 579.

⁷⁵ Pratt, *Rise of Rail-Power in War and Conquest*, 35, 36; Davis, *Short History of the Confederate States of America*, 431, 432.

⁷⁶ Pollard, *The Lost Cause*, 581; Davis, *Short History of the Confederate States of America*, 423.

⁷⁷ Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, V, 20; C. Mildred Thompson, *Reconstruction in Georgia*, in *Columbia University Studies*, 1915, Vol. LXIV, 24-26.

portation problem that the Columbia and Augusta Railroad Company tried to build a line farther to the west, but little was accomplished.⁷⁸ This made it necessary for Lee to depend on southwest Virginia and the Carolinas for supplies, but the Richmond and Danville Railroad was now in such poor condition that it was very difficult to get provisions over it.⁷⁹ At the close of the war the North Carolina Railroad had only five passenger cars on 233 miles of track.⁸⁰

The railroads in the Carolinas were really more valuable to Johnston than to Sherman. Due to the broken condition of communications it was difficult to get the Confederate forces united tho finally Hardee, Hood, Hill, Bragg, Hampton, and Wheeler were brought together by Johnston.⁸¹ It was found that large bodies of troops that came from Hood's ill-starred campaign in Tennessee were without baggage wagons and could not operate far from a railroad.⁸² In spite of these handicaps in March, 1865, troops arriving at Charlotte, N.C., were sent to Smithville by railway where they aided Bragg in the capture of Smith's division.⁸³

By March 23, 1865, however, Sherman had reached Goldsborough, N.C., and had possession of or was in easy reach of Lee's southern source of supplies.⁸⁴ This gradual strangling movement from the West and South, together with the hammering on Lee's army by Grant, finally forced the surrender of the Confederate forces.

Some of the indirect effects of railroads on the war have been mentioned in the earlier part of this article, but too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that they tied the interests of the western agricultural states of the north to those of the industrial eastern states. Moreover, the railroad as a factor in politics needs to be noticed at this time. Kentucky and the southern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois were settled largely by people from the southern states. These pioneers reached their destination by following the courses of the Ohio and its tributaries. Since they came largely from

⁷⁸ Nathaniel W. Stephenson, *The Day of the Confederacy* (New Haven, 1919, 1920), 152, 153, Vol. XXX of the *Chronicles of America Series*, edited by Allen Johnson.

⁷⁹ Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, IV, 61.

⁸⁰ John C. Schwab, *The Confederate States of America* (New York, 1901), 274.

⁸¹ Davis, *Short History of the Confederate States of America*, 464.

⁸² Johnston, *Narrative and Military Operations during the Late War between the States*, 374.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 378, 379. Johnston estimates the number of prisoners at 15,000.

⁸⁴ McCabe, *Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee*, 586.

the South their sentiments and feelings were largely southern, and thruout the pre-war period they followed the political lead of the South. It was probably this element that forced Lincoln to take a moderate stand on abolition and enabled Douglas to twit him because of the fact that his speeches were not so strongly antislavery in southern Illinois as farther to the north. Therefore, the population of the region farther north in Illinois must have been different in sentiment from the southern portion, which can be explained largely in terms of railroad influence. After railroad lines were built connecting the Mississippi region with New York and the rest of the East, that region then had the advantage in ease of movement westward, and the New Englanders and settlers from the middle Atlantic states poured into this newly-opened region. Since New York is the port of entry for most of our foreign immigrants, Germans, Irish, and other foreign elements came to the cheap land offered for sale by the railroad companies. Many among these new elements were antislavery in sentiment and voted usually in favor of the Wilmot Proviso principle. Lincoln's success in 1860 was won on a narrow margin, and this margin was made up largely of foreigners, especially Germans whom the railroads poured into the contested regions in great number.⁸⁵

Fortunately, the North had a decided advantage in the number of men she could pour into her armies and workshops. She also had a greater amount of wealth and resources which count mightily in a long-drawn-out contest like our Civil War. Yet without greater transportation facilities, wealth and numbers would not have been sufficient. A superior fleet enabled her to close the ports of the South and helped her armies in the campaigns along the seacoast and navigable rivers. Long lines of railroads brought her people East and West into closer sympathy with each other and enabled her not only to pour great armies into the South but also to feed them from the fields of the agricultural West and equip them from the factories of the industrial East. Thruout the war food was plentiful on southern plantations and farms but could not be transported in sufficient quantity to the southern armies. As has been shown, the population and resources of the trans-Mississippi region could not be

⁸⁵ William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest", in *The American Historical Review* for July, 1911, 787, 788.

properly utilized by the Confederacy at any time and became nil after the fall of Vicksburg. With the fall of such railway centers as Chattanooga and Atlanta, other parts of its territory were made useless, and yet as late as February, 1865, when Lee's army was starving, Joseph E. Johnston estimated that there were more than four months' rations for 60,000 men in the railway depots between Charlotte, Danville, and Weldon, inclusive, but it was impossible to transport the food to Richmond because the rolling stock and other equipment of the railroads had deteriorated so badly.⁸⁶ The lack of adequate transportation facilities was thus an important factor in the loss of the war by the South.

⁸⁶ Johnston, *Narrative and Military Operations during the Late War between the States*, 375.



INDIANA'S CARE OF HER SOLDIERS IN
THE FIELD, 1861-1865

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SYSTEMATIC care by the state of Indiana for her soldiers in the field dates from the battle of Fort Donelson. But contributions of goods, clothing, and medical supplies were made in a small way during the summer of 1861. The advent of cool nights in the mountains of western Virginia in August hastened the contributions. During August and September the state government was instrumental in securing a supply of overcoats.¹ In October, Governor Morton's special calls for contributions of clothing and blankets were supplied by people over the state.² During December and January supplies of this nature trickled into Indianapolis and were forwarded to points of need.

Special relief organizations continued to be formed during the winter, but it was not until February and March, 1862, that a well-organized plan was worked out and urged on the people of the state. The losses resulting from the battle of Fort Donelson were the occasion for the formation of the Indiana Sanitary Commission on March 3, 1862. Its work was to collect supplies of all kinds needed in the field and distribute them to Indiana regiments. William Hannaman was made president and Alfred Harrison treasurer.³ The plan used for collecting goods was simple at first, but developed rapidly into an intricate system. Various devices were used to induce a constant flow of contributions to the central warehouse at Indianapolis. Hannaman and Harrison made appeals

¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, August 19, 1861; J. H. Vajen to Quartermaster Meigs, September 11, 1861, unclassified MSS., Indiana State Library; W. H. H. Terrell, *Report of the Adjutant-General of the State of Indiana, "Indiana in the War of the Rebellion"*, and *Statistics and Documents* (Indianapolis, 1867), I, 315; *Madison Courier*, October 16 and December 11, 1861; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, October 9, 11, 12, and 18, 1861; John H. Dickerson to M. C. Meigs, September 6, 1861, unclassified MSS., Indiana State Library.

² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, October 10, 12, and 15, 1861; *New Albany Daily Ledger*, October 16 and November 10, 1861; Terrell, *Report*, I, 318, 319; William Dudley Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, including his important speeches (Indianapolis, 1899), I, 159; *Indiana Documentary Journal* (Indianapolis, 1863), 653.

³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 28, March 1, 4, 5, and 6, 1862; *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, February 28, March 1, 4, and 8, 1862; Terrell, *Report*, I, 324.

thru the press, by letter, and in person.⁴ Governor Morton was a central figure in the work.⁵ During 1863 and 1864 sanitary fairs were held over the state to good advantage, especially for raising money.⁶

Soldiers home from the field and military agents were used to make a personal appeal whenever possible.⁷ As these men went over the state they encouraged the organization of auxiliary aid societies in each county, with branches in the townships. Goods were forwarded from the county-seat center to Indianapolis when accumulations justified it.⁸ The Sanitary Commission sent out general directions for preparing the contributions.⁹ Everything promising to be of use in field or hospital for improving the welfare of the soldiers was donated: tons of clothing, poultry, cornmeal, butter, dried apples, eggs, pillows, sheets, towels, shirts, socks, lard, pickles, onions, beans, hominy, tobacco, etc.¹⁰ Books were collected, and special efforts were made to place a Bible in the hands of every soldier. Sunday School children made bags in which were placed needles, yarn, cloth, and other articles for the soldiers' use.¹¹

Money was being raised all the time. Private citizens, societies, corporations, counties, and cities made contributions. With these amounts were purchased such articles as the Commission did not have when urgent relief calls came; for drayage, fuel, and stationery. William Hannaman estimated the value of goods contributed in 1862 at \$86,000; in 1863 at \$101,000; and to December, 1864, at \$45,000. The total value of such contributions was placed at \$359,000.¹²

In the battle of Fort Donelson the Union forces lost nearly 10,000 in killed and wounded, 1,000 of whom were from Indiana.¹³ The rest of the men were so nearly exhausted by their labors and exposure that they were not able to prevent

⁴ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, December 8, 1862.

⁵ *Madison Courier*, February 6, 1863; Terrell, *Report*, I, 327, 328.

⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 11 and December 3, 5, and 16, 1863; Terrell, *Report*, I, 326, 327; *Documentary Journal*, 1865, Part II, 83.

⁷ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, November 27, 1863; *Documentary Journal*, Part II, 78; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, December 7, 1863.

⁸ Terrell, *Report*, I, 324-326.

⁹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 8, 1862.

¹⁰ *Documentary Journal*, 1865, Part II, 109-112.

¹¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 4, 1862, and May 19 and October 9, 1863.

¹² Terrell, *Report*, I, 328; *Documentary Journal*, 1865, Part II, 108, 109.

¹³ John Cadman Ropes and William Roscoe Livermore, *The Civil War* (New York, 1913), II, 33, 34; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 18, 1862.

the escape of many Confederates on the night before the surrender.¹⁴ On February 17, Governor Morton received a dispatch asking whether he could provide hospital service for 200 wounded. He immediately replied that he had room in advance for all Indiana men.¹⁵ After making arrangements with various cities along the Ohio,¹⁶ he telegraphed to General Halleck in greater detail, "We can take care of 300 wounded at Evansville, 500 at New Albany, and 300 at Indianapolis."¹⁷

This was the first important battle in which Indiana regiments had participated and was the occasion for extensive preparations for doing everything that could be done for their welfare. James M. Ray, acting for Governor Morton, called on the people for aid and supplies.¹⁸ Morton decided to go to Donelson to see for himself what aid was needed and to administer immediate relief. Hundreds of surgeons and several women volunteered to go to care for the wounded not able to be moved. Morton entrusted to Dr. J. M. Kitchen the business of selecting surgeons and preparing relief. The company included some twenty-five doctors and nurses, who started on February 17 by special train by way of Cairo and Mound City, and arrived at Donelson on February 20.¹⁹ They found that the dead had been buried, saw that the seriously wounded were being cared for, and noted the approximate number of wounded that were to be provided for by the state. Several of the wounded had been sent to Cairo, Paducah, Mound City, and St. Louis before Morton's party arrived. Some of these hospitals were visited on the return trip and surgeons left where the immediate need was greatest.

Morton reached Indianapolis on February 23 and immediately began organizing and dispatching assistance to the hospitals. The hospital service at Indianapolis was reorganized; new hospitals were opened in the towns along the Ohio and inspectors dispatched to keep them in good working order. Other expeditions with physicians and supplies were sent to Paducah, Mound City, and other points where Indiana

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, February 25, 1862.

¹⁵ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, February 19, 1862.

¹⁶ *General Telegrams*, III, 34, 35, 47-49; *New Albany Daily Ledger*, February 18, 1862.

¹⁷ O. P. Morton to General Halleck, February 17, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 34. Among the other cities offering to help were Columbus, Richmond, Terre Haute, Salem and Madison. *Department Despatches*, III, 47, 73.

¹⁸ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, February 21 and 28, 1862; *ibid.*, March 3, 1862.

¹⁹ *New Albany Daily Ledger*, February 25, 1862; *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, February 19 and 21, 1862.

wounded were located,²⁰ to report the names of Indiana soldiers there, their needs, and the general condition of the sick and wounded.²¹ Women over the state did a great work in preparing handkerchiefs, underwear, sheets, pillows, slippers, and other hospital supplies.²² By February 20 Indianapolis had raised \$4,500 in money alone.²³ The state contracted for steamboats to carry supplies and surgeons to hospitals outside the state and the sick and wounded to Indiana. This work continued as long as there was need for it. Indiana's sick and wounded were so well cared for that the Secretary of War notified Governor Morton: "The War Department thanks you for your prompt and energetic action."²⁴

In April, 1862, the battle of Pittsburg Landing called forth especial efforts at relief. Much the same organization was used that had been set up in February, but special steamboats carrying supplies and surgeons out and Indiana men home were used even more extensively. Again many physicians and nurses offered to go on relief expeditions in response to the call for volunteers; some were sent to the various hospitals in which Indiana soldiers were located.²⁵ The hospital service of the river towns was reorganized to receive the many that were brought home,²⁶ and Morton gave them almost personal supervision respecting overcrowding, sending elsewhere numbers in excess of those that could be well cared for, and allocating new arrivals. One of the hospitals at Evansville was soon in bad condition, due partly to the inefficiency of the federal medical director there. Morton recommended that he be superseded by a better officer. The Sanitary Commission busied itself in collecting supplies and sending them out to places needing them, and its previous experience made it possible that appropriate kinds of stores and packing of goods could be sent to Shiloh. Again inspectors were sent to hospitals outside the state. Military agents constantly sent in reports from their districts.

²⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 25, 1862; *ibid.*, February 21, 1862; *Madison Courier*, February 26, 1862; *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, February 26 and 28 and March 3, 1862; *General Telegrams*, III, 139, 149, 157.

²¹ *Ibid.*, February 28, 1862; *Madison Courier*, February 26, 1862.

²² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 3, 1862; *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, February 28, 1862; *General Telegrams*, III, 62.

²³ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, February 21, 1862; *New Albany Daily Ledger*, February 19, 1862; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 20, 1862.

²⁴ E. M. Stanton to O. P. Morton, February 19, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 49.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 125.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 124, 125, 128, 132, 133, 135-137, 141, 142, 144, 158, 159.

The Governor started one boat to Pittsburg Landing on April 7, 1862, and sent surgeons the next day.²⁷ Father E. B. Kilroy was sent to Shiloh in the middle of March, 1862,²⁸ to report conditions prevailing among the troops. Morton arranged for a special boat which left Evansville on April 10, 1862, with thirty or forty volunteer surgeons and supplies for Pittsburg Landing.²⁹ On April 25, 1862, W. R. Holloway, Governor Morton's private secretary, was arranging to remove Indiana sick from New Madrid,³⁰ which was done.³¹ Morton wanted all disabled Indiana men sent to Indiana to be cared for. He requested Dr. G. Perrin, assistant medical director at Louisville, to send Indiana sick and wounded arriving there to Indiana hospitals,³² which was promised "as far as practicable".³³ The same request was made of J. S. Bobbs, medical director at New Albany, on April 13.³⁴

On April 14, Bobbs was instructed to board the boats "arriving and get Indiana wounded. Place them in hospital if possible at New Albany. . . . Make arrangements to have Indians left . . . off boats at Jefferson City or Madison."³⁵ A boat arriving on April 14 left at Evansville all Indians on board except those living near Louisville. Those able to travel farther were sent on to their homes.³⁶ Morton also cared for the sick of other states in Indiana hospitals. On May 12, 1862, 400 sick Ohio troops were sent to New Albany, 150 placed in the hospital there, and the rest, being convalescent, were furloughed home.³⁷

On April 18, 1862, J. S. Wilson, military agent stationed at Nashville, planned to send home on furlough from the hospitals 500 sick Indiana soldiers, but an order from General Buell, dated April 17, prohibited all furloughs. Wilson appealed to Morton,³⁸ who conferred with General Halleck, but in vain.³⁹ He then appealed to Secretary Stanton,⁴⁰ and was

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 124.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 125, 225.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 125, 128. For other negotiations see *ibid.*, III, 132, 133.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 184.

³¹ *Ibid.*, III, 205.

³² *Ibid.*, III, 136.

³³ *Ibid.*, III, 137.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 142.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 144.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 145, 164.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 240.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 161.

³⁹ O. P. Morton to General Halleck, April 17, 1862, *ibid.*, III, 164.

⁴⁰ O. P. Morton to E. M. Stanton, April 17, 1862, *ibid.*, III, 164.

authorized "to bring home the sick from Nashville hospitals as proposed in your telegram".⁴¹ The men were rushed home.⁴² Wilson arranged with Dr. Perrin at Louisville to discharge all not likely to be fit for service soon.⁴³ Many of those coming to Indiana were sent home on furlough if they were strong enough to travel.⁴⁴ Morton reprimanded Wilson for not making more adequate provision for the welfare of the men on the homeward journey.⁴⁵

The attitude of the generals in the field was by no means entirely in favor of Morton's practices. They seemed to have the greatest difficulty in realizing the exact needs of soldiers in the hospitals. Nor would the Medical Bureau take suggestions made from civilians whether they came in an official capacity or as a petition from individuals. They regarded Morton's plan of bringing home men disabled for any considerable length of time, as for thirty to sixty days, as demoralizing to the service. During February there was little active opposition to his assistance, but in April more strict federal supervision began to be imposed.⁴⁶ On April 19 he appealed to Stanton for permission "to bring to their homes or to our hospitals from New Madrid, Mo., and other places south and west all the Indiana sick who are able to be moved".⁴⁷ Within ten days they were removed.⁴⁸ On April 25 Morton asked Secretary Stanton for permission "to transport hospital stores and bring home Indiana sick and wounded wherever I may find them. . . ." ⁴⁹ He was authorized to receive such . . . "as may be designated by the senior medical officer in charge".⁵⁰

Morton wanted to be on the ground in case of another battle in the region of Shiloh, consequently he went to Pittsburg Landing, starting May 10, 1862.⁵¹ He anticipated a battle

⁴¹ E. M. Stanton to O. P. Morton, April 17, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 165.

⁴² *Ibid.* III, 167, 172, 175, 181, 189. Morton authorized Wilson to contract for a steamboat for their transportation, which he did at the rate of one dollar per man.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, 181.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 147, 181, 180, 186, 190.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 180.

⁴⁶ *Documentary Journal*, 1865, II, 175; Terrell, *Report*, I, 347; *General Telegrams*, III, 186, 187.

⁴⁷ O. P. Morton to E. M. Stanton, April 19, 1862, *ibid.*, III, 170, 184.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 205.

⁴⁹ O. P. Morton to Joseph A. Wright, April 25, 1862, *ibid.*, III, 182, 183.

⁵⁰ Surgeon-General W. A. Hammond to Joseph A. Wright, April 28, 1862, *ibid.*, III, 195. Such soldiers were carried home at state expense if the United States would not furnish transportation. *Ibid.* III, 224, 225; *ibid.*, IV, 20.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, III, 230.

at Corinth, Miss., and wanted to be there to supervise relief⁵² as well as to see "about regimental reorganization".⁵³ While there he was at General Halleck's headquarters.⁵⁴ Steamboats plied hurriedly between Pittsburg Landing and Indiana towns between May 10 and 15, 1862, carrying home Indiana sick and convalescent soldiers, and carrying back soldiers going to rejoin their regiments, and nurses, surgeons, and hospital supplies for the seemingly impending battle.⁵⁵

Then there were numerous outstanding cases of state organizations sending relief to regiments at times not occasioned by battles, or by battles of importance. In March, 1862, Indiana troops near New Madrid were greatly in need of clothing, and Morton offered to supply it from Indianapolis in case there was not a sufficient supply on hand,⁵⁶ but General Halleck complacently answered that there was plenty of clothing at St. Louis and Cairo which would be issued upon requisition.⁵⁷ Moreover, pay was due, but the men there had not been paid for six months because of lack of ready funds, so Morton urged Robert Dale Owen to have money sent to St. Louis for that purpose.⁵⁸ Nor was this done, so on March 31 Holloway again reminded Halleck that Indiana regiments under General Pope were in need of uniforms, and offered to furnish them from Indianapolis.⁵⁹ To this Halleck again insisted that the quartermaster had an abundance of good clothing and filled every requisition as soon as it came in;⁶⁰ his quartermaster said that no requisition had been made for clothing for Indiana regiments.⁶¹

But such arguments over the requirements of red tape did not protect the men from the March winds, and W. R. Holloway sent word to Colonel Graham N. Fitch, of the Forty-sixth Indiana, at Point Pleasant, Mo., that he had done everything possible to induce General Halleck to allow his wants to

⁵² *Ibid.*, III, 236, 254, 258.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, III, 238.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 260.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 215, 216, 221, 226, 227, 236, 237, 240; *ibid.*, IV, 5.

⁵⁶ *General Despatches*, III, 110.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 111.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 113, 118.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 114, 182, 183, 260. On March 29, 1862, W. R. Holloway notified R. D. Owen at Washington: "Please see if the money cannot be sent without delay. These poor fellows' families are suffering for the necessities of life. Humanity demands that they be paid at the earliest possible moment." *Ibid.*, III, 112.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 115.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, III, 115.

be supplied from Indianapolis and that all he could get from him was the "requisitions are promptly filled". He suggested that Colonel Fitch send his quartermaster to St. Louis to see what could be done, and promised to take the responsibility of supplying his regiment if he could not get relief from St. Louis.⁶²

On April 5, the Governor again notified Halleck that he had been reliably informed that the Thirty-fourth, Forty-third, Forty-sixth, and Forty-seventh regiments under General Pope at New Madrid were suffering for shoes and clothing; that they had made frequent requisitions to no purpose, and asked that he investigate the matter and report the results.⁶³ The red tape remained as firm as granite when Halleck replied, "Plenty of supplies at Cairo. Will inquire into the matter",⁶⁴ but it was not until W. R. Holloway went to St. Louis that some of the needed supplies were sent from there and the rest from Indianapolis.⁶⁵

Another instance of a great effort being made to relieve an Indiana regiment was that for the Forty-ninth at Cumberland Ford. In April, 1862, Governor Morton received word that 370 men in that regiment were sick and needing food and hospital supplies. Nothing of that kind could be had there.⁶⁶ On the same day the state promised to send a good lot of supplies and two additional surgeons, and added, "Never hesitate to call on us for assistance. It will be promptly given."⁶⁷ Even with this aid conditions grew rapidly worse, and a military agent was sent in the middle of May to report conditions; he found that but 377 men were fit for duty; that 188 were sick and in camp, and 321 were absent on sick leave; that they needed fruits of all kinds, pickles, kraut, and pota-

⁶² *General Despatches*, III, 116.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, III, 122, 123.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 123.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 184; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, quoted in French, *Indiana*, 239-241, says in part: "Morton dispatches were suppressed at General Pope's headquarters and never handed to Colonel Fitch. Governor Morton not hearing from Fitch sent an agent to New Madrid who learned that Morton's requisition for supplies had been endorsed 'Not granted, Jno. Pope, Major-General Commanding'. At about the time General Pope was ordered to Pittsburg Landing, Governor Morton sent his private secretary to Ft. Pillow where the regiments were then stationed to see if they had been supplied. It was through the Governor's agents that clothing finally reached the troops, many of whom were shoeless and almost naked." On April 1, W. R. Holloway promised Colonel Fitch, "If you cannot get them there [at St. Louis] we will take the responsibility and supply you, no matter about the consequences." *General Telegrams*, III, 116.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 184.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 184.

toes, but most of all it seemed best to send them on furlough to Lexington.⁶⁸

Conditions grew worse. Early in June but 229 out of 900 officers and men could report for duty. Their camp was in an unhealthy locality and supplies were meager and not fit for sick men. They had neither straw nor hay with which to fill bed-ticks; even the sick were compelled to lie on the ground. General Buell was urged to order the regiment to Lexington or to some other point where the men could get supplies and be properly cared for.⁶⁹ The state sent a good lot of supplies and two additional surgeons,⁷⁰ and Colonel Ray was promised by Holloway that "you must and shall be removed. Your men will not be allowed to die there without an effort on our part."⁷¹ It was not until after two days that Buell sent word that an investigation of the case was being made and that action would be taken as soon as practicable.⁷²

In the meantime Holloway telegraphed Indiana's delegation in Congress to induce the President to interfere in behalf of the regiment. General Buell would not agree that it be sent to Lexington, even tho Generals Carter and Morgan favored it and Holloway insisted that this was the only way to save the men.⁷³ Holloway sent President Lincoln a bundle of Colonel Ray's letters relating the condition of the regiment and appealed to him by telegraph to order its removal to Lexington. He stated that but two-ninths of the 900 men were fit for duty, with a sick list increasing from eleven to fifteen daily; that the regiment had over 300 men lying on the ground without the necessities of life, and that there was no food within eighty miles. He promised that Governor Morton would call on President Lincoln in a few days.⁷⁴

The Indiana delegation visited Lincoln and Secretary Stanton,⁷⁵ and asked that they interfere on behalf of the regiment. The President asked Stanton to order it away, but he flatly refused. Holloway then put the matter in Morton's hands. The Governor was in New York when his secretary

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 222, 223, 245.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 185, 296; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. X, 630, 631.

⁷⁰ W. R. Holloway to Colonel John W. Ray, April 25, 1862, *ibid.*, III, 184, 245, 308.

⁷¹ W. R. Holloway to Colonel John W. Ray, June 4, 1862, *General Despatches*, III, 298.

⁷² General Buell to O. P. Morton, June 6, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 297.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, III, 300.

⁷⁴ W. R. Holloway to President Lincoln, June 7, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 306.

⁷⁵ W. R. Holloway to O. P. Morton, June 6, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 304; *ibid.*,

wired him: "The lives of 900 men depend on getting back to civilization. For God's sake have them ordered to Lexington."⁷⁶ There is no more typical instance of the efforts of the state administration of Indiana to aid its soldiers than this, and it furnished some justification for General Buell's unpopularity with Governor Morton later. Buell stated that the "Governors [of Indiana and Ohio] evidently look upon the troops they furnish the United States as their own."⁷⁷

Dr. D. A. Webster, surgeon at Nashville, Tenn., reported 1,050 invalid soldiers there and asked that orders be sent for them to go to Indianapolis. After finding whether they were Indianians, Morton secured the consent of Secretary Stanton for their removal, directed that they be sent to Indiana, named the hospitals in southern Indiana to which they should be sent, and asked that he be notified when they would arrive so that he could be ready to have them cared for. Morton authorized Webster to contract for transportation on the best terms he could secure, notifying Morton of the particulars by telegraph.⁷⁸

When the Seventh Indiana suffered severe losses at Port Republic in June, 1862, Colonel James Gavin asked Morton if fifty or sixty of the wounded able to return home could be furnished with transportation by the state.⁷⁹ Morton authorized Gavin to contract for their transportation at the best terms he could, and asked that the bills be sent to him. He had also sent an agent to assist in making the arrangements,⁸⁰ when word was received that Surgeon-General W. R. Hammond had blocked the plan.⁸¹

On August 30, 1862, in the battle at Richmond, Ky., 206 men were killed and 844 wounded; six Indiana regiments were engaged. Morton, with several surgeons, left Indianapolis on the next day to take care of the wounded. He telegraphed all along the road for surgical help and went to Lexington, Ky.⁸² He commissioned Dr. Theophilus Parvin and Dr. Talbot Bullard to go to Richmond and assist in caring for the

⁷⁶ *General Telegrams*, III, 304.

⁷⁷ *Official Records*, Series I, VIII, 443.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 200, 206.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 21.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 20, 22.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, IV, 33.

⁸² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 1, 1862. The regiments were the Twelfth, Sixty-sixth, Seventy-first, Sixty-ninth, Sixteenth, and Fifty-fifth.

wounded there. They went to Cincinnati⁸³ on September 8, and had to wait there for four days while arrangements were being made for passing the wagon train thru the lines under a flag of truce.⁸⁴ Dr. C. McDermott, United States medical director, was there at the same time and was probably instrumental in helping the Indianians in their plans for relief. Thirty ambulances, six sisters of charity together with two other female nurses and six men, made up the train. They carried a large supply of hospital stores and provisions. They arrived in Lexington on September 13, found thirty-seven patients there, and pushed on to Richmond.

The arrival of the train was the cause of much rejoicing among the wounded soldiers that were crowded into the three hospitals. The needed sanitary provisions were distributed among the men, but not all of them were in the hospitals there; the rest were scattered over the surrounding country in farmhouses as much as fifteen miles from Richmond. They reported the men to be in as good condition as the means at hand would allow. Wounds had been well cared for, and the men were comparatively clean and comfortable. The return trip was begun on September 17, the route being by way of Lexington and Maysville. They brought some 200 away with them.⁸⁵ The expedition cost \$828.76, and was paid for out of state funds.⁸⁶

Of the eight regiments of Indiana volunteers belonging to the Army of the South-West, near Helena, Ark., in September, 1862, there were about 300 men who were entirely unfit for duty. Their surgeons recommended that they be granted a furlough of thirty days with permission to return home. Governor Morton called the attention of Surgeon-General William A. Hammond to the situation⁸⁷ but was informed that that office had no power to grant such furloughs.⁸⁸ He next tried to get supplies to them, asking permission of General S. R. Curtis to send them from Indianapolis,⁸⁹ which was readily granted.⁹⁰ It was understood that the goods would go

⁸³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 8, 1862.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, September 10, 1862; Terrell, *Report*, I, 322.

⁸⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 23, 1862.

⁸⁶ *Documentary Journal*, 1863, 43; *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, February 2, 1863.

⁸⁷ O. P. Morton to Surgeon-General Hammond, September 22, 1864, *Department Despatches*, XV, 278.

⁸⁸ O. P. Morton to General Curtis, October 13, 1862, *ibid.*, XV, 279.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, XV, 304.

⁹⁰ S. R. Curtis to O. P. Morton, October 13, 1862, *ibid.*, XV, 309.

from Indianapolis in order to supply the troops more speedily, and that they were to go by special agent. Morton caused a list of the articles shipped to be sent to St. Louis so that the order would not be duplicated.⁹¹ In October, 1862, Morton organized a relief expedition to McCook's Division, which had suffered losses in Tennessee. All expenses were borne by the state.⁹²

Another of the most striking attempts made to aid Indiana men was made in the latter part of 1863. During the autumn reports reached Morton that Indiana soldiers confined in prisons in and around Richmond, Va., were in destitute condition; that the men were half dead from hunger, filth, and vermin; that the rations were about the same as those issued to the rebel army, but very inadequate and poor. Officers were treated little better than privates, and Indiana military agents urged Morton to do something to relieve conditions.⁹³

The Governor began negotiations with the Confederate authorities. J. W. Montfort, Indiana military agent at Washington, carried on the correspondence with Robert Ould, the Confederate commissioner of prisoners. Consent was given by that official saying:

Any provisions you may send to Ely Point for Indiana prisoners will be faithfully distributed under such regulations as our prison authorities may furnish, such regulations relating solely to the benefit of the prisoners. The provisions can be sent to my care or that of Brigadier-General Wilder. We have now begun scattering our prisoners over the country, owing to the refusal of the federal authorities to make an exchange. This action will alone be good reason for directing your provisions to any one of your officers.⁹⁴

The directions agreed upon stated that "boxes must be sent by express prepaid to Fortress Monroe. No expense will be incurred upon them beyond that point. All packages

⁹¹ *Department Despatches*, XV, 305, 308.

⁹² *General Despatches*, IX, 69, 71, 73, 74.

⁹³ Captain M. T. Anderson, of the Fifty-first Indiana, an escaped prisoner, writing in the *Journal* said of conditions at Libby and Belle Isle: "Food is bad, scanty, and disgusting. Often there is no meat at all and never enough. This is the case with officers in Libby. It is still worse with privates in Belle Isle. There food is not only meager, rare, and bad, but they have no other personal comforts to compensate for the want of it, or make its absence tell with less damaging force on the system. The whole isle is alive with vermin, and the men who could easily, and would gladly, keep themselves clean by bathing in the river which runs within a few yards of the camp are never allowed near the water at any time. . . . The very sand of the shore is thickened with vermin." *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, December 28, 1863.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, November 21, 1863; *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, November 23, 1863; Terrell, *Report*, I, 322.

. . . will have the special care of Major Mulford and Mr. Ould, and receipts for them will be returned to Mr. Montfort, at his office in Washington City." All packages had to be marked "For . . ., Prisoner of War, Richmond, Va." A card had to be attached to each side of the box, marked "For Indiana Prisoners of War, From Gov. O. P. Morton, of Indiana, Care Major J. E. Mulford, Ft. Monroe, Va., and Hon. Robert Ould, Agent of Exchange, Richmond, Va."⁹⁵

Some \$5,000 or \$6,000 worth of supplies were purchased by Morton in Baltimore and sent to the prisoners.⁹⁶ As soon as the arrangements were made for getting supplies thru the lines, 300 suits of clothes were sent.⁹⁷ On November 11, 500 suits were sent to Richmond by Quartermaster-General Stone.⁹⁸ The *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel* on October 11 stated that, "Morton has sent 700 complete suits of clothes . . . and 700 blankets, and is trying to make arrangements for sending provisions."⁹⁹ On December 4, 300 uniforms and blankets and tents for 600 men were shipped to Belle Isle, Va., in charge of a special messenger, as were other shipments. Caps, underwear, socks, jackets, trousers, shoes, and overcoats were thus supplied.¹⁰⁰ By December the men were supplied with all that they were allowed to use. Escaped prisoners from Libby Prison said that goods sent them arrived in good condition.¹⁰¹

It was also arranged that letters be sent to prisoners confined in prison camps in the region of Richmond on condition that they contain no more than one sheet of letter paper, refer only to personal and domestic affairs, and be signed by the writer's name in full. Five cents in coin had to be enclosed in the envelope which was not to be sealed. All letters were to be sent to the commanding general of the Department of Virginia at Fortress Monroe. To go to other points beyond the lines they were to contain ten cents.¹⁰²

These special attempts to relieve Indiana soldiers in the field were supplemented constantly by general activities. Mor-

⁹⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 24, 1863, quoting a letter from A. Stone; *ibid.*, December 30, 1862; Terrell, *Report*, I, 349.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 322, 349.

⁹⁷ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, December 5, 1863.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, November 12, 1863.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, October 11, 1863.

¹⁰⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, December 5 and 28, 1863; *ibid.*, February 29, 1864.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, December 28, 1863; Terrell, *Report*, I, 349, and Appendix, 291.

¹⁰² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 24, 1863.

ton's agents and the officers of Indiana regiments were constantly sending information concerning conditions in the field and suggestions for relief.¹⁰³ But when the information was not forthcoming he did not hesitate to ask for it. On August 12, 1862, he inquired of General Banks for the names of those killed or wounded belonging to the Twenty-seventh Indiana.¹⁰⁴ On October 3, 1862, he inquired of General Morgan the condition of the Thirty-third and Forty-ninth regiments.¹⁰⁵ He urged doctors in the hospitals and agents in the field to call upon state organizations for assistance. He anticipated winter calls for food and clothing. He sent special agents to the field to discover what was needed and to report those needs to him or distribute the goods that had been placed in the permanent depots of the military agents. He established a place in Jeffersonville, Ind., which gave to soldiers passing thru the city a warm meal at no cost to themselves.¹⁰⁶

Concerning the detailed work of Indiana military agents, R. R. Corson writing from Philadelphia said that they were to keep the state accurately and frequently apprised of the condition and location of her every soldier in the hospital in this city.

The state is enabled to answer questions asked by friends, correct desertions falsely reported, and check off discharges from the true date as no longer recipients of further state bounty money. . . . Letters of inquiry are given immediate attention and are answered in detail in each case after inquiry has been made.

They reported the needs of soldiers in hospitals, and the condition of each, the number in the hospitals, transfers to other hospitals, etc. Mementoes of the dead were preserved and sent to friends or relatives.¹⁰⁷ W. T. Dennis wrote from Washington:

It is not improper to remark that the duties of our agent at this point are not entirely restricted to the wants and care of those in the hospitals, but that all matters upon which information is desired by our citizens at home, or by those in the army at other points, very materially fall into this channel, and a very large number of letters from various parts of our state are to be attended to. . . .¹⁰⁸

Morton sent out other special surgeons, agents, and relief

¹⁰³ *General Telegrams*, III, 73, 77; *General Despatches*, IX, 240.

¹⁰⁴ *Department Despatches*, XV, 80.

¹⁰⁵ *General Despatches*, IX, 19.

¹⁰⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, January 5, 1864.

¹⁰⁷ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 13, 1862.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1862.

expeditions to places needing them and at state expense. Mr. Merritt, a state agent in April, 1862, took to Savannah, Tenn., by way of Louisville a large amount of hospital supplies for the sick and wounded left in the region of Shiloh.¹⁰⁹ A special agent accompanied supplies and munitions to New Madrid in April, 1862.¹¹⁰ Colonel W. E. Hollingsworth was sent in charge of expeditions to Shiloh in May, 1862. Morton hired a special train to carry himself and suite from Indianapolis to Evansville on May 10, 1862,¹¹¹ on his way to Pittsburg Landing. He ordered a special train to carry sanitary stores and a relief party to the Ohio River for an expedition south on May 4, 1862.¹¹² Indiana's relief extended not only to the sick demanding attention in the hospitals, but to carrying good cheer to the convalescent and able. Agent W. T. Dennis gave a Christmas dinner for Indiana patients in hospitals in Washington in 1862, Governor Morton being drawn upon for funds.¹¹³

In case it seemed that the men in the hospitals could not be restored to the service in a short time, the whole organization of the military agencies was thrown on the side of their being sent home for treatment. In May, 1862, Governor Morton sent General K. F. Mansfield to Sherman's army to do what he could to have the sick and wounded sent to Indiana.¹¹⁴ G. O. Jobes, military agent at Memphis, in September, 1863, assisted seventy furloughed men to reach their homes.¹¹⁵ In March, 1863, W. R. Holloway obtained 148 furloughs for sick soldiers at St. Louis, had thirty-two discharged from the service, and provided passes for them all.¹¹⁶ In September, 1862, G. K. Steele and Governor Morton were in Louisville trying to secure discharges for sick Indiana soldiers there. At the same time Asahel Stone, commissary-general for Indiana, was traveling all over the war region for the same purpose.¹¹⁷ In case these men could not be sent to Indiana, Morton tried at least to get them together in a place in which they could receive better care. Agents were instructed to this effect.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁹ *General Telegrams*, III, 122.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 184.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 228, 230, 231.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, III, 216.

¹¹³ *General Despatches*, IX, 240, 249, 254, 284, 285, 292, 294.

¹¹⁴ *Madison Courier*, April 4, 1862; Terrell, *Report*, I, 347.

¹¹⁵ *Documentary Journal*, 1865, Part II, 173.

¹¹⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 7, 1862.

¹¹⁷ Terrell, *Report*, I, 455; *General Telegrams*, III, 149.

¹¹⁸ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, August 12, 1862.

The state also issued passes to enable disabled men in the field to reach Indiana. They were being issued to military agents by William Hannaman in March, 1862.¹¹⁹ At that time W. R. Holloway visited Cincinnati hospitals and gave passes home to fifty sick men.¹²⁰ It was one of the duties of the state commissary-general to assist in procuring transportation for the sick and wounded in proper cases; and it was one of the duties of the general military agents to look after this phase of the work. Hence the passes were issued as Indiana military passes. Generally they were given to convalescent soldiers, to those who had received no pay and were furloughed or discharged without means for getting home, to female relatives or friends seeking a friend or relative but who had no money for traveling expenses,¹²¹ and to those who for some reason were unable to get passes from the federal government. Funds were furnished by the state or by the Sanitary Commission, the various railroads charging the regular military rates for those traveling on pass.¹²² They were evidently not necessarily intended to be paid for ultimately by the recipients. George O. Jobes, writing from Memphis on September 5, 1863, said:

At first I gave it as a gift and merely took receipt for it, but the demand got to be so great that I had to get a statement from the person receiving the pass . . . that he would refund the money as soon as he should receive payment for his services in the army.

And he added,

I shall collect these as long as I can without harshness.¹²³

Indiana agents were not only instrumental in securing passes for Indianians, but they also played the good Samaritan for hundreds of citizens of other states. Colonel Jason Ham, military agent at Louisville from 1863 to 1865, said that "Had the agency not been able to get passes for citizens of the state, hundreds of men and women would have been detained for days and even then would have had to return with-

¹¹⁹ *Documentary Journal*, 1865, II, 174; *ibid.*, March 17, 1862.

¹²⁰ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 17, 1862.

¹²¹ Terrell, *Report*, I, 291. Passes into southern territory of course had to be countersigned by the commanding generals there. Frequently Morton's statements were not accepted by those generals, i.e., Boyle, Garfield, and Rosecrans, as is seen in *Private Despatches*, XVI, 48, 49, 50, 90, 91, 108, 109, 194, 195. Morton wished to have this expense assumed by the federal government and was flatly refused. *Ibid.*, XVI, 147, 153.

¹²² Terrell, *Report*, I, 346, and Appendix, 291.

¹²³ *Documentary Journal*, 1865, Part II, 172.

out visiting their friends, as many had to do from other states", and continuing said that "Thousands of citizens from other states had passes procured for them by Indiana agencies."¹²⁴ At Louisville it was the practice of the commandant to send all persons having no sufficient indorsement for a pass to the Indiana agency to have their passes made correct. Citizens of Kentucky, Illinois, and Michigan often came to the Indiana agency at Louisville for aid.¹²⁵ Some 4,542 passes had been issued to the end of 1864. Of these 3,053 were issued to soldiers, 509 to soldiers' wives, 222 to nurses, 106 to special surgeons, 154 to military agents, and 109 to refugees on their way north. The average cost was about \$2 for each pass.¹²⁶ Late in the war when permanent hospitals had greatly improved, the number of such passes was reduced.¹²⁷

In the middle of April, 1862, W. R. Holloway made a tour of the hospitals in southern Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and the region of Pittsburg Landing to locate Indiana men, investigate their needs, and get as many as possible of those disabled sent to hospitals in Indiana.¹²⁸ The state paid the most of the cost of transportation.¹²⁹ He also visited Indiana regiments under General Pope¹³⁰ to report health conditions, the condition of military equipment, and the men in the hospitals that should be sent home.¹³¹ In June and August he visited Indiana regiments in the East and reported the conditions prevailing there.¹³² Governor Morton sent Judge W. S. Holman as special agent to Missouri and Arkansas in March, 1862, to report conditions existing among the Indiana troops there.¹³³ He instructed W. R. Holloway at Pittsburg Landing to have Colonel Gerber's remains sent home.¹³⁴ The body of Colonel Bass was sent to Fort Wayne evidently thru the same intervention.¹³⁵

Morton also obtained additional hospital service. In March,

¹²⁴ Terrell, *Report*, I, 345.

¹²⁵ *Documentary Journal*, 1865, II, 167.

¹²⁶ Terrell, *Report*, I, 346.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 347.

¹²⁸ *General Telegrams*, III, 147, 152, 157.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 138.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 166, 167.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, III, 171, 177.

¹³² *Ibid.*, IV, 37; *Department Despatches*, XV, 80.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, III, 94, 95, 97, 104.

¹³⁴ *General Telegrams*, III, 152, 153, 225.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 159.

1862, there were two hundred sick and wounded soldiers at New Albany, Ind. There was no government hospital there. Governor Morton was in Washington; Holloway directed Mayor Barnett at Evansville to "Employ a good physician and get the largest and best house possible." A hospital was fitted up.¹³⁶ Then came word from General Halleck that the men were at New Albany against his positive orders.¹³⁷ This caused some commotion, but finally the medical director at Louisville permitted those too sick to be removed to remain.¹³⁸ In December, 1862, Morton asked the Secretary of War to establish a United States hospital at Madison or reopen one at Evansville, because of the number of soldiers to be cared for.¹³⁹

From August to October, 1862, many Indianians were in the hospitals in the East. A special agent was sent to co-operate with the regular military agent and visit every hospital on the Potomac.¹⁴⁰ Another was sent in October to visit Indiana sick and wounded in the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry.¹⁴¹ Morton himself visited hospitals and carried supplies to the territory around Washington in the same month.¹⁴² In the middle of October, W. H. H. Terrell visited Harper's Ferry and the battlefield at Antietam to investigate the condition of Indianians there.¹⁴³ It was at this time that Morton's private secretary inquired of Terrell:

Complaints are made from good sources about [W. H.] Dennis' financial matters. No reports or vouchers have been submitted by him. I hope you will look into this as you are aware of its importance. Does he really do any work or is [it] theory.¹⁴⁴

In February, 1863, Morton defended to Secretary Stanton the case of a surgeon in the Thirtieth Indiana who had been dismissed by General Sherman.¹⁴⁵

The Governor's efforts to guarantee to the Sixty-sixth Indiana advance pay and bounty in August and September, 1862, won from General W. Nelson the exclamation, "Would to God that governors of other states would take the care of their

¹³⁶ *General Telegrams*, III, 106.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 107.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 107.

¹³⁹ *General Despatches*, IX, 272, 273.

¹⁴⁰ *Department Despatches*, XV, 296.

¹⁴¹ *General Despatches*, IX, 16.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, IX, 34.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, IX, 102.

¹⁴⁴ W. R. Holloway to W. H. H. Terrell, October 17, 1862, *General Telegrams*, IX, 119.

¹⁴⁵ Morton, *Letters*, II, 202.

soldiers that you do of all those of Indiana.”¹⁴⁶ Morton caused a paymaster to be stationed at Indianapolis to pay the large number of discharged and furloughed men stationed there.¹⁴⁷ In June, 1862, General Sherman needed \$25,000 to pay troops, but there was no money in sight from the federal government. Thru an agent, Governor Morton deducted that amount from funds due for ammunition supplied to the United States, turned it over to them, and waited for the money until the federal government was in a position to pay.¹⁴⁸

The Governor was always anxious to get his men out of southern prison camps as soon as he could to save them from disease, and to get them back into active service. To accomplish this, he corresponded continuously with federal officials in charge of that business and sometimes succeeded in his purpose; at times he met with gruff, curt replies that anything he could do would not hasten things in the least, since they insisted they were doing as much as they could to secure exchanges.¹⁴⁹

Under General Order No. 72 from the War Department, and according to an order from the commissary-general on prisoners of war, paroled prisoners from Indiana regiments could not be sent to the camp at Indianapolis. General Wright refused to grant Morton's wish to have them sent to the Indianapolis camp because they were supposed to go to the military camp at Columbus, Ohio.¹⁵⁰ The Governor then demanded of Secretary Stanton that a camp for paroled prisoners be established at Indianapolis, and complained that the poor treatment of men caused much discontent and induced them to take “French leave” to escape the torture which they were obliged to undergo. He assured Stanton that Indianapolis could care for them better than any other place.¹⁵¹ But Stanton firmly refused because it induced “shameful surrenders”,¹⁵² and some warm letters were exchanged which ended

¹⁴⁶ *General Despatches*, XV, 194-197.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 210 and 211.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, 36, 44, 46, 47. Other instances of his efforts to get pay due to the troops are found in *ibid.*, IX, 177, 181, 220, 257; *General Telegrams*, III, 110, 118, 260; *ibid.*, IV, 36.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, IX, 58, 87, 114, 302; *ibid.*, XV, 266, 308; *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. IV, 522, 623.

¹⁵⁰ *General Despatches*, XIV, 274, 275.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, XV, 286. See also Morton to Colonel William Hoffman, May 29, 1863, *Private Despatches*, XVI, 122, 204.

¹⁵² E. M. Stanton to O. P. Morton, September 22, 1862, *General Despatches*, XV, 287.

in Morton being partly victorious, when orders were issued which gave these men a parole of twenty days if they wished it.¹⁵³ Not satisfied with this concession the Governor wanted to get those at Chicago sent to Indianapolis; six days later he renewed his agitation to remove the men at Camp Chase as well. Stanton evidently grew weary of being stormed by telegrams and beset by Morton's special agents, for on October 22, he promised to have the men sent to Indianapolis if possible.¹⁵⁴ This was not done even tho Morton continued to remind him of the fact every week or so for a month longer.¹⁵⁵ This is another instance of the tenacity of purpose with which the Governor stuck to his plans for caring for Indiana soldiers even when he had appealed to the last resort. Early in 1863 Morton renewed his demands and in May was rewarded by partial success when Burnside ordered a few of this class of prisoners to be sent to Indiana.¹⁵⁶

The Governor's experience with the regular hospital service of the army after the battles of Fort Donelson and Pittsburg Landing made him extremely fearful of soldiers' relief in such emergencies. He had sent much special relief, but it was of a purely temporary nature. He wanted it to be more permanent.¹⁵⁷ On April 11, 1862, he asked Secretary Stanton for permission to raise a corps of volunteer surgeons. Stanton immediately replied that such "large provision has already been made for medical attendance that I must wait for report from General Halleck and if more be needed will give you notice and instructions".¹⁵⁸ But Morton was not to be put off by so soft an answer. On April 21, 1862, he again sent a telegram to Stanton, saying:

That a great battle is pending at Corinth, is evident. Before additional surgical aid can reach the field from any quarter, five or six days

¹⁵³ *General Despatches*, XV, 107, 287, 290, 291.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, XV, 111, 320, 321.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, XVI, 4, 24, 34. In June, 1863, he secured the consent of General Burnside that paroled men at Camp Chase be sent home. *Private Despatches*, XVI, 230. For other correspondence in 1862 and 1863, see *ibid.*, XVI, 194, 195, 210; *Department Despatches*, XV, 274, 275.

¹⁵⁶ *General Despatches*, XVI, 122, 194, 195, 210.

¹⁵⁷ Terrell, *Report*, I, 351; O. P. Morton to E. M. Stanton, April 11, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 130. See also Terrell, *Report*, I, 351, and Appendix, 345. New York had been granted this permission. At the beginning of the war one surgeon and one assistant-surgeon were allowed each regiment. Their services were sometimes required at hospitals, or on detached duty; or if they were sick or resigned, the regiment might be, and at times was, without any medical attendance whatever. The small medical force was especially noticeable after a battle.

¹⁵⁸ Terrell, *Report*, I, Appendix, 345, 351.

will elapse. Meanwhile the wounded must suffer immensely. So it was at Donelson and Pittsburg. Indiana has at least twenty-four regiments before the enemy. I propose to send at once to each of them *two* additional surgeons, and respectfully request authority from you to do so. I regard this as an absolute necessity.¹⁵⁹

P. H. Watson, assistant secretary of war, replied: "You have authority to send to each of the Indiana regiments on the field in Tennessee, two additional surgeons."¹⁶⁰ Competent surgeons were immediately appointed to stay with regiments for any length of time, not only in Tennessee, but also in Kentucky.¹⁶¹ Requests for permission to send medical aid became quite common in 1863 and 1864;¹⁶² seventy additional surgeons were dispatched to Indiana regiments.¹⁶³ They were gladly received by the men in the field and did good service during the rest of the war.¹⁶⁴

When some of these surgeons were sent to the field there was no provision for their pay except thru the Sanitary Commission. So much money was being expended from that fund that it was necessary, as well as expedient, to have them paid by the War Department if possible.¹⁶⁵ Morton asked Senator Wright to "urge this upon the Secretary of War. All important, will save the lives of hundreds of soldiers."¹⁶⁶ When Morton telegraphed to the War Department June 14, 1862, on this subject, he received word that the matter had been referred to the Paymaster-General, who said that "The Pay Department can only pay military officers authorized by some statute, and the law organizing the volunteer forces

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 351, and Appendix, 345; Morton to E. M. Stanton, April 21, 1862, *Official Records*, Series III, Vol. II, 24; *General Telegrams*, III, 172.

¹⁶⁰ P. H. Watson to O. P. Morton, April 21, 1862, Terrell, *Report*, I, Appendix, 346; *Official Records*, III, 24; *General Telegrams*, III, 173.

¹⁶¹ *General Telegrams*, III, 176, 177, 253; Terrell, *Report*, I, 350-352.

¹⁶² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, January 30, 1863; *Documentary Journal*, 1865, II, 78, 79; *Madison Courier*, October 26, 1862; Terrell, *Report*, I, 351; *Private Despatches*, XVI, 69, 76, 79, 118, 202, 203, 204, 205. During 1862 and 1863 "there was hardly a single general engagement that did not require the services of special surgeons, nurses and means of relief; and they were furnished by our State. . . ." Terrell, *Report*, I, 350.

¹⁶³ Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, I, 166; *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, January 7, 1863.

¹⁶⁴ Terrell, *Report*, I, 351. "The health of the regiment (36th at Murphreesboro) is about the average. . . . The superior sanitary condition is due to the efficiency of the recently appointed Assistant-Surgeons." Rev. A. W. Sanford, chaplain, in *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, August 18, 1863.

¹⁶⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, March 11, 1863.

¹⁶⁶ O. P. Morton to Joseph A. Wright, April 26, 1862, *General Telegrams*, III, 182.

expressly limits the number of assistant surgeons to each regiment to one."¹⁶⁷

Since this way to the federal treasury was effectively blocked, Morton again wrote General Buckingham, had the matter referred to the Surgeon-General, who replied that, "The Surgeon-General will approve these contracts, and their bills can then be paid by any quartermaster, paymaster, or disbursing officer. The regulations limit the allowance to \$100 per month."¹⁶⁸ Other special surgeons were ordinarily allowed from \$100 to \$150 per month by the state for their services, when any charge was made.¹⁶⁹ Much money was paid directly by Morton from the Financial Bureau. Services and expenses of special surgeons visiting hospitals and regiments from April 10, 1861, to November 12, 1862, amounted to \$2,103.85,¹⁷⁰ and some \$11,700 was paid for this purpose from April 18, 1863, to April 30, 1864.¹⁷¹

This movement agitated by Morton was instrumental in causing Congress to pass an act on July 2, 1862, which provided that instead of having one assistant-surgeon for each regiment, there should be two, and that the President was to appoint 40 surgeons and 120 assistant-surgeons of volunteers who should have "the rank, pay, and emoluments of officers of corresponding grades in the regular army".¹⁷² Word was sent Morton on July 23, 1862, that the contract between him and his special surgeons should terminate immediately as Congress had provided for this, but the Governor's plan of sending additional surgeons continued.¹⁷³ A letter, written by

¹⁶⁷ Money paid special surgeons and not consented to by the state military auditing board was as follows for 1862:

April 10, J. S. Bobbs.....	\$17.00.....	33d Regiment, at Crab Orchard, Ky.
April 23, Dr. J. C. Rooke.....	23.00.....	Mound City, Ill.
April 24, R. A. Houghton.....	30.00.....	Pittsburg Landing.
August 25, L. Dunlap.....	100.00.....	Examining disabled soldiers.
September 18, Delaney Wiley....	150.00.....	Army on Potomac.
October 20, E. W. Leech.....	115.00.....	Visiting Seventh-sixth Regiment.
October 22, Delaney Wiley.....	57.10.....	Hospitals east.
October 29, W. B. Fletcher.....	29.00.....	Exp. surgeons in Kentucky.
November 3, J. S. Bobbs.....	44.00.....	Visiting troops.
November 12, F. S. Newcomer...	27.00.....	Perryville, Ky.

For services and expenses of special surgeons visiting hospitals and regiments from April 10, 1861, to November 12, 1862, was paid \$2,103.85; and from April 18, 1863, to April 30, 1864, \$11,728.91. There was paid from State Treasury \$13,832.76. *Documentary Journal*, 1863, II, 37-43.

¹⁶⁸ C. P. Buckingham to O. P. Morton, July 23, 1862.

¹⁶⁹ Terrell, *Report*, I, Appendix, 291, 292.

¹⁷⁰ *Documentary Journal*, 1863, II, 37-43.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1864, I, 10.

¹⁷² *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 1862, chap. cxxvii; Terrell, *Report*, I, 352.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 352.

George Merritt on June 1, 1864, from Chattanooga, portrays the general conditions that influenced Morton to do this.¹⁷⁴

During the latter part of 1864, there was an average of fifty nurses on the field under the supervision of the Sanitary Commission.

In May, 1863, George O. Jobes, Indiana military agent, reported that there were sixteen female nurses in the hospitals in Memphis.¹⁷⁵ In January, 1865, there were fifty in the service of the Commission; and from January, 1863, to April, 1864, there were about ninety-five in the service.¹⁷⁶ Miss C. Annette Buckel was superintendent of female nurses for 1864, and was very successful in her work around Louisville.¹⁷⁷ They did hospital work and distributed sanitary stores. Others were at Paducah, Nashville, Bowling Green,¹⁷⁸ and Murfreesboro. Many more volunteered than were accepted; only one-third of those offering to go to Nashville in January, 1863, were given permission to go. To get into the service they sent their names, with references, to William Hannaman from whom they, if found qualified, received their appointment and directions as to when and where to report. In case they were not needed at the time of making the application,

¹⁷⁴ "The first ambulance train was just coming in from the front some twenty-five miles away, and in two hours, 1,200 wounded men from the twentieth army corps (Hooker's) were there to be unloaded, fed, wounds dressed, etc., and only six hospital tents to put them in, and no previous preparation, or, at least, no adequate preparation, for caring for them; and as they had been in ambulances all night and day, and the nurses and drivers who came with them were all worn out and only anxious to get rid of their charge before dark, you may imagine there was some confusion, and an immensity of suffering, from every imaginable kind of wounds, that had been broiled all day in the hot sun, and pounded all day over bad roads, in the ambulances, until every other part not wounded was bruised and sore; and so tired, oh, so tired and sore! The mountain of suffering seemed so big that it seemed useless to attempt to alleviate it by removing one at a time, but as that was the only way, I pulled off my coat, and reported at once to the surgeon in charge, and was soon engaged among the ambulances, sorting out the amputations, to put in the tents, which only held about half of that class. All the rest had their choice, to stay all night in the ambulances, or lay on the ground without shelter, and most of them preferred the ground. While the ambulances were being unloaded . . . were busy getting tea and coffee prepared by the barrel, . . . by ten o'clock we had them all fed, and I went to work to assist the surgeons at dressing the wounds but soon found that some were without surgeons, either because they were entirely worn out, or because of some misunderstanding, thinking that the surgeons at the post were to take charge of them as soon as they arrived . . . there was none to care for them; and to this class I turned my attention, dressing such wounds as I could, and begging some surgeon to attend to such as I could not; but still hundreds of cases had to remain undressed, most of whom after a while were worn out with calling for help and fell asleep." *Documentary Journal*, 1865, II, 181, 182.

¹⁷⁵ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, October 9, 1862; *ibid.*, May 14, 1863; *Documentary Journal*, 1865, II, 175.

¹⁷⁶ Terrell, *Report*, I, 354.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 1865, II, 79.

¹⁷⁸ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 6, January 29, and October 10, 1863.

they were kept on record and notified when they were wanted.¹⁷⁹ They were paid, when such payment was asked for, from the funds of the Commission, or from the Indiana Military Contingent Fund, and they traveled on the regular passes issued by the Commission.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ *Madison Courier*, February 2, 1863.

¹⁸⁰ *Documentary Journal*, 1865, II, 174; *ibid.*, 1863, II, 41.

INDIANA'S PART IN RECONSTRUCTION

By

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INDIANA'S PART IN RECONSTRUCTION

INDIANA politics was dominated by national issues during the two decades preceding the Civil War. This domination continued after the end of the war. Among the important issues of the postwar period were those growing out of the Greenback and Granger movements, civil service reform, and the tariff. For a decade following the war, however, all other issues were subordinated to the one great issue of reconstruction. The term is here used in the rather narrow sense to designate the policy of the national government toward the South. This problem engrossed the attention of Indiana's representative in Congress. It received more notice in the columns of the leading newspapers of the state than anything else. Other matters were driven into the background in the party platforms. It aroused among the people feelings as intense as those of the war period.

President Johnson announced his reconstruction plan in May, 1865. The plan was a moderate one differing little from that of Lincoln. It looked toward the early restoration of the southern states to their former places in the Union. The new president's plan was well received in Indiana.

The leading Republican newspaper of the state, the *Indianapolis Journal*, published the amnesty proclamation and gave it unqualified approval.¹ A few days later an editorial appeared in the same newspaper entitled "Peace and Prosperity" in which the reopening of the Mississippi and the renewal of business intercourse and friendly relations with the South is referred to as a happy event for Indiana, especially the southern portion of the state. The spirit of good-will here manifested forms a striking contrast to the bitterness which later developed.²

In an address delivered at Richmond, September 29, 1865, Governor Morton indorsed fully the restoration policy of the President. He found no fault with its failure to provide for negro suffrage. In fact, Morton opposed conferring the franchise upon the negroes. "I would give them time", he said, "to acquire a little property and get a little education, time

¹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, June 1, 1865.

² *Ibid.*, June 9, 1865.

to learn something about the simplest forms of business and to prepare themselves for the exercise of political power.”³

One of the first to raise a dissenting voice in Indiana was George W. Julian. During the late summer and autumn of 1865, this well-known radical waged a vigorous campaign for negro suffrage in his district in eastern Indiana. On the evening of November 17, 1865, he delivered before a large audience in the hall of the House of Representatives at Indianapolis an address entitled, “Dangers and Duties of the Hour”. No one was left in doubt as to his position. Few men in his own party at that time in the state or elsewhere would have gone as far as Julian went in this address. The two policies advocated were the execution of the leaders of the Confederacy and the enfranchisement of the negro. He declared:

I would hang liberally while I had my hand in; I would make the gallows respectable. I would dispose of a score or two of the most conspicuous of the rebel leaders, not for vengeance, but to satisfy public justice, and make expensive the enterprise of treason, for all time to come. I wish we might hang them to the sky that bends over us, so that all the nations of the earth might see the spectacle, and learn what it costs to set fire to a free government like this.⁴

On the subject of negro suffrage, he spoke at great length, favoring it for the following reasons. Negroes had voted in several northern states before the Civil War. They had helped to save the Union. The South would have increased representation in Congress, even without permitting negroes to vote. The negroes needed the ballot in order to protect themselves against discriminating laws. The way to fit them to vote was to place the ballot in their hands. Finally, he favored it because every “rebel” in the South and every “cop-head” in the North opposed it.⁵

It will be remembered that negroes did not possess the franchise in Indiana at this time. It may well be doubted whether Julian voiced the sentiments of a majority of Indiana Republicans. “The burden of his address”, commented the *Indianapolis Journal*, “was the wonderful properties of negro suffrage as a national cure-all. The member of the Burnt District thinks the country will go straight to damnation without the colored ballot. He is welcome to his opinions.”⁶

³ William Dudley Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton* (Indianapolis, 1899), I, 486.

⁴ George W. Julian, *Speeches on Political Questions* (New York, 1872), 268.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 270-279.

⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 18, 1865.

Another dissenting voice from Indiana, whose opposition to Johnson was more significant because of the greater influence and following of the man, was that of Schuyler Colfax of South Bend, speaker of the House of Representatives of the previous Congress. The occasion was an address to a group of serenaders in Washington on the evening of November 18, 1865. The speech was a plea for more adequate guarantees for the rights of the freedmen and for more deliberation. "Let us make haste slowly", he declared, "and we can then hope that the foundations of our government, when thus reconstructed on the basis of indisputable loyalty, will be as eternal as the stars."⁷

President Johnson severely criticized the address as an effort to prejudice the members of Congress ahead of time against his own plans. On the other hand, Colfax received only words of praise from the Republican leaders. The *Indianapolis Journal* ventured the opinion that he spoke the sentiments of ninety-nine out of every hundred of his party, both in and out of Congress.⁸

The Thirty-ninth Congress convened on the first Monday in December, 1865. Indiana was represented in the House of Representatives by nine Republicans and two Democrats.⁹ Colfax and Julian were among the number. The former was re-elected speaker. As speaker he named the House members on the joint-committee on reconstruction. He proved in every way an acceptable official to the majority party, as he was at all times in accord with the reconstruction acts of the body over which he presided.

Julian had no difficulty in qualifying as one of the most radical men in Congress. He continued his demands for the punishment of the leaders of the Confederacy, "that treason may be adequately branded by the nation" and "traitors made infamous".¹⁰ In like manner, he continued to demand suffrage for the negro.

Outstanding among the members of the minority party in the early days of the Thirty-ninth Congress was Daniel W. Vorhees of Terre Haute, whose seat was later successfully contested by his opponent. He remained long enough to deliver a notable speech on reconstruction, January 9, 1866. This

⁷ O. J. Hollister, *Life of Colfax* (New York, 1886), 270-272.

⁸ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 24, 1865.

⁹ *Tribune Almanac for 1865*, 25.

¹⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 39 Congress, 1 Session, 2282-2285.

address followed the appointment of the joint-committee on reconstruction to inquire into the condition of the southern states for the purpose of determining whether they, or any of them, were entitled to representation.¹¹ Vorhees supported Johnson's plan of pacification and restoration. He denounced the action of the radicals under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens. "We are asked", he asserted, "to ravel to pieces all that the President has done and to commence the knitting process of reunion for ourselves." Much of the address was devoted to the constitutional aspects of the question. The "dead state" theory was condemned as a theory "proclaimed because its adoption would give better scope to ulterior designs of vengeance and revolutionary destruction". "I plant myself", declared the speaker "on the Constitution which recognizes an unbroken Union."¹² In this speech Vorhees spoke the sentiments of his Democratic colleagues.

The Republican press of Indiana found no difficulty in supporting the action of Congress in refusing to receive the representatives from the southern states and in providing for the joint-committee on reconstruction. The *Indianapolis Journal* conceded that President Johnson had labored assiduously to restore the southern states to a full participation and equality in the national government. Congress, on the other hand, was not responsible for the delay. The states themselves were to blame. The delay was the direct result of their efforts to retain the substance of slavery after abolishing it in form, and of their acts in seeking to confer honor upon "their most obnoxious traitors" by electing them to Congress.¹³

Indiana was represented in the Senate of the Thirty-ninth Congress by Henry S. Lane, a Republican, and Thomas A. Hendricks, a Democrat. The former, tho not a radical, supported the measures of the Republican majority, while Hendricks was always numbered with the opposition. He opposed the appointment of a joint-committee to inquire into the conditions of the Confederate states. He opposed the bill enlarging the powers of the Freedman's Bureau. He opposed the Civil Rights Bill. He denounced in strong terms the Four-

¹¹ James A. Woodburn, *The Life of Thaddeus Stevens* (Indianapolis, 1913), 340.

¹² Charles W. Voorhees (ed.), *Speeches of Daniel W. Vorhees* (Cincinnati, 1885), 229-259.

¹³ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, December 27, 1865.

teenth Amendment for the radical changes it would make. Speaking on the amendment he said, "The Constitution is to be changed; the foundations of the government are to be disturbed; some of the old oak timbers are to be removed, and timber of recent growth is to be substituted."¹⁴

On the question as to whether or not the southern states were out of the Union, Hendricks held very decided views. He denied that an act of Congress was necessary to bring these states back into the Union. Voicing anew the principle of Lincoln, he said, "I believe that in law the states are in the Union, and that all that is needed is to give them practical relations to the federal government in every respect."¹⁵

Congress decided otherwise. The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted, and the ratification of this amendment was made a condition of the admission of representatives of the southern states into Congress. In the vote on the amendment and on the other reconstruction measures of this session, the Indiana delegates divided along party lines, the Republicans voting for and the Democrats voting against all of them.

The issue was now transferred from the halls of Congress to the people. The voters were asked to decide in the congressional election of 1866 between the plan of the President and that of Congress. The Republicans in Indiana were divided, some favoring one plan and some the other. The state Republican platform sought to cater to both groups. It expressed great faith in Andrew Johnson and at the same time pledged its support to the majority in Congress.¹⁶ The state Democratic platform indorsed the principles and acts of President Johnson and condemned the actions of the majority in Congress.¹⁷

The campaign of 1866 in Indiana was one of the most exciting in the state's history. The *Indianapolis Daily Journal* was extremely bitter in its attacks on the "Copperheads" as the members of the opposition party were invariably called.¹⁸ Among the prominent men to visit Indiana and address Union meetings in Indianapolis and at other points were Carl Schurz, Benjamin F. Butler, Governor Brownlow, and General Thom-

¹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 39 Congress, 1 Session, 2938-2940.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1113.

¹⁶ William E. Henry, *State Platforms of the Two Dominant Political Parties of Indiana, 1850-1900* (Indianapolis, 1902), 30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

¹⁸ See *Indianapolis Daily Journal* for September and October, 1866,

as. President Johnson passed thru the state in his famous "swing around the circle". A short stop was made at Terre Haute where the President and his party were greeted by a crowd of fifteen thousand people.¹⁹ On the evening of the same day a meeting was held at Indianapolis where President Johnson attempted to speak from the balcony of the Bates House. The noise and confusion was so great, however, that he was unable to deliver his address. The crowd remained after the President had retired. A wild scene followed in which supporters and opponents of Johnson participated. Shots were fired, resulting in one death and the wounding of five other persons. One shot entered the window of the President's room and barely missed General Grant, who was one of the members of the party.²⁰ The following morning, quiet having been restored, Johnson delivered a brief address. The speech was dignified and patriotic in every way. It was a plea to his fellow-citizens to rally around the Constitution and to lift themselves above party, in order that the country might be preserved, "one and united".²¹

In the election, the Republican or Union party carried the state by almost fifteen thousand majority. The Democrats gained one representative, electing three out of eleven. Schuyler Colfax and George W. Julian were both re-elected.²² Not only Indiana but practically the entire North rendered a verdict in favor of the policy of Congress.²³

The Indiana state legislature assembled in January, 1867. Early in the session the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted to it for ratification. Its speedy consideration and ratification were recommended by Governor Morton. The ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment by the General Assembly had been achieved only with great difficulty, but there was much less opposition to the Fourteenth. The discussion was brief. At no time was the outcome in doubt. The chief objections raised were: the changes proposed were too far-reaching; the amendment was merely a party measure; its adoption by Congress had been unconstitutional; it violated the principle of State Rights and of local self-government. The oppo-

¹⁹ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, September 11, 1866.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, September 12, 1866.

²¹ *Ibid.*, September 12, 1866.

²² *Tribune Almanac for 1867*, 60, 61.

²³ Woodburn, *The Life of Thaddeus Stevens*, 430.

sition came from the Democrats. The amendment was ratified by both houses by a strictly partisan vote.²⁴

Meanwhile, the short session of the Thirty-ninth Congress met in December, 1866. The advocates of the congressional plan of reconstruction felt their position greatly strengthened by the outcome of the election of 1866. The rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment by all the southern states except Tennessee played into the hands of the radicals.²⁵ The result was the passage of the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867, providing for military reconstruction and negro suffrage. The vote of the Indiana delegation was along party lines. The Republicans supported the measure and the Democrats opposed it.

The *Journal* sought to justify the action of Congress in the following manner:

They went out of the Union of their own free will and without provocation, labored to destroy it for us as well as themselves, and now we have done our duty magnanimously, mercifully in pointing them to a plain easy way to come back which restores them all their rights without endangering ours. We have a right to do that, and they have no right to ask more.²⁶

The bill providing for military reconstruction had no greater opponent than Thomas A. Hendricks. He tried in vain to get some amendments added in order to mitigate, as he said, some of the evils of the measure. "Some of these states", he declared,

helped to form the Union, they helped to fight the battles of the Revolution, and were parties to that great convention that made the Constitution which established the Union. I do not believe they have ever been out of the Union. I am fixed in that opinion.²⁷

The Fortieth Congress assembled on March 4, 1867, immediately after the adjournment of the Thirty-ninth. For the third time Schuyler Colfax was chosen speaker of the House of Representatives. It was at this time that Oliver P. Morton took his seat in the Senate, succeeding Henry S. Lane. Morton was originally a conservative in his views on reconstruction. He had favored Lincoln's plan and later, as noted above, had approved of Johnson's plan. He had vigorously

²⁴ *Brevier Legislative Reports* (Indianapolis, 1867), IX, 43-46.

²⁵ Woodburn, *The Life of Thaddeus Stevens*, 433.

²⁶ *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, February 25, 1867.

²⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., 1385-1388.

opposed negro suffrage. The course of events in the South, especially the rejection of the Fourteenth Amendment, which, as governor of Indiana, he had favored, won him over to the side of the radicals. Had he been in the Senate he would have voted for the Reconstruction Act of March 2, 1867. He gave his support to the Supplemental Reconstruction Acts of the first session of the Fortieth Congress. He undoubtedly voiced the sentiments of the radical Republicans in the Senate when in answer to a question why the ten southern states were not represented in Congress in December, 1867, he declared: "Sir, they went out as they pleased, and they will now come back as it shall please the loyal people of this nation. They will come back upon such conditions, terms, and safeguards as shall secure us against the recurrence of a like calamity."²⁸ In January, 1868, Morton delivered in the Senate before crowded galleries what has been called his "Great Speech on Reconstruction". It was a powerful argument in favor of the congressional policy.²⁹

In the election of 1868, reconstruction still remained the dominant issue in Indiana politics. The state platform of the Republican party contained an unqualified indorsement of the congressional plan of reconstruction, including the extension of suffrage to the negroes of the South.³⁰ The state Democratic platform contained the declaration, "that language is not adequate to express our abhorrence and condemnation of the radical reconstruction policy of Congress, a policy condemned by every consideration of justice and constitutional obligation". The platform specifically declared against conferring the right of suffrage on negroes.³¹

The political campaign of 1868 in Indiana was fought with less bitterness than that of two years previous. The term "Copperhead" was employed less frequently than in 1866. The Republican press, nevertheless, still asserted that the real issue was that of "loyal men versus traitors". The campaign in Indiana was a picturesque one. Doubtless, the presence of Schuyler Colfax on the ticket as Grant's running mate contributed to the enthusiasm manifested. Colfax was very popular in northern Indiana. There were numerous rallies, parades, and street pageants. The Republicans organized

²⁸ Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, II, 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 42, 43.

³⁰ Henry, *State Platforms*, 34.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

"Fighting Boys in Blue" clubs and "Tanner" clubs. Leather aprons and capes were worn by members of the latter. The Democrats organized the "White Boys in Blue".³²

In the election, Grant and Colfax carried the state by approximately ten thousand votes over Seymour and Blair. Seven out of eleven members of the House of Representatives elected were Republicans.³³

The year following, 1869, Congress adopted the last important reconstruction measure, the Fifteenth Amendment. The votes of the Indiana delegation in Congress followed strictly party lines, the Republicans supporting and the Democrats opposing the proposed change in the national Constitution. It was Oliver P. Morton who introduced the resolution into the Senate requiring that those states not yet admitted to representation should ratify the new amendment as an added condition of re-admission.

The Fifteenth Amendment was submitted to the Indiana legislature near the close of the session in March, 1869. After a caucus, seventeen Democratic senators and thirty-seven Democratic representatives resigned, thus destroying a quorum, which consisted of two-thirds of each house.³⁴ In the special election which followed to fill the vacancies the members who had resigned were all re-elected. A special session of the legislature was called for the ostensible purpose of securing the necessary appropriations.³⁵ It convened on April 8. However, the amendment was brought up again in the Senate on May 13. Several senators again resigned, and others present refused to vote.³⁶ The amendment was declared adopted. The following day the Democratic members of the House again resigned. Nevertheless, the amendment was voted on and passed. It was held that two-thirds of the remaining representatives constituted a quorum and could legally ratify the amendment.³⁷

The Democratic opposition came largely from the southern part of the state. Two years later, the Democrats were in the majority in the state legislature. Senator Hughes, of Bloomington, offered a resolution proposing a convention of

³² *Terre Haute Express*, August 26, 1868.

³³ *Tribune Almanac for 1869*, 70, 71.

³⁴ *Brevier Legislative Reports*, X, 591-593.

³⁵ *Senate Journal*, Special Session, 1869, 3.

³⁶ *Brevier Legislative Reports*, XI, 224, 225.

³⁷ Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, II, 113.

the states for the purpose of considering amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The resolution declared the pretended ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment by the Indiana legislature null and void. Several of the southern states had ratified under duress; therefore, the amendment had not been legally ratified. In speaking for his resolution, Senator Hughes declared:

The constitution of the state has been trampled underfoot, a state which has left dead upon every battlefield of the Union, a state which has its deeds in favor of the Union everywhere recorded, whose every village and hamlet cemetery is filled with not unforgotten bones of the loyal dead, the banners of whose regiments, pierced with bullets from the enemies' guns, are deposited as proud emblems to its loyalty to the Union and the Constitution, within the walls of this capital.³⁸

The resolution was passed by the Senate but later died in a committee of the House. All efforts to revoke the former action were in vain.

At the time of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, negroes were excluded from voting in Indiana by the state constitution. Furthermore, free negroes were not permitted to come into the state. It was not until 1881 that amendments were made to the state constitution removing these disabilities and bringing the constitution into harmony with the Constitution of the United States.³⁹

Meanwhile, the requisite number of states having ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, it was declared in force in March, 1870. With the final adoption of this suffrage amendment, George W. Julian, one of the first men in Congress to advocate the policy, considered the mission of the Republican party as perfectly consummated.⁴⁰

The state Republican platform of 1870 congratulated the country on "the restoration of law and order in the rebellious states, under the reconstruction measures adopted by the general government".⁴¹ The state Democratic platform denounced "the infamous and revolutionary character of the reconstruction measures of Congress". It condemned them as an invasion of the sovereign and sacred rights of the people and of all the states.⁴² The Republicans won six out of eleven

³⁸ *Brevier Legislative Reports*, XII, 176, 177.

³⁹ Charles Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1916), II, 202-207.

⁴⁰ Julian, *Political Recollections* (Chicago, 1884), 330.

⁴¹ Henry, *State Platforms*, 37.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 36.

seats in the House.⁴³ The Democrats elected a majority of the members of the General Assembly and all the state officers.

Sufficient time had now elapsed for the effects of the congressional policy of reconstruction to become fully evident. Never was there a more severe arraignment of the results of congressional reconstruction than that of Daniel W. Voorhees, of Terre Haute, in a speech entitled the "Plunder of Eleven States", delivered in the House of Representatives, March 23, 1872. The corruption and waste of the carpet-bag governments were portrayed in blackest terms. One by one the roll of states was called and their miseries bared. "Sir", declared the "Tall Sycamore of the Wabash":

I challenge the darkest annals of the human race for a parallel to the robberies which have been perpetrated on eleven American states. Ireland has been made to enrich many a lawless lord lieutenant sent over by England to govern that beautiful but unhappy island. The stories of her wrongs and pillage have been said and sung in every hamlet in the civilized world; yet her contributions to the cause of a wicked government have been mere pittances compared to what the South has been compelled to make.⁴⁴

Not only Democrats in the heat of party strife protested against such conditions, but among Republicans there was a growing spirit of revolt. Dissatisfaction with Grant and the desire for a more enlightened southern policy reached its climax in the organization of the Liberal Republican party at the Cincinnati convention of Liberals meeting May 1, 1872. Every district in Indiana was represented at the convention. The most prominent Indiana Republican in attendance at Cincinnati was the one-time radical, George W. Julian, who presided over the convention a portion of the time and was the choice of many of the delegates for vice-president.⁴⁵ The platform adopted contained a plank demanding the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the Rebellion.⁴⁶

The state Democratic platform indorsed the Liberal Republican principles of the Cincinnati convention. Political rights and franchises recently acquired should remain undisturbed. All political rights and franchises which had been lost "must

⁴³ *Tribune Almanac for 1871*, 47.

⁴⁴ Voorhees (ed.), *Speeches of Daniel W. Voorhees*, 382-414.

⁴⁵ Grace Julian Clarke, *George W. Julian* (Indianapolis, 1923), 348, 349.

⁴⁶ Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency, 1788-1897* (Boston, 1898), 343.

be promptly restored and re-established".⁴⁷ The state Republican platform congratulated the country on the complete restoration of the Union.⁴⁸

During the canvass Greeley paid a visit to the state. He was given a genuine Hoosier welcome. Old residents still recall the great crowd which came to Indianapolis to see and hear the "Sage of Chippaqua".⁴⁹ Evidently, many Democrats refused to vote for Greeley in the election. His vote was less than that for Seymour four years before, and Grant carried the state by a larger vote than in 1868. The Democratic candidate for governor, Thomas A. Hendricks, was chosen by a majority of 1,148. The Republicans elected seven out of eleven members to the House of Representatives.⁵⁰

The Liberal Republican movement achieved at least one thing. It brought the question of amnesty to the front. Early in 1872 Senator Morton addressed the Senate upon the subject. He opposed universal amnesty. Later he gave his support to Sumner's civil rights amendment to the Amnesty Bill. The bill thus amended failed to receive the necessary majority in the Senate. The Amnesty Bill, which had already passed the House without a roll call, now passed the Senate.⁵¹ It removed all political disabilities imposed by section three of the Fourteenth Amendment, except in the case of less than five hundred persons. Morton was absent when the vote was taken.⁵²

The platforms of the major parties in Indiana in the off year election of 1874, for the first time since the close of the Civil War, turned aside from southern reconstruction policies. Both platforms reflect the growing interest in new economic issues, so long obscured by the absorbing question of the political reconstruction of the South.⁵³ The historian of today is able to see that these financial and industrial problems were of greater importance than the political issues which loomed so large to the people of that era. In 1874, for the first time since the Civil War, the Democrats elected a majority of the members of the national House of Representatives. Indiana

⁴⁷ Henry, *State Platforms*, 40.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁹ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, September 24, 1872.

⁵⁰ *Tribune Almanac for 1873*, 66, 67.

⁵¹ Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, 221-226.

⁵² *Congressional Globe*, 42 Congress, 2 Session, 3736.

⁵³ Henry, *State Platforms*, 44-49.

now chose thirteen Congressmen. The Democrats elected eight of the number.⁵⁴

The state Republican platform of 1876 contained the following notable declaration:

We are willing and anxious to restore entirely amicable relations between the people of the northern and those of the southern states who were engaged in the Rebellion, and with a view thereto, are ready to forgive and grant amnesty to all those who desire to be forgiven and amnestied.⁵⁵

The Democratic platform dismissed the subject of reconstruction with this brief reference:

The Democracy of Indiana declare their fidelity to all the provisions of the federal Constitution, to a perpetual union of the states, to local self-government in every section.⁵⁶

At last, the two parties met on common ground in regard to the southern problem.

In 1876, for the first time since 1856, the electoral vote of Indiana was given to the Democratic candidate for president. Undoubtedly the presence of Hendricks on the ticket as Tilden's running mate strengthened the party in the state in this election.

The liberal southern policy inaugurated by President Hayes was heartily indorsed by many Indiana Republicans as well as Democrats. The *Indianapolis Journal*, a staunch supporter of the radical congressional policy, quoted with approval Hayes's declaration in favor of a policy "which will forever wipe out the color line and the distinction between North and South, to the end that we may not have merely a united North or a united South but a united country".⁵⁷ The *Journal* likewise approved of the appointment of an ex-Confederate Democrat as a member of the Cabinet and of the subsequent withdrawal of troops from South Carolina and Louisiana.⁵⁸

The *Terre Haute Express*, one of the leading Republican newspapers of western Indiana, declared Hayes's announcement in his inaugural address to be "a long step forward and in perfect harmony with the higher political growth of the

⁵⁴ *Tribune Almanac for 1875*, 78, 79.

⁵⁵ Henry, *State Platforms*, 52.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁵⁷ *Indianapolis Journal*, March 6, 1877.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March 7, April 11, 1877.

country".⁵⁹ Later in commenting on the withdrawal of troops this same paper remarked in an editorial:

The sun shines upon a new South Carolina. The whites again assume control but they are actuated by a new spirit. The evacuation is a good thing for all. It has been evident for a good while that the intelligence of the South must again come into power. Until that restoration comes there can be no real peace. The country is sick of the war issues. There are no rebels any more; it is time for us to be one people.⁶⁰

A few days later the same paper added concerning President Hayes:

He has put a final end to the war. We shall now after just sixteen years of strife, be one people.⁶¹

Senator Morton was one of those who had grave misgivings. He did not break with the President, but he gave his southern policy only reluctant approval.⁶²

The *Indianapolis Sentinel* was so embittered against Hayes, who is invariably referred to in its columns as the "Thief" and "Usurper", that it could see nothing good in what he said or did.⁶³ He was given no credit for the withdrawal of troops from South Carolina and Louisiana. He acted, it was declared, because he was forced to do so. There was no alternative. He did it reluctantly. He delayed action too long. "No act of Hayes", this paper asserted, "can wipe the damning stain of fraud from his name."⁶⁴ Such was the attitude of the *Sentinel* until the very close of the Hayes administration.⁶⁵

The *Terre Haute Evening Gazette*, tho also a Democratic journal, praised very highly the words and the acts of President Hayes. It rejoiced over the fact that the new president had adopted the southern policy advocated by the Democratic party for the past ten years. "Reconciliation between the victims", declared the *Gazette*, "and local self-government for the states of the South as well as the North have been Democratic watchwords and constituted the Democratic creed. Repentance, it is said, is better late than never."⁶⁶ This same paper generously remarked at the close of the Hayes administration: Mr. Hayes has made an admirable president.

⁵⁹ *Terre Haute Express*, March 6, 1877.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1877.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1877.

⁶² Foulke, *Life of Oliver P. Morton*, II, 488.

⁶³ *Indianapolis Daily Sentinel*, March 5, 1877.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, April 23, 1877.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1881.

⁶⁶ *Terre Haute Evening Gazette*, March 6, 1877.

The retiring President can afford to abide his time. His record will take care of itself."⁶⁷ This is the verdict of history a half-century later.⁶⁸

The question of whether Indiana's representatives in Congress really represented the sentiments of the people on reconstruction is interesting but difficult to answer. Judging by the election returns, it would appear that at least until 1870 the majority of the voters in Indiana favored the congressional policy. There is less evidence of this support thereafter. The gradual decline in the Republican vote has already been indicated. In 1870 the Democrats won in the state election by a small majority. In 1872 a Democratic governor was elected, tho Grant carried the state for president. In 1874, eight out of thirteen congressional districts elected Democrats, and two years later the electoral vote of Indiana was given to Tilden and Hendricks. The popularity of Thomas A. Hendricks, the Democratic candidate for governor in 1872 and for vice-president in 1876, doubtless explains in part what happened in those years. The general dissatisfaction with Grant's administration must also have had something to do with the outcome of the elections in 1874 and 1876. Notwithstanding these things, is it not reasonable to conclude that many supporters of the congressional plan felt after 1870, as did George W. Julian, that the work of reconstruction had been consummated and that it was time to turn to other things?

Viewed from the present day it seems most unfortunate that lingering war passions, sectional and party hatreds played such a prominent part in reconstruction. The people of Indiana, both those at home and those in public life, were not immune from these feelings. Perhaps it could not have been otherwise. With the rest of the North they had made great sacrifices. They did not want to see the achievements of the war undone. Their fears may have been groundless, but they were natural. At the same time, it must be admitted that a genuine understanding and appreciation of the southern problem was rare. We are now far enough removed from that day to judge the issue calmly. It is possible for us to see what they could not see, that the South was not

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1881.

⁶⁸ James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to 1896* (New York, 1895-1919), VIII, 138.

in reality reconstructed in those years from 1865 to 1876, and that the real reconstruction of the South was only delayed.⁶⁹ It is a noteworthy fact that the most radical of the Indiana delegates in the Thirty-ninth Congress, George W. Julian, lived to realize this fact. Writing in explanation of his course in 1872 he said:

I saw that the spirit of the imprecatory psalm was no longer in order. The more I pondered the policy of amnesty, the more thoroughly I became reconstructed in heart. I was glad enough to be delivered from the glamour which had been blinding my vision to the policy of reconciliation and peace.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, VII, 390, 391.

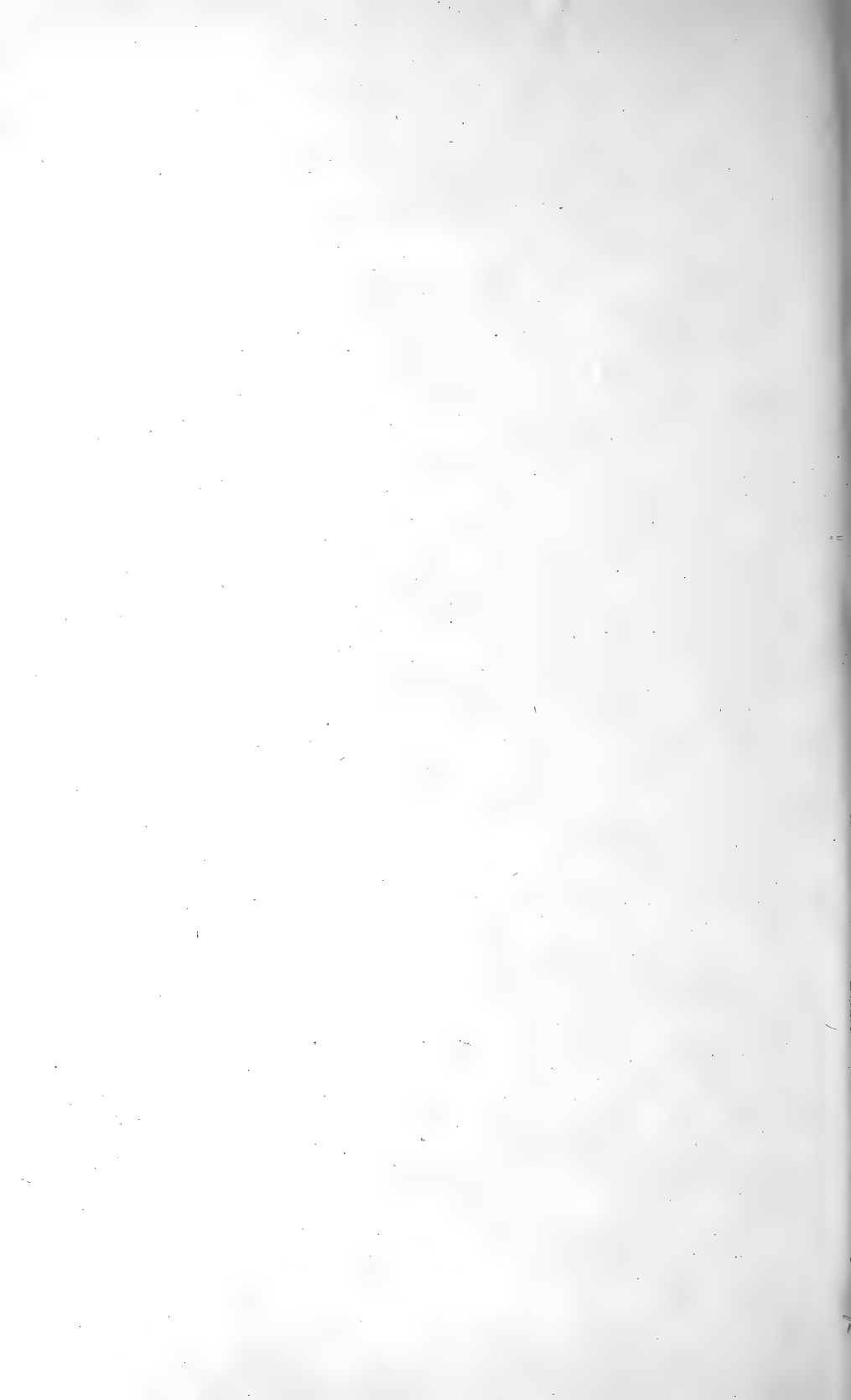
⁷⁰ Clarke, *George W. Julian*, 356.

THE TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC ROOTS
OF THE RUHR

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THE TERRITORIAL AND ECONOMIC ROOTS OF THE RUHR*

I

THE TERRITORIAL ROOTS OF THE RUHR

WHY is France in the Ruhr? Is it to obtain further payments in reparations? Is it to secure control of great areas of coal and make certain French economic supremacy? Is it to satisfy a feeling of revenge nourished by the French since the invasion of 1870? What is back of it all? A survey of the historical geography of the Rhine Valley, particularly that portion adjacent to France, helps answer this perplexing question. It does not tell the whole truth, but it does throw light on the subject. One of the chief reasons for the study of history is to find help in the interpretation of the present.

Bishop Stubbs expressed a great truth when he said, "The roots of the present lie deep in the past." Clemenceau spoke for thousands of Frenchmen on April 25, 1919, when, concluding a speech, he directed these words to Poincaré:

Mr. President, you are much younger than I am. In fifteen years I shall be dead. In fifteen years the Germans will not have complied with all the terms of the treaty, and in fifteen years, if you will do me the honor to come to my grave, I am convinced that you will say, "We are on the Rhine, and we will remain there."

Today France is not only on the Rhine; she is across it. She was across it once before when Napoleon, in command of his matchless soldiers, said the last word on French policy. That was more than a hundred years ago—too long for Frenchmen of today to remember. But they know their history and can point to the time when the Rhine served as a boundary line between their nation and the Germans. The World War has revived this history and caused many of them to exclaim with Ernest Babelon, "It is the Rhine and not the Seine which must determine the future of France."¹

* Note: This paper was submitted by the author with the feeling that "although relating to a foreign country, it is distinctly American history, first, because of its general nature; and, second, because of our participation in the Great War."

¹ William H. Scheffey, "France and the Rhine Frontier", *Indiana University Alumni Quarterly*, VIII, 161.

Centuries ago when Rome was the greatest power in the world, the Rhine formed her boundary line on the north. She was never able to rule for any length of time over the barbarians who lived beyond it. In 9 A.D., in an attempt to extend the frontier, three of her legions were annihilated. This was such a great humiliation for Rome that she decided to make no further efforts to conquer these peoples, but to fix her northern frontier at the Rhine. For four hundred years this strategic line formed the boundary between the Roman Empire and the barbarians. In this way the Rhine became the first great landmark in the historical geography of Western Europe.

Sapping influences took root in the Empire and ultimately brought its power to an end. The emperors, as the process of decay went on, felt the need of additional military forces in the city of Rome, and, to obtain them, recalled the legions from the far-flung outposts. The barbarians took advantage of a weakened line of defense and penetrated the left bank of the Rhine. In the course of time they were in full possession of the river and began to make settlements in what had previously been Roman territory.

Of the groups that came over, the most important was the Franks. They conquered all Gaul, overcame the other barbarian races, checked the Mohammedan invasion, and gave law and order to Western Europe. Their greatest ruler was Charlemagne, on whom the Pope placed a golden crown on Christmas Day, in the year 800. He was head of the Germanic race and temporal head of the Christian church. His rule reached from the Pyrenees to the Elbe, and from the English Channel to the city of Rome. Upon the death of this ruler in 814, his vast territories passed to his son, known as Louis the Pious. During his lifetime, on at least seven different occasions, he provided for the disposition of the Empire at his death. The final division, however, was not accepted by his three sons, and in 843, three years after their father had passed away, they made an arrangement among themselves. This family contract made by the three brothers we know as the Treaty of Verdun. It is the second great landmark in the development of French and German territories, and in the words of Professor George Burton Adams, "has probably had more influence on later times than any other [treaty] ever

made".² Germany, counting this date her birthday, celebrated a thousand years of national life in 1843.

The partition of the Frankish territory shows the first steps in the direction of modern Western Europe. Two kingdoms were founded: the one corresponds roughly to France of today; the other to Germany. There is an element of permanence in these two divisions. In 843 they were the kingdoms of the Eastern and Western Franks. They were the forerunners of modern France and Germany, and, half-unconsciously to themselves, they were showing in embryo the modern spirit of nationality. The eastern Frankish kingdom was known as the Eastern Kingdom, or the Teutonic Kingdom; and its ruler as King of the East-Franks, King of the Eastern Men, or King of Germany. The Western Kingdom took the name of Karolingia from its ruler, Charles (in German, Karlos), but this name was later supplanted by that of France from the duchy of that name. The prince of this territory, Hugh Capet, was the first of a line of kings which lasted without a break for over three hundred years and laid the foundation for the new state.

The Treaty of Verdun provided for a third kingdom located between the other two. This middle territory reached from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and included the Italian peninsula as far south as Naples. Lothair, its ruler, died thirteen years after the treaty was made, and, following the German custom of equal division, left the territory to his three sons. To one he gave Italy, to a second he gave the valleys of the Rhone and Saône (the later Burgundy), to the third the northern section including the valley of the Rhine. By 870 two of the sons were dead, and the rulers of the Eastern and Western kingdoms (Germany and France), disregarding the rights of their nephew, divided the inheritance of Lothair between themselves. The agreement is called the Partition of Meersen. The lion's share of territory in this division went to the Eastern Kingdom (Germany). Just one thousand years later, in 1870, the Franco-Prussian War occurred and, as a result of it, additional territory went to the heir of the eastern realm.

The middle kingdom took the name of Lotharingia from its ruler, Lothair. It was a borderland when considered from

² George Burton Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (New York, 1913), 170.

the standpoint of either of the other two kingdoms. The name was subsequently shortened first to Lothringen and later to Lorraine. This term was applied to the northern section along the valley of the Rhine and Moselle. The southern part of this section is called Lorraine today. Sometimes Lotharingia was ruled by the Eastern Kingdom, sometimes by the Western; sometimes divided between the two, sometimes an independent kingdom. Its disposition has caused more international ill-will and war than that of any other territory in Europe, except, possibly, the lands of the Near East.

About this time another landmark appears in the political alignment of Lotharingia. When Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope in the year 800 he was looked on as the rightful successor of the Roman emperors. He was so powerful as a ruler that in his own right he merited consideration. But after his death, altho the title was borne by his successors, no king was worthy of the respect of emperor until Otto the Great. He, having been crowned by the Pope in 962, formed a union of Germany and the Empire which lasted until 1806 and which was known as the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation". To the Eastern Kingdom of the Treaty of Verdun, there were now added Italy, Burgundy, and Lotharingia. The connection with Italy brought Germany in closer contact with a better civilization than she had ever known. It had a less praiseworthy result, too, for it diverted the attention of the German kings from their own problems to those of Italy, and, therefore, allowed the forces of decentralization to triumph in Middle Europe. Since the Western Kingdom was not included in the Empire, this area was free to consider internal questions, and it, therefore, first emerged as a modern state.

The inclusion of Lotharingia in the Empire caused it to face Germany in the direction of political allegiance and to develop with that country a common language and traditions. The emperors of the Holy Roman Empire after the thirteenth century were chosen by seven German electors, four of whom lived on the Rhine. They were the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, and the Count Palatine. Two of the archbishops were in Lotharingia; the other and the count were very near this territory. The German language became the speech of Lotharingia; in the Western Kingdom (France) a Romance tongue, the French, prevailed. It is evident, there-

fore, that as a part of the Holy Roman Empire, Lotharingia was under German leadership and influences. Here is the third landmark in the development of the boundary lines of the states of Western Europe.

In the long period from rude barbarian tribes to states organized along modern lines, Lothair's kingdom passed thru a period of proud feudatories both lay and ecclesiastical. One of these was the duchy of Burgundy held in fief by the Valois dukes. That a duke should aspire to the higher office of king was the accepted rule in the Middle Ages, and the dukes of Burgundy were no exception to this rule. Not only did they plan to create a kingdom, but they also proposed to extend their present boundaries until they included the whole of Lotharingia. If successful there would again be a middle kingdom between France and Germany. It was easiest to make acquisitions to the north, for here both the Empire and France were weakest in authority, and here the fashion to set up a borderland power was becoming a habit.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this was the Burgundian policy. The dukes were as fertile in method as bold in design, and one by one cities and counties, fiefs and districts passed to their rule. Sometimes a marriage was the happy stroke that brought in a large territory; sometimes a purchase was made; it might be treachery, it might be force; but whatever the method, by the close of the fifteenth century Luxemburg, Flanders, and the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries were under Burgundian rule. This was a vast territory, and of its rulers the distinguished Professor Freeman wrote: "No power ever arose which fills a wider and more oecumenical place in history than the line of Valois dukes."³

The Burgundian territories had by their overweight ceased to be a borderland kingdom; their power was both a threat and a menace to their neighbor on the west, Louis XI, of France; and when Duke Charles the Bold died in 1477, the French king seized his duchy lying along the Saône. While the southern part of the Burgundian lands went to France, it was very different in the north. Here emerged the independent state of the Netherlands comprising a large section of the original kingdom of Lothair. Its independence was

³ Edward Freeman, *The Historical Geography of Europe* (New York, 1904).

virtually obtained in 1579, but full recognition did not come until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The heir of Charles the Bold was his daughter, Mary, who, the same year in which her father died, married Maximilian of Austria, a Hapsburger. In this way the Burgundian inheritance in the north became a possession of Austrian Hapsburgs, where it remained until liberation came in the Napoleonic period.

The attempt of the dukes of Burgundy to set up a middle kingdom along the Rhine is the fourth landmark in the evolution of modern states in Europe. The independent states of Belgium and the Netherlands were the political results that followed the growth of the Burgundian power. Both of these states serve as middle kingdoms in present-day European policy. With the death of Charles the Bold, the duchy of Burgundy was lost forever; the Netherlands and Belgium subsequently appear as sovereign states; the idea of a middle kingdom was so deeply fixed in men's minds that it has remained even to our day.

The Netherlands made no advances to the east at the expense of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. But France did. Richelieu (died in 1642) resolved to give France "the frontiers which Nature had designed for it". His policy was inherited by Mazarin, the able minister of Louis XIV (1634-1715) and by his successor, Louis XV. The natural limits seemed to be the Rhine on the north and northeast, the Jura and Alps on the east, the Mediterranean and the Pyrenees on the south, the Atlantic Ocean on the west and northwest. These Frenchmen were bent on restoring to their country "the neighboring territory formerly her own". Whatever had been ancient Gaul "divided into three parts" was France; on the north it was the Rhine, the Rhine which marked the boundary between Caesar and Ariovistus.

To reach the Rhine, France must, like the dukes of Burgundy, make annexations from what was formerly Lothair's middle kingdom. This brought her in conflict with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Dutch. This was little matter to a state whose sovereign had resolved that "what once belonged to France continued to be by the right of inalienable possession of the French Crown, though it had been sold, exchanged, or given away". "Rights" were asserted, alliances made, and war was

provoked that France might enjoy the Rhine as her natural frontier.

At the conclusion of this period France had extended her national domain so that she stretched unbroken from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rhine. The acquisition of Alsace had given her a Rhine frontier; the gap between this area and that of France proper was soon filled in by the annexation of Franche Compté. While only the upper Rhine had been reached, yet France considered her achievement as one of distinct importance. France was well on the way to the ascendancy in Europe. A fifth landmark in the historical geography of France and Germany had been set. Parts of the middle kingdom had changed hands; another act in the drama of the Rhine had been enacted. Louis XIV had played the leading part. What excellent advice did this king, "the greatest actor of majesty that ever filled a throne", give in his declining years when he said, "I have been too fond of wars; do not imitate me"⁴ in this respect.

The first attempt of the French to reach their "natural frontier" on the north and northeast realized barely half a loaf. The second attempt was more successful, but there was this difference: The acquisitions made during the period of Louis XIV were mainly permanent; those made later were largely temporary. The second attempt appears during the era of the French Revolution. It centers in the person of Napoleon. As early as 1797, Austria ceded the Netherlands to France and promised to aid her in obtaining additional territory on the Rhine. Four years later Holland was organized into the Batavian Republic under French hegemony, and the left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France. In 1806 the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved, and France organized the Confederation of the Rhine with Napoleon as president. The Rhine had not only been reached; it had been crossed. The Gaul of Caesar had not only been recovered; French power was paramount to the Elbe.

The rapid changes in European historical geography made by Napoleon were of a short duration. He had touched the interests of every continental power as well as those of England, and when Waterloo announced the end of the arch conqueror of the early nineteenth century, all Europe was called

⁴ Arthur Hassall, *Louis XIV* (New York and London, 1904), 432.

together in the Congress of Vienna to readjust boundary lines. Holland was made a kingdom and given the status of a European power, and to it was added the Austrian Netherlands. Luxemburg was put under the rule of Holland as a grand duchy. The other territory along the Rhine which Napoleon had annexed to France was given to Prussia, the power more responsible than any other German state for the overthrow of the "little Corsican". Prussia with Westphalia on one side and the grand duchy of the Rhine on the other now sat astride the famous river frontier. From this position she was not to budge in the future. She sat there as a ruler over a large part of Lothair's middle kingdom and Burgundy's lost annexations. Midway between the buffer kingdom of the Netherlands and her Austrian rival to the east, she was a sentinel to guard the Rhine frontier against her neighbor state, France. She sat there, a young Macedonia, waiting the touch of a strong hand to guide her along the road of conquest and empire. With the passing of Napoleon's territorial creations, and the advent of Prussia as a strong power on the Rhine, the sixth landmark in the kaleidoscopic changes of Lothair's middle kingdom was fixed.

While Prussia waited for the guiding hand, Belgium revolted against the Netherlands. The principal European powers recognized her as an independent state in 1839 and guaranteed her neutrality. Luxemburg revolted with Belgium; at the close of the war a part of it went to Belgium; a part was left under the king of the Netherlands as grand duke. It ceased to be a part of Germany in 1866, and its neutrality was guaranteed by the Treaty of London in 1867.

In the meantime the guiding hand came to Prussia. It was Bismarck, the iron chancellor. Just as the Germanic Confederation of 1815 had taken the place of the Holy Roman Empire, so was Prussia to succeed the Confederation. Just as the 39 states took the place of 343, so was one to succeed 38. This was the road to empire and Prussian leadership. But Austria was in the way. Bismarck could easily take care of this obstacle if he was sure France would not interfere. He interviewed Napoleon III, emperor of the French, at Biarritz, and, in all probability, to get a promise of neutrality in case of an Austro-Prussian War, dangled territorial compensations along the Rhine before his eyes. At any rate, Prussia made war on Austria and defeated her. France re-

mained neutral, and demanded as the price of her neutrality the cession of the Bavarian Palatinate along the Rhine. Failing here, she requested territorial compensation in Belgium and Luxemburg. Bismarck denied the request and left Napoleon deceived and disappointed.

The continued growth of Prussian territory and power alarmed the French emperor. When, due to a revolution, Spain invited a distant relative of the German emperor to accept the throne, France realized that she was to be put between the jaws of the Hohenzollern vise. Thereupon she demanded that the candidacy of the Hohenzollern prince be withdrawn. It was done. France made a second demand, namely, that his candidacy never be renewed. Germany refused to comply with this request, and war followed.

Two cocks had met; they would not let others crow louder than they; they themselves were ready to fight for a monopoly of the Rhine as a drinking fountain. A few years before, Napoleon had made a treaty with Austria by which, in the event of an Austro-Prussian War, Austria, in case of victory, was to have Silesia. France would remain neutral, and Austria, to compensate her for this benevolent attitude, would consent to the erection of the Rhineland into an autonomous state. France had played a diplomatic game with both Austria and Prussia. She had lost. Her next move was war. Prussia had also played a diplomatic game with France. She had won. She had also won in her war with Austria. She was ready to fight again for European ascendancy and for the preservation of her Rhine provinces.

Everybody knows the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870: the defeat of the French; the payment of one billion dollars indemnity; the loss of Alsace and a part of Lorraine. The significant thing for this study is—France lost her hold on the upper Rhine. Not a single foot of river frontier remained. Well did Ranke, the German historian, say, "It is against Louis XIV that we have now to wage war." Thus was the seventh landmark in the evolution of Lothair's middle kingdom reached and passed. Germany had achieved a great success, altho a tardy one, in acquiring an additional share in this borderland.

It was Britain that was largely responsible for the establishment of Prussia astride the Rhine in 1815. Fifty-five years later this new continental power had dislodged France from

her last position on the river. Another half-century saw the tables turned; France again was keeping watch on the Rhine. This emphatic change which occurred in the century following the Congress of Vienna was due to the World War. Alsace with Lorraine again are under the sovereignty of France. The entire Rhineland north of this annexed area which Prussia had governed for one hundred years was occupied by the armies of the Allies. Not only the left bank was occupied, but also the bridgeheads and adjacent territory on the right bank. Moreover, this area and a strip thirty miles wide east of the Rhine was demilitarized. The territory occupied by the Allied armies is governed by an Interallied Rhineland Commission. Before the war France was not represented on the committee that regulated the traffic on the Rhine. Today she has four representatives. When the eighth landmark in the history of Lothair's kingdom was set up, France was again a power on the Rhine.

This situation, next to the temporary organization under Napoleon, is a near approach to the Rhine frontier of Roman days. It is the arrangement of the Peace of Versailles which went into effect in January, 1920. It is not what France wanted. "The Rhine must be the western frontier of the German peoples", said the French. They had been invaded twice in fifty years; it must not happen again. Western democracy must be saved by making the Rhine the frontier of freedom. The Rhineland, as an independent or autonomous state occupied by allied troops, would serve as barrier and buffer between Germany and France. France felt that all this was necessary to guarantee her security against another German invasion.

She was compelled to accept, however, in lieu of this, the demilitarization of the district, the protection of the untried League of Nations, and the promise of a treaty with Britain and the United States by the terms of which these nations would immediately come to her rescue in the event of a German attack. The treaty was never consummated. In the meantime, Germany failed to make the reparation payments, and France with her military forces occupied the Ruhr. France now sits astride the Rhine as Prussia did in 1815. Who will dislodge her?

It is now a little over a thousand years since Lothair's middle kingdom was formed. It has been a battleground of

the nations during its entire history. Germany and France have been the principal aggressive nations in this region, and each has sought to make it an integral part of her own dominions. These two countries with one exception have fought as members of two groups of nations, and, as a result of the wars, changes have been made in the territorial allegiance of the middle area. If a controversy over this stretch of territory did not cause the war, an issue concerning it was introduced before it was over. This region, therefore, has been the cause of international conflicts and has upset the orderly course of European life.

The recent abortive Rhineland Republic as well as the declarations of independence from governing units in this area, since France occupied the Ruhr, indicate the result of clever propaganda as well as a conviction in the hearts of the Rhinelanders that they have been too long the catspaw of European politics. There is evidence that the Rhinelanders welcomed the French in Napoleon's time; there is evidence that they welcomed their restoration to Germany in 1815. They were given to Germany so she would have protection against France; now France demands their autonomy or independence that she may have protection against Germany.

Eight landmarks in the history of Lothair's kingdom show it held as a trophy by that nation whose prowess in war or diplomacy or both was at some given time paramount. It may be likened to a ballfield with certain designated parts toward which, if the player drives the ball, he is out. Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg were such designated places.

In the last game the players were charged with unfairness, and before the game was over almost all the spectators took sides. So serious was the affair that new rules had to be drawn up for future contests. Germany was declared ineligible for a period of years, and denied permission to approach the field. She has not seen fit to abide by this decision, and in her appeal has obtained strong support from those formerly her enemies. But France still maintains that she won the game and insists that her opponent be given an additional penalty and be kept further from the field. Therefore, as a policeman she stations herself on the Ruhr and calls out "They shall not pass."

Spectators demand new rules and a new morale. They point to a hundred years of fine relations between America and

Britain. They praise a morale that makes possible a century of peace on an unfortified boundary line that stretches from the St. Lawrence to Puget Sound, three thousand miles long. Such a morale would doubtless aid France and Germany in the preservation of peace between themselves and in the world. For a nation's greatness is not in the extent of her territories nor the material wealth of her citizens, but in the stress she puts on the making and maintenance of agencies thru which her citizens may develop their talents and use them to serve one another. The force of nationality must be spiritualized.

A public opinion educated to this truth will finally checkmate the force which has been the most powerful in the history of Western Europe—a force almost fifteen centuries old and whose chief activity has been the building of empires out of separate states and the breaking down of empires to make new alignments.

II

THE ECONOMIC ROOTS OF THE RUHR

In the world today there are three great coal and iron areas. One is in the United States, another in England, and a third in France and Germany. In the American and British fields political control is unified; in Western Europe it is divided between France and Germany. France has the iron ore; Germany has the coal deposits. The nation that controls this great coal and iron area holds the key to economic supremacy in Europe. France, by going into the Ruhr, comes into possession of great coal fields, and thereby makes possible unified political control of the third important steel-producing region in the world. She can, in this way, become the strongest industrial power in Europe, and threaten, if not break, the supremacy of Britain.

The importance of coal and iron in the industrial and commercial life of the world is only of recent origin. A wooden hoe, plow, and flail for centuries was the only equipment of the tiller of the soil. After the exertions of Tubalcain, the only change in mechanical equipment of agriculture for five thousand years after Adam was largely a little metal with which to tip the implements. The early methods in spinning and weaving also prevailed until about the middle of the eighteenth century. What historians have called the "Industrial Revolution" brought in the modern methods in industrial life and organization. This revolution is unquestionably the most important single event in modern history.

Modernity is distinctly an age of machinery. Our factories are considered highly efficient when labor-saving devices are brought into service at every stage of production. Man's fingers are almost solely used to start, steer, and stop machines. Transportation consists no more in carrying a pack on the back of a man or animal; it is the moving of goods by truck, train, or ships. Our lighting and heating facilities bring into play machinery of colossal value. In agricultural pursuits labor-saving devices are becoming as prominent as in any other industry. Withal in production as well as in the distribution of the product, machinery is everywhere dominant.

It is the universal use of machinery that has made iron and steel goods so indispensable to modern industry. They are of immeasurable importance in producing a food supply and an adequate equipment in clothing for any people. On these two items, life depends. Nations recognize this and therefore seek either to safeguard their own supply of iron and steel or make adequate provision for obtaining them from other sources.

Man must not only have food and clothing; he must have protection from his enemy so that he may live and labor. In our age he looks to the state for protection. In order that he may be secure in person, property, and opportunity he insists that the state provide itself with armies and navies; arms and ammunition; forts and defensive works; battleships and watercraft;—all these call for steel.

Underlying every call for steel is the demand for coal. It is indispensable in manufacturing activities, holds the paramount place in transportation, and is extensively used for lighting and heating purposes. Our industrial life depends on an adequate supply of coal. In all probability more coal has been used since 1900 than in all the preceding ages. There was almost twice as much coal used in the world in 1914 as in 1900.

The nations of the world that are rich in coal are the dominant ones in trade, industry, and international affairs. Almost one-third of the world's supply of bituminous coal is in the United States, today the leading nation in world affairs. Great Britain, another power of the first rank, has about one-twelfth as much coal as the United States. Germany, until the Great War an outstanding contender for first place in world industry and trade, has twice as much coal as Britain. While there are great reserves of coal in China, they have not as yet been tapped so as to make them available for the world's needs. The United States, Great Britain, and Germany in 1913 produced 81 per cent of the entire amount of coal consumed by all mankind.

The total output of coal in Germany in 1913 was 191,500,000 tons. It came in the main from four sections of the Empire and in approximately the following amounts:

Alsace-Lorraine	3,800,000 tons.
Saar Basin	13,200,000 tons.
Upper Silesia	43,800,000 tons.
The Ruhr	130,700,000 tons. ⁵

The most efficient results in the manufacture of iron and steel goods are found where large supplies of ore are in close proximity to large quantities of coal. If these two great natural resources lie in adjacent regions and in addition there is an adequate supply of labor, only one other item is needed for their exploitation, namely, an organizing genius. Both Britain and the United States are blessed in all these ways.

But Germany has had one item lacking. She has not had sufficient mineral ore within her own boundary. It was near by, but under the French and Belgian flags. Coal under German jurisdiction and mineral ore under foreign control created a situation which made Potsdam uneasy, if not emphatically perturbed. What might have happened to change this dual political control to a unified one had not the fortunes of war favored Germany, no one can tell.

But the hand of Mars brought about the change. Altho the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 had its origin in a purely political affair, the Treaty of Frankfort which terminated the struggle contains one provision of vast economic significance. It deals with a territorial possession which was rich in mineral ore. This was a part of the Briey basin in the Alsace-Lorraine region, and was ceded by France to Germany. By its cession the former country was deprived of immense iron-ore resources, the greatest deposits in Europe. In 1913, almost 75 per cent of the iron ore produced in Germany came from Alsace-Lorraine. This amounted to slightly over twenty-one million tons.

Now Germany had every facility needed to spread her industrial wings. To her abundant coal deposits was now added a complementary supply of mineral ore. The acquisition came at a favorable time in Germany's economic history. The new order, ushered in by the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century, was then fully established, and the prospect of unified political control over coal and iron ore heartened those primarily interested in business, trade, and overseas commerce.

⁵ John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York, 1920), 88.

Since the population of the new empire increased rapidly, a situation in general was created which was full of promise to the industrial entrepreneur.

The essential elements in the new situation were (1) a large supply of coal, (2) a huge ore reserve, (3) a large population from which to draw both labor and capital, and (4) an organizing genius both in business and state. Deprived of any one of these items, Germany's industrial chain would lose a valuable link. To bring about the most effective use of them a system of education which laid great stress on technical instruction was built up.

The effect of all these forces on the industrial development of Germany was marked. In 1871 when a part of the Briey basin was annexed, one-half of the German people were engaged in agriculture; in 1914 less than one-third were in this vocation. Cities grew by leaps and bounds. The population increased from 41,000,000 in 1871 to 68,000,000 by 1914. At this time it was estimated that the national wealth exceeded every other nation except the United States. Six and one-quarter million dollars was invested abroad. German goods had entered the markets of the world. The mariners of Hanseatic times, altho prodigiously successful for their day, would have been amazed could they have seen the modern German sea captain marketing his products everywhere. The European countries east of Germany did one-fourth of their trading with her. As a producer of pig iron and steel, only the United States surpassed the indomitable Teutons.

Within a generation Germany had by "peaceful penetration" entered the markets of the world. Spheres of influence were staked off in some lands; colonies were obtained in others. In common with her European neighbors, this Hohenzollern state embarked on a policy of imperialism. Every continent felt the touch of German Kultur; every sea carried argosies under the German flag. What Bismarck had done at home with blood and iron, his successors determined to do abroad with coal and iron.

Naturally such a policy was bound to meet with opposition from the other nations of the world. No opposition, however, was so serious but that it yielded to the usual methods of diplomacy until the troubles of 1914 appeared. Altho alliances and counter-alliances had been formed, their existence failed to prevent recourse to the sword as an arbitral agency. Try

as best they might, "friendly" offices could not brook the oncoming tide, and in the summer of 1914 the dogs of war were let loose. For four years they were free from their leashes, and when they were again under control, not only were Germany's colonies gone, her merchant marine lost, her commercial organization broken, her navy destroyed, but her iron-ore region, so necessary to prosperity and commercial ascendancy, was disannexed. The Teutonic industrial entrepreneurs who had boastingly exclaimed, "There is no god but business and iron is its prophet" now experienced an hegira and saw the French flag wave from their former citadel.

During the very first phase of the war, Germany occupied that region in France richest in iron ore, the northeastern portion of the country. These were beds, deeper than those in Lorraine, found by the French after the loss of that province in 1871. By its occupation it has been estimated that France lost 80 per cent of her iron and steel manufactures, about 90 per cent of her ore, and approximately 70 per cent of her coal resources. If Germany could have permanently held this region, what proved to have been but a partial annexation in 1871 could have been fully made complete. This area was occupied for four years, and during this time a historian of the war says:

Iron works, machine works, also, were looted. . . . Mines were flooded, the surface plants dynamited, the workmen's dwellings destroyed. It was estimated that altogether four billion dollars' worth of machinery would be needed to replace that destroyed or carried away.⁶

It was evident that Germany knew the value of coal and iron resources and was resolved to maintain her economic ascendancy.

The outcome of the war not only restored the occupied area to France but also the lost provinces. The greatest supply of iron ore in continental Europe was now in possession of France. Moreover, Germany under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles must deliver to France annually seven million tons of coal (or its equivalent in coke) for a period of ten years. This provision was to compensate France for the destruction and damage in her coal fields. In addition, Germany surrendered the coal mines of the Saar area—mines which yielded in 1913 over thirteen million tons of coal.

But Germany failed to make these deliveries of coal, and on

⁶ Carlton J. H. Hayes, *A Brief History of the Great War* (New York, 1920), 394.

January 11, 1923, French troops occupied the Ruhr. The last and best of Germany's sources of coal was now in the hands of France. From the Ruhr came the coke for smelting the iron ore of Lorraine. These great iron and coal fields are connected by the valleys of the Rhine and its tributaries. On these raw materials is based one of the three great iron and steel industries of the world. "The industry", says Professor C. L. Leith, of the University of Wisconsin, "is to be regarded as a single great unit, regardless of national boundaries."⁷ For almost one-half a century this great economic unit was under the political control of Germany; it was a divided political control from the close of the Great War to 1923; since then it has been under the political control of France.

Germany has no other field left to develop in place of the Ruhr. Her steel industry, her great chemical works, and her wonderful electrical plants are all at the mercy of France. This Gallic power now controls both the sources and the seats of German production and can wreck her rival for European supremacy at any minute. The economic ascendancy in continental Europe which Germany enjoyed in 1914 is now potentially in the hands of France.

The consolidation of this strategic position entails a gigantic task on the victors. No eye can see the time when opposition on the part of the vanquished will cease. It is not likely that Great Britain will welcome with open arms this new competitor when she has already bled herself white to knock out the German rival. To do so would require marked readjustments in trade and commerce. It is more likely that Britain will "dig in" at this time in order to maintain her present marked advantage, and by the erection of formidable economic arrangements frustrate future competition from France. On the other hand, prospect for a speedy adjustment of the question of reparation is not good, and therefore France is likely to remain in possession of the Ruhr for some time. For this reason she will be able to organize this continental iron and coal unit with deliberation. And it may be that she will be so used to the new relations that she will never be willing to turn over the district to Germany.

Should France evacuate the Ruhr, then the coal and iron unit

⁷ C. L. Leith, "The World Iron and Steel Situation in its Bearing on the French Occupation of the Ruhr", *Foreign Affairs*, I, No. 4 (June, 1923),

as a whole will again fall under dual control. In view of the passions of these two rival nations engendered by the late war, it is almost inconceivable that France and Germany could ever find a working arrangement for its administration. We can easily see how tariff handicaps, labor troubles, and boycotts could become extremely irritating matters. In this event we can only hope that the situation may become a matter of international concern and that a way may be found to drive the sulking rivals to bear their share of the world's burden.*

*In addition to the references cited above, valuable references for this study: *The French Occupation of the Ruhr*, Pamphlet No. 16, Series of 1922-1923, of the Foreign Policy Association; Joseph King, *The Ruhr* (London, 1924); G. P. Gooch, *Franco-German Relations, 1871-1914* (London, 1923); Hermann Oncken, *The Historical Rhine Policy of the French* (New York, 1923); Charles H. Haskins, "Franco-German Frontiers", *Foreign Affairs*, III, No. 2; Henri Lichtenberger, *Relations between France and Germany* (Washington, 1923); Lichtenberger, *The Ruhr Conflict* (Washington, 1923).



HISTORY OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY IN THE
STATE OF MAINE

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HISTORY OF THE DIRECT PRIMARY IN THE STATE OF MAINE

I

THE NOMINATING SYSTEM PRIOR TO 1911

THE adoption of the direct primary is the latest step in a recent movement to regulate by law the nomination of candidates for office in the state of Maine. Political parties for seventy-one years after Maine became a state enjoyed complete freedom in "slate-making". During the succeeding thirty-four years the legislature, from time to time, enacted laws each of which regulated in increasing detail the nominating process.

The first step in the development of legal regulation of nominations was the enactment in 1891 of a law which gave a legal status to the nominating convention and regulated its procedure.¹ The act of the legislature gave the political party convention, or caucus, the authority to do under the law what it had been doing previously outside of the law. The right to make nominations for public office was granted to delegate conventions representing a political party which had "polled at least one per cent of the entire vote cast . . . for governor" at the election next preceding.² Furthermore, it provided that a certificate of nomination should be signed and sworn to by the presiding officer or by the secretary of the convention or caucus,³ and filed with the secretary of state or, in case of a city election, with the city clerk.⁴ Such certificate should contain the name of the candidate, the office for which he was nominated, the political party which he represented, and his place of residence.⁵ The successful candidate was required to file with the certificate, in writing, his consent to accept the

¹ Maine, *Acts and Resolves*, 1891, chap. cii.

² *Ibid.*, sec. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, sec. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 5.

nomination.⁶ The papers thus filed were to be "kept open, under proper regulations, to public inspection".⁷

The secretary of state, or the city clerk, in case of a city election, was authorized to prepare an official ballot containing the names of candidates nominated as above indicated.⁸ The enactment, in fact, contained a modified form of the Australian ballot. For the former unofficial party ballot there was substituted an official secret ballot, the form, preparation, and distribution of which were carefully regulated by law.⁹

The nominating procedure was further regulated twelve years later (1903) by the enactment of an enrollment law. Participation in a caucus of a political party was limited by the act to persons legally enrolled.¹⁰ A legal voter became enrolled as a member of a political party by filing with the town or city clerk a written and signed declaration giving his name, residence, place of last enrollment, and the party in which last enrolled. Following a new enrollment which indicated a change of party, the voter was denied the right to vote in any political caucus within six months.¹¹ A legally qualified voter not previously enrolled, it was provided, could enroll, however, even during a party caucus by making oath that he was "a member of that political party" and intended "to vote for its candidates at the election next ensuing", and that he had not "taken part or voted at the caucus of any other political party in the six months last past". Separate enrollment books for each political party were to be kept by the city or town clerk. These books were public records to be open to public inspection.¹²

Political party caucuses held for the purpose of nominating candidates or choosing delegates to a delegate convention were required to comply with specified restrictions. Voting for delegates to a nominating convention should be by ballot only. Notices of caucuses, signed by the chairman and secretary of the city or town committee, should be posted in at least

⁶ Maine, *Acts and Resolves*, 1891, chap. cii, sec. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, sec. 9.

⁸ A place on the official ballot could also be obtained by candidates nominated by nomination papers signed by one thousand qualified voters for a state office, and by not less "than one for every one hundred persons who voted at the next preceding gubernatorial election" for an office in an electoral district, municipality, or ward. *Ibid.*, sec. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, amended by *Acts and Resolves*, 1893, chap. cclxvii.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, sec. 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, sec. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, sec. 3.

five conspicuous places not less than seven days prior to the caucus. The notices should state the place, day, and hour of holding the caucus.¹³ "Pecuniary compensation" for the voting or influencing of the action of a voter in a caucus was declared illegal.¹⁴ Violation of or non-compliance with the provision of the act was to be punished by a fine not exceeding \$500 or imprisonment not exceeding six months.¹⁵

The effectiveness of the act as a means of regulating nominations was greatly weakened by the exemption, from its application, of towns of less than 2,000 inhabitants and of cities of over 35,000 inhabitants.¹⁶ There seems to have been no valid reason for the exclusion of the small towns, while every argument in favor of the act applied with even greater force to Portland, the only city exempted, than to the cities coming under its provisions. Subsequent history of political caucuses in Portland clearly demonstrated the folly of the exemption clause.

The movement to regulate the nominating process was continued in 1911 by the enactment of a corrupt practices act,¹⁷ which was applied not only to elections but also to caucuses and primaries.¹⁸ The act provided that "caucuses and primary elections" should "include: (a) all meetings held to nominate a candidate for office or to elect delegates to a nominating convention"; and "(b) nominating conventions of such delegates".¹⁹

It was provided that "the expenses of any . . . caucus or primary election" should be paid only by a treasurer or political agent legally appointed, and recorded with the secretary of state or town clerk. A candidate, however, was permitted to "designate himself as his own political agent".²⁰

Treasurers and political agents were authorized to make expenditures for the following purposes only: "(a) . . . hiring public halls and music for conventions, public meetings, and public primaries, and for advertising the same by posters or otherwise; (b) . . . printing and circulating political newspapers, pamphlets, and books; (c) . . . print-

¹³ *Ibid.*, sec. 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 13.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, sec. 14.

¹⁷ This act was modeled on the *Public Acts of Connecticut*, 1905, chap. cclxxx.

¹⁸ *Maine, Acts and Resolves*, 1911, chap. cxxii.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, secs. 2, 4.

ing and distributing ballots and posters; (d) . . . renting rooms to be used by political committees; (e) . . . compensating clerks and other persons employed in committee rooms and at the polls; (f) . . . traveling expenses of political agents, committees, and public speakers; (g) . . . necessary postage, telegrams, telephones, printing, express, and conveyance charges".²¹ The personal expenses of the candidate for postage, telegrams, telephones, stationery, printing, express, and traveling were exempted from the application of the act.²²

Treasurers and political agents including candidates acting as their own agents were required to file with the secretary of state or the town clerk a sworn, itemized statement of all receipts and their sources, and all expenditures made or liabilities incurred. Such returns were to be preserved for fifteen months and kept open to public inspection.²³

A person was deemed guilty of corrupt practices who received or solicited money or anything of value for the purpose of inducing any person to vote or not to vote at a caucus or primary election; who, for a consideration, voted or refrained from voting; who contributed anything to any person or committee other than a legally appointed treasurer or political agent; who attempted to promote his own candidacy by promising appointments, or assistance in promoting the candidacy of another person; or who made a contribution to a treasurer or political agent "in any other name than his own". A penalty of a fine of not less than \$50 nor more than \$2,000, or imprisonment for not less than thirty days nor more than two years, or both, was provided for violation of the act.²⁴

The corrupt practices act of 1911, adopted by the legislature, became the model for the corrupt practices provisions of the direct primary law enacted by the voters under the initiative clause of the constitution in September, 1911.

²¹ Maine, *Acts and Resolves*, 1911, chap. cxxii, sec. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, sec. 6.

²³ *Ibid.*, sec. 8.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 11.

II

THE DIRECT PRIMARY LAW: ITS GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT²⁵

The movement for control of the nominating procedure in Maine reached its culmination in the enactment of the direct primary law by the voters of the state, September, 1911. The direct primary law was, in the main, an outgrowth of the progressive movement which, in less than a decade, had resulted in the adoption of the initiative and referendum and a corrupt practices act. The first decade of the twentieth century witnessed, moreover, the rise of an independent and progressive element in the Republican, or majority, party, which led in many instances to contests, more or less bitter, between "ring" and "anti-ring" for the control of the party machinery and nominations. Such contests gave greater publicity to undesirable party practices.

Legal control of the delegate convention and party caucus was no longer considered by the masses of party members an adequate remedy for the evils of party government. A system of nominations was demanded which would give promise of the following results:

1. Bring the party under greater popular control.
2. Make the combination of selfish interests and corrupt politics more difficult and less effective. (It was whispered around that control of legislation from a certain hotel room must be terminated.)
3. Reduce corruption to a minimum.
4. Afford opportunity for the examination of a candidate's record.
5. Inform the voters with regard to the candidate's position on pending questions of public policy.
6. Afford better facilities for punishment of official wrongdoing.
7. Fix responsibility for official well-doing upon the official personally and make him realize that he represented the people rather than a small office-filling group.

²⁵ A portion of the substance of the material appearing in this and the following chapter has been taken from an article prepared by the author for the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1923, and from Bowdoin College *Bulletins*, Nos. 4, 6.

The public discontent with existing conditions was forcefully expressed by the *Lewiston Evening Journal*. It suggested that the official class had "long relieved the voters of the obligation of self-government";²⁶ that it had "packed legislative committees"; that it had "resisted state printing reforms"; that it had been guilty of "charging up dead-head tickets against taxpayers"; and that it had "exempted from taxation wild land, railways, and other public utilities".²⁷

A plank demanding "honest caucuses" and "full publicity of all expenditures" for nominations was placed in the Democratic platform of 1908. Both of the major parties adopted direct primary law planks in their platforms of 1910. The Democratic platform provided that: "The Democratic party of Maine in convention assembled declares that it will . . . demand a direct primary law . . ." ²⁸ The Republican party followed with an even more emphatic demand for such a law, as follows: "We urge upon our legislature the enactment of such direct primary and other laws as may properly regulate the conduct of caucuses to secure the honest and free expression of the proper voters therein."²⁹

The legislature which convened in January, 1911, was Democratic in both of its branches.³⁰ The Republican members of the legislature were not willing, however, to leave to their Democratic colleagues the task and honor of providing the state with a direct primary law. Under the leadership of Howard Davies of Yarmouth a direct primary law was drawn up, filed with the secretary of state, February 3, and transmitted to the legislature on February 6, 1911.³¹ It became the Republican measure and was commonly called the Davies Bill. The Democratic or Administration direct primary bill was introduced into the House on March 10, just three weeks before the legislature adjourned.³² It was drawn up by Nathan Clifford and William M. Pennell, members from Portland, and was commonly known as the Pennell Bill.³³ Both bills were referred to the judiciary committee. The Democratic majority in the committee reported in favor of the

²⁶ *Lewiston Evening Journal*, July 1, 1908.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, June 30, 1908.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1910.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1910.

³⁰ House: Democrats, 87; Republicans, 64. Senate: Democrats, 22; Republicans, 9.

³¹ Maine, *Journal of the Senate*, 1911, p. 202.

³² Maine, *Legislative Record*, 1911, p. 458.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 1061.

Pennell Bill while the Republican minority members favored the Davies Bill.³⁴ The majority report in favor of the Pennell Bill was adopted by the House by a vote of 75 to 20³⁵ and by the Senate by a vote of 19 to 5.³⁶ The vote closely followed party lines. The debates in the legislature on the measures were surprisingly short. With one or two exceptions the arguments clashed only on the difference between the bills and not on the general principles of the direct primary.

The only attack in either house on the general principles of the direct primary was made by the Democratic senator from Knox County, Mr. L. M. Staples. He contended, first, that a direct primary would make it "almost impossible for any man of moderate means to become a candidate for office", on account of the great expense involved in getting the voters out to the polls for the primary election;³⁷ and second, that there was "no call for it by the voters of Maine". Senator Carl E. Milliken (Republican) of Aroostook answered that he considered that the argument about the expense had no force whatever and that he favored the direct primary because it would "give the people a right to express directly their choice".³⁸

The relative merits of the opposing measures were argued more at length. Both bills applied the direct primary to the nomination of governor, representatives to Congress, and United States senators. The Davies Bill, however, went further and applied it to the state auditor, members of the state legislature, and county officers. The Davies Bill, furthermore, contained detailed provisions not found in the Pennell Bill for holding state conventions prior to the primaries, for limiting the expenditures of candidates, and for publicity of campaign expenditures; while the Pennell Bill alone provided that candidates for governor should pay to the secretary of state a fee of \$100 and for representative to Congress, or United States senator, \$50.

The Democrats led by Mr. Williamson of Kennebec County contended that county officers should not be included since candidates for county positions are not usually well known thruout the county, hence the voters will naturally vote for the

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 739.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1066.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1046.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1045.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1046.

candidate from their own section. The result, he believed, would be that candidates from the cities or large towns would always win and that the smaller towns would be "almost wholly deprived of representation". He believed, also, that where several towns made up a representative district, the representative to the state legislature would always come from the largest town.³⁹

Since the legislature refused to enact the initiated Davies Direct Primary Bill, it automatically went before the voters of the state. The question came up for decision at the special election held on September 11, 1911. Very little public interest seems to have been aroused, if we may judge from the newspaper accounts. Public attention during the weeks preceding the election was absorbed almost entirely by the prohibition constitutional amendment which was resubmitted to the voters.

At the polls, however, the people expressed their approval of the initiated Davies Bill by a vote of 65,810 to 21,744. The popular majority in favor of the measure was almost as pronounced as was the majority in the legislature in favor of the Pennell Bill. Not only the country towns but the cities, including those under Democratic control, voted in favor of the measure. It is difficult to account for the large "yes" vote in such Democratic cities as Lewiston where the vote was 2,613 for, to 340 against;⁴⁰ possibly the great mass of city voters were instructed to vote "yes" on all the questions on the ballot in order that they would vote "yes" for the repeal of the prohibition clause. The adoption of the Davies measure by the people automatically made null and void the administration bill passed by the legislature.⁴¹

The direct primary law established the closed type of primary election by which each party, in effect, holds a separate election to determine for itself its own nominees for public office. Each political party has a ballot of its own "printed on tinted paper of a separate tint"—white, yellow, blue, green, or brown.⁴² The authority to make its own nominations by direct vote was granted to any political party which polled as much as one per cent of the entire vote cast for governor at the last election.⁴³

³⁹ Maine, *Legislative Record*, 1911, p. 1062.

⁴⁰ *Lewiston Evening Journal*, September 12, 1911.

⁴¹ Bowdoin College *Bulletin*, Research Series, No. 4, pp. 5-7.

⁴² Maine, *Revised Statutes*, 1916, chap. vi, sec. 8.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, sec. 1.

The party was further guarded from outside interference in the selection of its candidates by the application to the primaries of the enrollment law of 1903. This law, however, was seriously defective in that it exempted, from its application, towns of less than 2,000 inhabitants and cities of over 35,000 inhabitants.⁴⁴

The law applied to the nomination of United States senators, representatives to Congress, members of the state legislature, governor, state auditor, and all elective county officers.⁴⁵ It did not apply to city, town, and plantation officers.

A candidate secured a place on the primary ballot by filing nomination papers with the secretary of state containing names of qualified voters to the number of "not less than one per cent nor more than two per cent of the entire vote cast for governor in the last preceding state election . . . within the electoral division or district wherein such proposed candidate is to be voted for."⁴⁶

Signatures were limited to members of the party of the candidate, and any person could legally sign the papers of only one candidate for each position to be filled. Signatures were to be made in person, and the place of residence of the signer was to be indicated. One signer of each paper was required to take oath that he believed the signatures to be genuine and made by legally qualified party members residing in the district.⁴⁶ The secretary of state was intrusted with the duty of preparing and distributing the official ballots for the party primaries from the nomination papers duly signed and filed at his office.⁴⁷

The date set for holding the party primaries was the third Monday in June preceding the biennial state election. The usual provisions of the Australian ballot law were incorporated into the primary law relating to care of ballots, polling-places, secret voting, posting of sample ballots, posting of warrants, and counting of ballots.⁴⁸

The duty of canvassing the vote was intrusted to the governor and council with powers to correct the returns if errors were discovered after testimony had been taken under oath, and a hearing granted to all the interested parties.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 13. Note: Portland was the only city above 35,000.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, sec. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, sec. 8.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, secs. 10-15.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, sec. 16.

The importance of this section was demonstrated by the settlement by the governor and council of the contested gubernatorial nominations in the Republican primary of 1924.

Candidates nominated at the primary election were required to file with the secretary of state "a return of expenditures". The return showed the amounts spent for: (a) printing, (b) clerk hire, (c) newspaper advertising, (d) hall rent, (e) soliciting agents, and (f) miscellaneous. No return was required of amounts spent personally for postage, telegrams, telephones, stationery, express, and traveling.⁵⁰

Expenditures for all other purposes were prohibited. The law also set a limit to the total expenditures for the several classes of offices as follows: state officers, \$1,500; United States senators, \$1,500; representatives to Congress, \$500; state senators and county officers, \$150 "for each 10,000 votes cast for governor or fraction thereof"; representatives to the state legislature from districts having three or more representatives, \$100; representatives from districts having two or fewer representatives, \$50.⁵¹

The law also attempted to prevent persons other than the candidate or his agent from giving unreported financial aid to a candidate. The candidate was required to make oath "that no person, firm, or corporation has with my knowledge and consent paid any sum or incurred any liability other than to myself or my political agent to procure or aid in procuring my nomination . . ."⁵² The law further made it illegal for a third person to give financial aid to a candidate without his knowledge and consent.⁵³

Provision was made for a state convention of each party to be held not less than sixty nor more than ninety days before the date of the primary. The basis of representation in the convention and the time and place and method of calling the convention were left to be determined by the respective state committees. The law required the party in convention assembled to formulate and adopt a platform of principles for the ensuing state election, and elect a state committee, a district committee for each congressional district, and a county committee for each county. The number of members compris-

⁵⁰ Maine, *Revised Statutes*, 1916, chap. vi, sec. 16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, sec. 21.

⁵² *Ibid.*, sec. 18.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, sec. 19.

ing the several committees, the manner of their election and their duties, were left to the decision of the convention. The chairman and the secretary of the convention were required to certify to the secretary of state the platform adopted and the names of the members of the committees chosen.⁵⁴

Nominations of candidates have been made under the direct primary law of 1911 for seven biennial elections. No amendments have been made except in the clause relating to the enrollment of voters. Sentiment in the state in favor of bringing Portland and the towns of 2,000 inhabitants or less under the application of the act gradually grew. The legislature in 1923 extended the application of the law to cities of more than 35,000 inhabitants, which, in Portland, eliminated the shifting of a voter from one party to another within six months prior to a primary.⁵⁵ The enrollment of voters for primary elections was completed in 1925 by the extension of the application of the enrollment provision to towns of 2,000 inhabitants or less. Thus after fourteen years the primary became a "closed" primary for every section of the state.⁵⁶

Since the close of the World War, a movement for the repeal of the direct primary law has been growing in Maine. The chief causes underlying the movement seem to be: first, the conviction in the minds of many that the direct primary has not sufficiently produced the betterment in government promised by its proponents; second, the reluctance on the part of many voters to go to the trouble of signing nomination papers and informing themselves regarding the qualifications of candidates to be voted on at the primaries; third, the natural hostility toward the primary held by the old-line politician who sees in the present state of public indifference and confusion an opportunity to restore the old convention system; and, furthermore, many of the amateur political workers, also trained under the convention system, long for the return of the good fellowship, secret or mysterious conferences, and the trading and playing the political game enjoyed in the old-time convention; fourth, the reactionary swing of the political pendulum which tends to place under a ban of disapproval the progressive measures of the Rooseveltian era; fifth, the conviction in the minds of a number of people that the principle

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. vi.

⁵⁵ Maine, *Acts and Resolves*, 1923, chap. ccviii.

⁵⁶ Maine, *Legislative Record*, 1925, pp. 432, 566.

of representative government is superior to the principle of direct democracy in party affairs, and that it is only by the conferring together of party representatives in a representative convention that the best candidates may be selected to run on the party ticket.

The opponents of the direct primary were successful in securing the adoption of planks in both the Republican and Democratic platforms of 1922 against the direct primary law. They are as follows:

Republican: Whereas, The Direct Primary Law was enacted by the people thinking it an improvement over our former system,

And Whereas, It has been fairly tried and found unsatisfactory,

Therefore we advocate the submission to the people of a proposition for its repeal.

Democratic: We recommend the passage by the next legislature of a bill repealing the direct primary law and further recommend that this bill be submitted to popular vote in order that the people may express their views concerning the primary law in the light of their experience during the past eleven years.

Following the conventions of April, 1922, the friends of the law, including especially the League of Women Voters and the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, made their voices heard so emphatically that the legislature which convened in January of 1923 refused to repeal the law or to submit the question to a referendum, the planks of both parties to the contrary notwithstanding.

Attempts were made by the advocates of repeal in both the Democratic and Republican conventions of 1924 to secure the adoption of a repeal plank, but public sentiment had convinced the platform committees that it would be wise to remain silent on the question.

The legislature during the 1925 session gave careful consideration to the demand for repeal or vital modification of the primary law. The several proposals were finally compromised in the so-called Oakes-Anthoine Bill.⁵⁷ The bill aimed to restore the delegate nominating conventions, state, district, and county. It contained thoro-going provisions regulating the election of delegates to such conventions. It provided, however, that a defeated candidate who received "twenty per cent of the total number of ballots cast for all candidates for the nomination for which he was a candidate" might appeal

⁵⁷ *Senate Document*, 269.

to a popular primary of his party thruout the state or district.⁵⁸ Altho the report of the judiciary committee was 7 to 3 in favor of its passage, the minority report, "ought not to pass", was adopted by the legislature.⁵⁹

The defeat of the bill was in a measure due to the fact that an initiated petition providing for the repeal of the primary law and the restoration of the convention system of the pre-primary period had been submitted to the legislature. The initiated measure, if drawn up, signed, and submitted in conformity with the constitution, automatically went to a referendum of the people.⁶⁰ The initiated measure contained the following provisions:

ARTICLE I. Sections 1 to 36, inclusive, of Chapter 6 of the Revised Statutes, and acts amendatory thereof and additional thereto, relating to nominations of candidates for office by primary elections, are hereby repealed.

ARTICLE II. All nominations of candidates for any and all state or county offices, including United States Senator, member of Congress, and member of the state legislature shall hereafter be made at and by party caucuses and conventions, in the same manner as nominations were made prior to the passage of Chapter 199 of the Public Laws of 1911 and Chapter 221 of the Public Laws of 1913.

The Governor is hereby requested to issue his proclamation, referring the within act to the people, at a special election to be held not less than four or more than six months after such proclamation.

The petitions containing the repeal measure, submitted to the legislature, appeared to contain the names of 12,863 legal voters, certified to under oath as required by law. An examination of the petitions, however, by the governor and council after the adjournment of the legislature raised grave doubts with regard to the legality of many petitions and signatures. To ascertain whether the petitions contained the requisite 12,000 legal signatures, hearings were held before the governor and council May 6, 11, and 18, 1925. On May 25, Governor Brewster issued the following statement regarding the results of the hearing:

The Attorney-General has advised me that it is plainly the duty of the Governor to determine whether the provisions of the Constitution have been met in requiring that at least 12,000 electors shall propose an initiated measure in accordance with the required forms before a proclamation shall be issued calling for an election upon the proposed law.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, sec. 15.

⁵⁹ Maine, *Legislative Record*, 1925, pp. 641-649, 820-824.

⁶⁰ Maine, *Constitution*, art. xxxi.

The Legislature apparently recognized the constitutional provisions and did not even purport to determine whether or not a referendum should be held upon the bill to abolish the Direct Primary and return to the old convention system.

In the so-called "Direct Primary" petitions there were gross evidences of fraud. A great number of signatures were obviously made by the same hand. Duplicate petitions with exactly the same names were filed from different towns. Manifest irregularities were apparent upon a very great proportion of the petitions that were returned.

A postal card canvass was accordingly made and hundreds of voters reported back over their own signatures that their names upon the petitions were not signed by them. These reports came in largest numbers in certain of the largest cities of the State. Further investigation was accordingly made and resulted in a wholesale repudiation of the petitions that had been filed.

In certain cases the signature of the Justice of the Peace taking oath to the authenticity of the petition had been forged. Sworn testimony was presented tracing these petitions in their uncompleted conditions to the hand of the one responsible for their circulation throughout the State and for the filing of the petitions with the Secretary of State. Such circumstantial evidence does not, however, seem to warrant the prosecution for forgery.

Applying the rules very carefully laid down by the Justice at the time a somewhat similar situation was investigated by Governor Milliken, it is plainly evident without further investigation that less than 8,000 names have been legally filed, although 12,000 names are required. How many more would be eliminated by further investigation it does not seem necessary or desirable to learn.⁶¹

It appears, therefore, that the question of the repeal of the direct primary will not be submitted to the people at present and that any further changes in the system of nominations must await the convening of the legislature in 1927.

⁶¹ *Portland Evening Express*, June 25, 1925.

III

THE DIRECT PRIMARY IN OPERATION

For the purpose of ascertaining the facts concerning the actual operation of the direct primary in Maine data have been collected to answer, if possible, the following questions:

First: Has the primary given undue advantage to city candidates and deprived the country of its just representation in state and county offices?

Second: What has been the effect of the primary upon the number of candidates?

Third: Has it substituted plurality for majority nominations?

Fourth: What effect has it had upon party organization and party harmony?

Fifth: What has been its effect upon the quality of officers chosen?

Sixth: Has the direct primary made it more expensive to run for office?

Seventh: Has the cost of the direct primary to the state and municipalities been excessive?

Eighth: What has been the effect of the direct primary upon popular interest in nominations?

In regard to the first question, the *Portland Evening Express and Advertiser* maintains that it has favored city candidates. The "direct primary plan", it says, ". . . invariably gives the city candidate an advantage over the country candidate", since "a voter will almost certainly support a man from his own town."⁶² The same view is expressed by the *Bangor Daily Commercial*.⁶³ Such a result was predicted on the floor of the Senate when the bill was before the legislature. The statement that the city candidate has an undue advantage has been repeated so often and widely that it has been accepted almost as an axiom.

In order to discover the facts, the writer has made a study of the distribution of county officers and state senators between the cities and country towns in the eight counties having important urban centers for six biennial periods since the

⁶² *Portland Evening Express and Advertiser*, November 14 and 24, 1922.

⁶³ *Bangor Daily Commercial*, November 15 and 25, 1922.

adoption of the direct primary. The distribution for that period was then compared with a like distribution during the last six biennial periods under the convention system. The results of the study appear in the accompanying tables.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Tables I, II, IV, and V are taken from Bowdoin College *Bulletin*, Research Series No. 4.

TABLE I.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE COUNTY OFFICES BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY
(Convention era compared with direct primary era)

COUNTIES	City			Country		
	1901-1911		1913-1923	1901-1911		1913-1923
	Number of Offices	Per Cent of Total	Number of Offices	Per Cent of Total	Number of Offices	Per Cent of Total
Androskoggin.....	46	76.6	44	73.3	14	23.4
Cumberland.....	29	48.3	34	56.5	31	51.7
Kennebec.....	27	45.0	22	36.6	33	55.0
Knox.....	25	41.7	15	25.0	35	58.3
Penobscot.....	32	53.3	22	36.6	28	46.7
Sagadahoc.....	32	53.3	36	60.0	28	46.7
Waldo.....	36	60.0	21	35.0	24	40.0
York.....	9	15.0	20	33.3	51	85.0
Total.....	236	49.2	214	44.6	244	50.8
Gain or Loss.....	.....	.....	*22	*4.6	.....	.....

*Minus.

†Plus.

TABLE II.—DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY OFFICES COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY

COUNTIES	CITIES						COUNTRY					
	1901-1911			1913-1923			1901-1911			1913-1923		
	Per Cent of Offices	Per Cent of Pop-ulation	Plus	Minus	Per Cent of Offices	Per Cent of Pop-ulation	Plus	Minus	Per Cent of Offices	Per Cent of Pop-ulation	Plus	Minus
Androscoggin.....	76.6	74.2	2.4	.....	73.3	74.2	.....	.9	23.4	25.8	.9	.....
Cumberland.....	48.3	55.7	.....	7.4	56.5	55.7	.....	.....	51.7	44.3	.....	.8
Kennebec.....	45.0	43.8	1.2	.....	36.6	43.8	.....	7.2	55.0	56.2	.....	.....
Knox.....	41.7	31.3	10.4	.....	25.0	31.3	.....	6.3	58.3	68.7	.....	.....
Penobscot.....	53.3	29.6	23.7	.....	36.6	29.6	.....	7.0	46.7	70.4	.....	7.0
Sagadahoc.....	53.3	63.9	.....	10.6	60.0	63.9	.....	3.9	46.7	36.1	.....	.....
Waldo.....	60.0	23.8	36.2	.....	35.0	23.8	.....	11.2	40.0	76.2	.....	11.2
York.....	15.0	50.2	.....	35.2	33.3	50.2	.....	16.9	85.0	49.8	.....	.....

TABLE III.—DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTY OFFICES BETWEEN CITIES AND COUNTRY TOWNS
1925

COUNTIES	CITIES				COUNTRY TOWNS			
	Per Cent of Offices	Per Cent of Popu- lation	Plus	Minus	Per Cent of Offices	Per Cent of Popu- lation	Plus	Minus
Androscoggin.....	60.0	74.2	.....	14.2	40.0	25.8	14.2	.....
Cumberland.....	40.0	55.7	.....	15.7	60.0	44.3	15.7	.....
Kennebec.....	40.0	43.8	.....	3.8	60.0	56.2	3.8	.....
Knox.....	50.0	31.3	18.7	.....	50.0	68.7	.....	18.7
Penobscot.....	40.0	29.6	10.4	.....	60.0	70.4	.....	10.4
Sagadahoc.....	50.0	63.9	.....	13.9	50.0	36.1	13.9	.....
Waldo.....	60.0	23.8	36.2	.....	40.0	76.2	.....	36.2
York.....	40.0	50.2	.....	10.2	60.0	49.8	10.2	.....
Totals.....	47.5	48.6	.....	1.1	52.5	51.4	1.1	.....

TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION OF STATE SENATORS BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRY
COMPARED WITH DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

1901-1911 (Convention Era)

	City	Country
Per Cent of County Population.....	48.6	51.4
Per Cent of Offices.....	34.3	65.7
Over or under represented.....	-14.3	+14.3

1913-1923 (Direct Primary Era)

Per Cent of County Population.....	48.6	51.4
Per Cent of Offices.....	45.4	54.6
Over or under represented.....	-3.2	+ 3.2

TABLE VI.—DISTRIBUTION OF SENATORS BETWEEN CITIES AND COUNTRY TOWNS, 1925

COUNTIES	Total Number of Senators	CITIES			COUNTRY TOWNS		
		From City	Per Cent of Total Senators	Per Cent of Total Population	From Country Towns	Per Cent of Total Senators	Per Cent of Total Population
Androscoggin.....	2	2	100.0	74.2	.....	.....	25.8
Cumberland.....	4	2	50.0	55.7	2	50.0	44.3
Kennebec.....	3	2	66.6	43.8	1	33.4	56.2
Knox.....	2	.....	.....	31.3	2	100.0	68.7
Penobscot.....	3	2	66.6	29.6	1	33.4	70.4
Sagadahoc.....	1	.....	.....	63.9	1	100.0	36.1
Waldo.....	1	1	100.0	23.8	.....	.....	76.2
York.....	3	1	33.4	50.2	2	66.6	49.8
Totals.....	19	10	52.6	48.6	9	47.4	51.4

Table I shows that, under the direct primary in comparison with a like period under the convention, the city's share in the offices was reduced by 22 or 4.6 per cent, while the country's share was increased by the same amount. Five of the eight counties showed a loss for the cities and a gain for the country towns. A further analysis of the figures, which are given in Table II, results in the interesting discovery that under the direct primary there has been a remarkable correlation of distribution of offices according to population as between city and country. The distribution of offices in every county except Kennebec has tended to approach more closely to the basis of the distribution of population. On this basis, the cities of the counties of Cumberland, Sagadahoc, and York, in the period prior to the direct primary, had been under-represented in county offices, while the cities in the other five counties had been over-represented. A study of Table II shows how nearly the under-representation in the one group and the over-representation in the other have been wiped out. Bangor furnishes a striking illustration. During the convention era, 1901-1911, she held 32 to the country's 28 county offices, while under the direct primary, 1913-1923, she has held 22 to the country's 38.

An analysis of Table III shows that the correlation between the distribution of offices and of population was maintained in the biennial period 1924-1925. In the eight counties the cities contained 48.6 per cent of the population and enjoyed 47.5 per cent of the offices, lacking only 1.1 per cent of their just proportion according to population, while the country towns enjoyed only 1.1 per cent more than their just proportion.

The tendency under the direct primary for representation as between city and country to approach the ratio of the distribution of population is further clearly indicated by Tables IV and V. During the last six biennial periods under the convention system, the cities won 14.3 less than their just proportion of representatives according to population, while under the direct primary they approached to within 3.2 of their just proportion on the basis of population. Table VI brings the statistics on distribution of senators down to 1925. The cities have had a slight advantage over the country towns, yet the deviation from the per cent indicated by the distribution of population was only 4 per cent.

It is often contended that "Greater Portland", including Westbrook and South Portland with Portland, has been securing more than her share of the state senators. Statistics show that "Greater Portland" with 70.7 per cent of the population of the county held (1901-1911) only 54.5 per cent of the senatorial representation, while under the direct primary (1913-1923) she has held 62.5 per cent of the senatorial representation, which is 8.2 per cent less than her population calls for. Is it fair to say, in the face of such facts, that the cities have an undue advantage in securing senatorial representation, especially when it is recognized that on account of the constitutional limitation the cities are greatly under-represented in the House? Portland has one representative in the House for each 10,000 people while many of the smaller towns have one for each 3,000.

An examination of the places of residence of the thirty-one senators in the eighty-second legislature (1925) shows that the rural element and small municipalities dominated the senate as well as the house, if numbers may be taken as a criterion.⁶⁵ Only 9 of the 31 reside in municipalities of 10,000 inhabitants, or over, with an aggregate population of 182,182; while 22 senators reside in municipalities of less than 10,000 inhabitants, with an aggregate population of 68,341. Only 15 senators reside in municipalities of 5,000 inhabitants or over, with an aggregate population of 224,228; while 16 (a majority of one) reside in municipalities of less than 5,000 inhabitants, with an aggregate population of only 26,295.

It has been said that the distribution of offices is not a fair test, and that the real test comes when a candidate from the city runs in opposition to a candidate from the country. Applying the test to the Republican primary of 1922 in the 8 counties appearing in the above tables it is found that 12 such contests were won by country candidates and only 6 by city candidates. The application of the test to both major parties in the primaries of 1924 shows that out of 33 contests between city and country candidates in the above counties 16 were won by city candidates and 17 by country candidates.⁶⁶ Limiting the survey to the 3 counties having the large cities, Androscoggin, Cumberland, and Penobscot,

⁶⁵ Maine, *Legislative Manual*, 1925.

⁶⁶ Official returns filed in the office of the secretary of state at Augusta.

but covering 6 primary elections, 1912-1922, we find that out of 73 such contests the cities won 36 and the country towns 37.⁶⁷

With respect to the lower house of the state legislature, the opponents of the direct primary predicted that in case a representative to the legislature represented several towns, one being much larger than the rest, the smaller towns would never furnish a representative. For example, it was declared in the legislature, 1911, concerning the legislative class made up of Hallowell, Manchester, and West Gardiner that: "Under the present system (convention) . . . Manchester would have one term, West Gardiner one, and Hallowell three. But if the Davies Bill becomes a law neither Manchester nor West Gardiner will be represented during the next ten years."⁶⁸ The extent to which the prediction failed is indicated by the fact that West Gardiner had its turn in 1914, Manchester in 1916, and Hallowell its three in the three succeeding biennial periods. A survey of a large number of similar representative districts shows that in the main the tradition of distribution of representatives between towns has been continued unaffected by the change in the system of nomination.

The answer to the second question, "What has been the effect of the direct primary upon the number of candidates?" may be gained from an analysis of the following table:

TABLE VII.—PRIMARY OF 1922 AND 1924
Republican

OFFICE	Num- ber	Candi- dates	Unop- posed	Major- ity	Plu- rality
United States Senator	2	5	.....	2	.....
Governor	2	5	.....	2	.....
State Auditor	2	5	.....	1	1
Representative to Congress	8	9	7	8	.....
County Offices	181	339	97	148	33
State Representative	302	420	176	273	29
State Senator	62	100	11	37	25
Total	559	883	291	471	88

⁶⁷ Bowdoin College *Bulletin*, Municipal Research Series, No. 4, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Maine, *Legislative Record*, 1911, p. 1063.

Democratic

OFFICE	Number	Candidates	Unopposed	Majority	Plurality
United States Senator	2	2	2	2	.....
Governor	2	2	2	2	.....
State Auditor	2	2	2	2	.....
Representative to Congress	8	8	8	8	.....
County Offices	181	239	141	170	11
State Representative	302	323	278	298	4
State Senators	62	64	58	62	.....
Total	559	640	491	544	15
Total Republican and Democratic	1,118	1,523	782	1,015	103
Percentages .....	.....	.....	69.95	90.79	9.21

It is significant to note from the above table (VII) that the average number of candidates for the Republican positions in the two primary elections was 1.4, for the Democratic positions slightly more than 1.1 while 69.95 per cent of the positions were filled by unopposed candidates. A comparison of the above results, under the primary system, with the number of candidates running under the convention system, based upon newspaper reports, indicates that the change to the primary has had little or no effect in Maine upon the number of candidates running for office. The number of candidates running in each instance seems to have been determined by factors other than the nominating system.

The third question is brought up for consideration, because one of the usual objections made against the direct primary is that it substitutes plurality for majority nomination. In theory that is undoubtedly a weakness. But how has it worked in practice? An analysis of the primary returns of 1922 and 1924 shows that out of 1,118 positions filled by the two parties in the primaries 1,015 were nominated by a majority vote, that is 90.79 per cent received a majority of the votes cast.⁶⁹

An examination of the nominations of 96 senators from Androscoggin, Cumberland, and Penobscot counties from 1912 to 1922 shows that 94 were nominated by a majority and only 2 by a plurality vote. An examination of the nominations of 188 county officers for the same counties over the same period shows 149 nominated by a majority vote and 39 by plurality vote. It seems fair to conclude, therefore, that

⁶⁹ See Table VI, above.

the evils of plurality nominations have been experienced only to a slight degree under the primary. Should circumstances, however, greatly increase the number of contestants in the primaries, the number of plurality nominations would undoubtedly increase.

The answer to the fourth question is largely a matter of opinion. If political news in the daily press and the evidence given by the candidates themselves may be relied on, it is only rarely that bitter personalities among candidates in a primary have been indulged in. The candidate defeated in the primary almost invariably lends his hearty support in the election campaign to his successful opponent. The support given to Governor Ralph Brewster, the successful candidate in the 1924 primaries, by Hon. Frank Farrington, the defeated candidate, after a most strenuous primary campaign and a long-drawn-out contest before the governor and council, is a striking example. In fact, a study of the newspapers reveals fewer political feuds in the party in recent years than appeared in the period from 1900 to 1912 when "ring" and "anti-ring" were often struggling to control the party nominating conventions.

The pre-primary state conventions, provided for by the primary law, aid in bringing the party leaders and delegates together for conference and discussion. There is a widespread feeling, however, that the lack of a county convention is a handicap to the party organization in the county. There is a widespread conviction also that some means of affording closer coöperation between the various party committees and organizations in the county would strengthen the party organization and promote harmony. The county committee bears the responsibility of conducting a vigorous campaign for the election of the party nominees. At times it is handicapped in so doing because there has been no getting together and coöperation in bringing forward party candidates for the primaries. In some counties the county committee uses its "good offices" to make the adjustments for the primary necessary for party harmony in the campaign, while in other counties the committee hardly dares to take an open part in the primaries, since at times the cry that the committee is opposed to a given candidate strengthens his chances for the nomination. Probably the party committee, and the party voters, both, should share a part of the blame when such a feeling of distrust disturbs

party harmony. It has been suggested that greater interest on the part of the mass of voters in the selection and work of the committee and more publicity and frankness on the part of the committee would tend to eliminate the distrust. With the distrust removed, the party committee and chosen party leaders could then exercise the legitimate function of conferring with party members in all sections of the county, advising and aiding to secure the adjustments necessary for party harmony.

The fifth question is another one upon which well-informed opinion is much divided. The opponents of the system declare that the officers nominated under the direct primary are decidedly inferior in quality to those under the convention system. They fail, however, to mention names. The advocates of the primary system, on the other hand, ask if it is true that Curtis, Milliken, Baxter, and Brewster have not been equal in courage, judgment, and administrative ability to governors of the convention era. Opinion is also divided with regard to the quality of the legislature under the primary system. It seems that there are fewer dominating leaders in the legislature than in former years. It is more difficult to secure the passage of measures thru the legislature at the dictation of one man, or a few men. No one maintains that in recent years the legislature of Maine has been bossed or that it will obey orders. Persons interested in the passage of a measure can no longer "fix it up" with one or two men and know that its passage is assured. It must be admitted, moreover, that much social welfare legislation, such as limiting the hours of labor for women, workingmen's compensation, and public utility regulations have been put on the statute books by the so-called inferior legislators. The efficient state budget system is also a product of the direct primary era.

A majority of the state representatives are nominated without opposition. For example, 91 of 151 Republican candidates were thus nominated in 1924. These unopposed candidates are selected in the main by the same party committees and party influence that selected them under the convention system. When it comes to the selection of candidates for 60 contested positions, the independent and unbossed candidates have much better chances under the direct primary than under the convention system. A good illustration of the possibility, thru the direct primary, of nominating an independent candi-

date in a contest with a leader of the organization is seen in the victory of Nelson over Viles in the second Maine congressional district in 1922.

It is contended by some that the direct primary has closed the door to all but the "self-seekers", that no longer may the party call to its service, and the service of the public, men of exceptional talent and ability who will not campaign for the nomination; and that there is danger that the self-advertising demagogue will supplant the drafted statesman. On the other hand, it is suggested that one would have to seek far into the annals of Maine politics under the convention system to find a public official who had not sought the place and built his political fences in order to win the nomination; and, furthermore, that the quality of statesmanship and the spirit of public service among officials have not declined with the coming of the direct primary.

In attempting to answer the sixth question it must be stated that reliable statistics as to the amount of money spent under the convention system are not available. However, the expense accounts under the primary are open to inspection for fifteen months after the primary. The following table is a summarized and classified statement of the expense accounts of the 526 successful candidates in the Republican and Democratic primaries of 1924, sworn to and filed according to law in the office of the secretary of state:

TABLE VIII.—SUMMARY OF PRIMARY EXPENDITURES

	Newspaper Advertising	Printing	Clerk Hire	Soliciting Agents and Workers	Auto Hire	Miscel- laneous	Totals
REPUBLICAN—							
Unites States Senator.....	\$245 79	\$100 00	\$140 25	.....	.....	\$5 00	\$491 04
Congressmen.....	191 28	1,197 34	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,388 62
State Governor.....	113 45	137 98	.....	.....	.....	.....	271 43
State Auditor.....	1,011 45	348 04	29 00	\$309 10	\$26 00	73 85	1,797 44
State Senators.....	559 96	189 50	117 39	208 63	68 00	29 36	1,172 84
State Legislators.....	761 84	460 86	55 00	57 00	10 00	119 25	1,463 95
County Officers.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals.....	\$2,883 77	\$2,453 72	\$341 64	\$574 73	\$104 00	\$227 46	\$6,585 32
DEMOCRATIC—							
Unites States Senator.....	.....	.....	.....	\$35 00	.....	\$100 00	\$135 00
Congressmen.....	.....	\$15 00	.....	18 60	.....	.....	33 60
State Governor.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 50	1 50
State Auditor.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
State Senators.....	.....	.....	.....	6 14	.....	2 00	8 14
State Legislators.....	\$46 00	15 25	\$20 00	24 00	\$5 00	10 25	120 50
County Officers.....	268 12	220 08	8 50	57 00	10 00	15 15	578 85
Totals.....	\$314 12	\$250 33	\$28 50	\$140 74	\$15 00	\$128 90	\$877 59
Totals Republican and Democratic.....	\$3,197 89	\$2,704 05	\$370 14	\$715 47	\$119 00	\$356 36	\$7,462 91

Detailed analysis of the returns shows that rarely was any money spent except in case of a contest. As there were few contests in the Democratic primaries, little money was spent by Democratic candidates. The table above shows that the Republican candidates for the state senate expended more than any of the other classes of candidates. The returns show, however, that the major portion of the expenditures of such candidates occurred in Cumberland, Kennebec, and Penobscot counties where the positions were more vigorously contested. Among the county candidates the major portion of the aggregate amount spent was expended by the candidates for the offices of sheriff and county commissioners.

It is interesting to note that among the several classes of expenditures, the return of which was required by law, newspaper advertising and printing comprised over five-sevenths of the aggregate.

It is probably true that the candidates running for a state-wide office (governor, auditor, and United States senators) spent more money on the personal traveling expenses, express, postage, and stationery than on the items which under the law were listed on the returns to the secretary of state. The exempted items form a much smaller proportion of the total in the case of candidates for county offices and the legislature.

The advantage to a candidate of meeting the voter personally in the primary campaign is obvious, and the wealthy candidate has an opportunity to spend a large amount for personal traveling expenses. It is doubtful, however, whether candidates for governor under the direct primary have spent any more for traveling over the state than was spent by Governors Burleigh and Fernald in their thoro-going canvass of the state under the convention system.⁷⁰ A contest between factions for the control of the state organization under the convention system, occasionally, led to the expenditure of large sums for securing pledged delegates. It is probably true that more money is spent by the average candidate and less by the party organization under the direct primary than under the convention system.

The added cost to the candidate under the direct primary has undoubtedly deterred, in a few instances, excellent men of limited means from announcing their candidacies for such

⁷⁰ See Sam E. Connor's account of Governor Fernald's thoro-going canvass of the state, in the *Lewiston Evening Journal*, June 13, 1908.

positions as governor or United States senator. Whether the same lack of means would have prevented them from securing a majority of the pledged delegates in a delegate convention is a matter upon which opinions differ.

The seventh question relates to the cost of the primary, which, as provided by law, is divided between the state and the municipalities. The state pays for the printing and distributing of ballots, sample ballots, notices, and cards of instructions, while "the expense of calling and holding the primary elections, and the making and forwarding of the returns thereof, is . . . paid for by the municipalities".⁷¹

The cost to the state of holding primary elections for the seven biennial periods since 1912 is shown in the following table:⁷²

TABLE IX

1912	\$13,353.94
1914	8,871.71
1916	10,517.51
1918	9,160.17
1920	12,421.81
1922	14,587.25
1924	19,210.39
Total for the seven biennial periods.....	88,123.34
Average	12,589.05
Average per capita .....	.015

The increase in the cost of the 1924 primary was due solely to the extraordinary expense of the recount of the vote for gubernatorial candidates.

Statistics furnished by the treasurers or auditors of the 20 cities show that the total cost to the cities of the June primaries was \$14,427.93, which amounted to about \$0.038 per capita. Similar statistics from 20 selected towns show an expenditure by them of \$1,418.20 or a per capita expenditure of \$0.0145. As the 40 municipalities examined make up four-sevenths of the entire population of the state, it would seem fair to estimate that the cost of the primaries to all cities and towns would not be more than 2½ cents per capita, or about \$19,000 for the cities and towns in the state. Assuming the

⁷¹ Maine, *Revised Statutes*, 1918, chap. vi, sec. 9.

⁷² Official figures from the records in the state treasurer's office.

fairness of the above estimate, the total cost of the primaries of 1924 to the state and municipalities was about \$38,000, slightly less than 5 cents per capita, or slightly less than 35 cents per vote cast at the primaries.

The cost of the primary to the state and municipalities each biennial period of 3 or 4 cents per capita will be considered by no one as excessive. If the primary is worth having at all it is worth that amount. The problem of the direct primary, therefore, may be considered on its merits alone, and not in regard to its financial aspect.

The last question relates to the effect of the primary in regard to popular interest in nominations for public offices. Statistics, available in the office of the secretary of state, show that in the first Republican primary in 1912 the vote cast was 50.7 per cent of the vote polled at the following regular election. It increased to 60.5 per cent in 1916, and reached its highest point in 1922 at 73.3 per cent. The largest total vote was cast at the 1924 primary where the total Republican vote cast for the candidates for the gubernatorial nomination was 93,987. The total Republican vote at the September election, however, was also record-breaking so that the vote cast in the primary was only 64.7 per cent of the vote cast at the regular election.

The highest per cent of Democratic votes was cast in the June, 1914, primary, which was 42.2 per cent of the total Democratic vote cast in the September election. A real contest for the Democratic nomination took place that year. The low-water mark was reached in 1924 with a 13.3 per cent vote.

Local contests, if not supplemented and stimulated by contests for the more important offices, rarely bring out a large vote. When a vigorous contest among candidates for governor, however, brings out a large vote, a relatively large proportion vote for the minor candidates. For example, in the 1924 Republican primaries, 90 per cent of the vote cast for governor was cast for the candidates for the state legislature, and that too when in a majority of cases the candidate was unopposed.

Every shade of public opinion for and against the direct primary exists at present in Maine. An accurate measurement of the several shades of opinion and the forces back

of them has not been attempted. It may be worth while, however, to point out some of the factors in the situation.

The leading newspapers of the state with one or two notable exceptions have been carrying on an increasingly vigorous campaign against the primary as it is now constituted. The party workers holding positions in the party organization are usually found in opposition to the direct primary. It is interesting to note that Republican and Democratic party lines of cleavage furnish no basis whatever for a division of opinion on the primary. For example, the initiated measure proposing its repeal was headed and sponsored by the chairman of the Republican county committee of Penobscot County, while at the same time the Democratic candidate for governor was a staunch advocate of a return to the convention system. Candidates who have met defeat in the primaries and believe that their chances would have been better in a convention often raise their voices against the system.

The women's organizations and clubs thruout the state have been giving the question very serious consideration, and constitute a well-recognized element of strength in the movement to retain the primary. There is no clear division of opinion between cities and rural towns on the question. At present, however, the sentiment for the primary seems dominant in those rural sections which strongly supported Governor Brewster in the last campaign.

Some of the more prominent leaders of the "Associated Industries", including the secretary of the organization, have vigorously advocated a return to the delegate convention, while the labor organizations seem to look with approval on the direct primary. The ultra-conservative elements in general would welcome the abolition of the primary as one step toward checking or eliminating the progressive measures of the Rooseveltian era; while the strength of the pro-primary sentiment is found in the more independent and liberal elements in both parties.

There is an opinion of considerable weight in the state in favor of some compromise between the two systems which would restore the delegate convention with its principle of representation and make it more responsible to the mass of the party by popular election of delegates, while the primary as a means of checking up the work of the convention and

setting aside its nominations in case the voters should be displeased with its work would be retained. The Oakes-Anthoine Bill was an attempt to embody the views of the compromise group. It failed because the proponents of the primary viewed it as an opening wedge for the return of the convention system, while the advocates of the convention system preferred the old-time convention to the proposed compromise. A few belonging to the left wing of the radicals believe that it makes little difference whether nominations are made by the direct primary or by the convention system. They believe that time is being wasted on insignificant details when the attack should be made on the party system itself.

CONCLUSIONS

The materials presented in the foregoing pages of this study do not warrant an arbitrary statement regarding the success or failure of the direct primary. They do bring the conviction, however, that many of the popular notions regarding the working of the primaries are mere assumptions and not founded upon facts.

The direct primary system has not cured the "ills of democracy" to the extent promised and expected by its ardent proponents, neither has it resulted in many of the disadvantages predicted by its opponents. Party government to a surprising degree has continued under the primary much as it was under the convention system. Experience seems to teach that no system is perfect or can fit the needs of all times. Therefore, if popular government is to endure and make progress, improvements must be continually sought after.

One of the most outstanding needs today is to bring into closer coördination and coöperation the party machinery and the party candidates nominated at the primaries. The party machinery is recruited and organized under the rules of the old régime, while candidates are nominated thru popular primaries. So long as that situation continues conflicts are inevitable. The party organization must be made more responsible to the entire party membership and its nominees, or the nominees must be made more responsible to the party organization before party government can function effectively and without numerous conflicts. A step toward a solution might be to take from the hand-picked delegates in the state conventions the function of creating the party organization, and to devise a more popular method of selecting party committees and party officials.

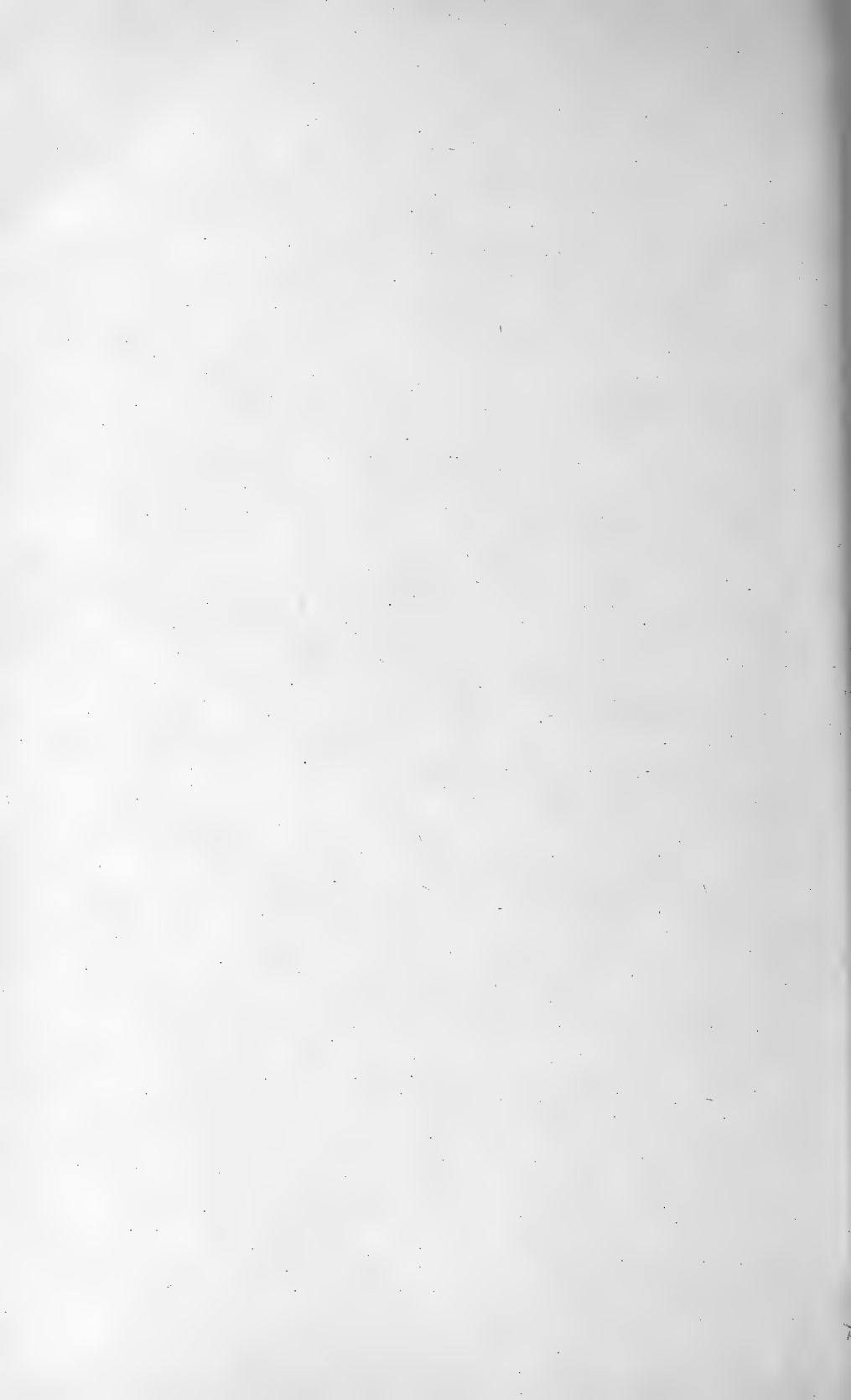
It must be realized that the direct primary is merely an instrument of government and therefore is not self-operative. The best results can come only with an awakened public interest on the part of the voters, and with an aroused civic conscience which will lead the voters to accept as a duty the task of selecting candidates for office.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN RELATION TO
THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

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POPULATION MOVEMENTS IN RELATION TO THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

Political economy, as one of its most illustrious professors has observed, is essentially the science of population. We might go further and say that all political problems are in the last resort population problems.¹

THE history of Kansas in the brief period before statehood is of great interest. The struggle in and over the new Territory created by the Kansas-Nebraska Act produced deeds of violence within its borders, stirring scenes and debates in the halls of Congress, nation-wide political and sectional agitation, and revolutionary changes in the party situation. Tho these phases of the great contest are of importance, they do not constitute the whole of the story. Indeed, the outcome of the conflict was not due to the efforts of antislavery men, to the activities of proslavery agitators, to the work of a party, nor to the accomplishments of emigrant aid societies. The forces that determined the direction and destination of colonists who were migrating to frontier areas in such great numbers during that troubled decade were indirectly responsible for determining the fate of slavery in Kansas.²

Two facts in connection with the westward flow of population in the eighteen-fifties stand out with clearness: the tremendous numbers that were leaving the older states and coming in from foreign lands to seek homes, fortunes, or adventures in the West,³ and the relatively small portion of these who found their way to Kansas Territory.⁴

¹ *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, March 2, 1923.

² In the present study, the writer has used much material from two earlier papers dealing with phases of the same general subject: "Popular Sovereignty and the Colonization of Kansas from 1854 to 1860", in *Mississippi Valley Historical Association Proceedings*, 1917-1918, 380-392; "The Influence of Population Movements on Missouri History before 1861", in *Missouri Historical Review*, 506-516 (July, 1922).

³ Below is given the number of free persons born outside of, but living in, each of seven frontier states in 1850 and in 1860. The increases in this decade were very great. The smallest increase is almost equal to the total population of Kansas in 1860:

States	1850	1860	Increases
Michigan	257,006	454,285	197,279
Illinois	507,852	1,005,026	497,174
Wisconsin	242,376	528,704	286,328

(Footnotes continued on page 384.)

Everywhere in both sections, people were urged to go to Kansas for patriotic and moral reasons. No argument that could be used to prove to possible colonists from either section that the Territory was a beautiful country with abundant resources, fine climate, and productive soil was omitted. Anti-slavery correspondents who went to Kansas proved that the natural conditions were unfavorable to slavery, but also that, thru the apathy of northerners and the zeal of southerners, there was great danger that slavery would be established. Proslavery correspondents, on the other hand, demonstrated the great possibilities of growing hemp and other crops with slave labor, but urged southern colonists to come before the land should fall a prey to Abolitionists, who were said to be so determined to outdo the South that they were emptying the New England jails and poorhouses in order to people the Territory rapidly and so defeat the slow-moving South.⁵

Kansas was undoubtedly well advertised. Probably no new country was ever so widely heard of before the days of modern advertising and the "booster". Not all of the reports emanating from the Territory were favorable. Many correspondents told freely of the hardships to be endured and of the handicaps in the way of scant rainfall, lack of timber, and high prices.⁶ Furthermore, the widely published news items concerning the startling events that occurred in Kansas, tho they made good copy and served well the purposes of the party organs, did not necessarily exert an influence in favor of Kansas. While some in both sections were fired with the crusading spirit and

Iowa	141,834	483,765	341,931
Missouri	317,018	591,835	274,817
Arkansas	99,591	200,292	100,701
Texas	105,271	268,606	163,335

Total increase in the seven states, 1,861,565.

Total population of Kansas in 1860, 107,204.

⁴ Born in New England, but living in Kansas in 1860, 4,208; born in New York, but living in Kansas, 6,331; born in Pennsylvania, 6,463; born in Ohio, 11,617; born in Tennessee, 2,569; born in Kentucky, 6,556; born in foreign countries, 12,691.

⁵ Descriptions of Kansas appeared in the newspapers everywhere. Great numbers of these may be found in Thomas H. Webb's *Kansas Scrapbook*. Doctor Webb was the secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Society. His *Kansas Scrapbook* is a rich and extensive collection of newspaper clippings, which is now in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka. The clippings cover a wide range of newspapers, southern as well as northern. Sixteen large volumes are filled with clippings of the period from May, 1854, to September, 1856. A seventeenth volume contains clippings relating to John Brown's raid, trial, and execution.

⁶ *Daily Tribune* (New Albany, Ind.), October 23, 1854; *Herald of Freedom* (Lawrence, Kan.), May 5, 1855; *New York Daily Times*, January 18, 1855 (letter signed "Kansas", written at Westport, Mo., December 29, 1854); *ibid.*, May 23, 1857 (letter by Kansas correspondent of *Chicago Daily Tribune*).

for that reason went to the scene of conflict, great numbers of possible colonists who wanted homes instead of trouble were certainly kept away by the reports of violence and strife that reached them.⁷

The principal reason why most of the westward moving pioneers did not go to Kansas was simply the pull of competing frontier areas, more easily accessible to most of the colonists and offering more attractive possibilities. The real difficulty was that, in the early period of her history, Kansas had not enough economic prizes to offer—the agricultural and commercial opportunities were too few. She had not the gold of California to offer; nor could she furnish the fine chances for success that the slaveholders and non-slaveholders of the older southern states could find in Arkansas and Texas; nor the excellent openings which the surplus population of the older northern states could find in northern Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa; nor the more certain returns that lured capitalists, tradesmen, laborers, and tillers of the soil from both sections and Europe to Missouri.

In the famous "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" of January, 1854, it was emphatically set forth that the pending Nebraska measure was "part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World, and free laborers from our own states and convert it into a dreary region of despotism inhabited by masters and slaves". To this sentiment met with a wide and vigorous response, the prophecy was unsound, as the events of the next few years were to demonstrate. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill became a law on May 30, 1854, but, even before its passage, a group of antislavery men of Massachusetts believed that they had found a way to win a victory under its terms.⁸ Since the question was to be decided by the people, the only thing necessary to bring about a triumph was to induce enough people with free-state principles to migrate to Kansas to swamp the competing proslavery element. To make this conception effective the New England Emigrant Aid Company was organized and other similar societies appeared in the East. This emigrant aid movement inaugu-

⁷ *Wabash Courier* (Terre Haute, Ind.), September 1, 1855, quoting from the *St. Louis Intelligencer*; G. Douglas Brewerton, *The War in Kansas* (New York, 1856), 259.

⁸ Edward Everett Hale, *Kansas and Nebraska* (Boston and New York, 1854), 219; Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict* (Lawrence, Kan., 1898), 23.

rated by antislavery leaders produced anger and widespread agitation over the South that led to counter efforts to stimulate migration from that section.⁹

All attempts to induce people of the lower South, whether as individuals or in organized bands, to settle in Kansas resulted in almost complete failure. The efforts put forth in the New England states were almost as fruitless. The nativity statistics furnished by the census of 1860 show that only 4,208 persons of New England birth were living in Kansas in that year, while the number living there who had been born in the seven states of the lower South was even smaller, being but 1,007.¹⁰

The Atlantic states lying between New England and South Carolina accomplished more than the groups just mentioned, but nothing decisive. New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware scarcely noticed the contest in so far as furnishing settlers was concerned. New York and Pennsylvania contributed about equal numbers to Kansas, the aggregate being 12,794.¹¹ Virginia and North Carolina together furnished 4,721, a small contingent, but greater than the total from the six New England states.¹² If a single coastal state from Maine to Texas played any important part in the contest for Kansas, it was not thru the number of colonists sent to that remote Territory.

The most important phase of the contest for Kansas was not that between those elements and leaders who resorted to violence on the western plains, nor that between political leaders and editors who engaged in a long and intense war

⁹ Sara T. L. Robinson, *Kansas, Its Interior and Exterior Life* (Boston, 1856), 10-12; Thomas H. Webb, *Information for Kansas Immigrants* (Boston, 1854-1859, about twenty different editions); Victoria V. Clayton, *White and Black under the Old Régime* (Milwaukee and London, 1899), chaps. iv, v; Walter L. Fleming, "The Buford Expedition to Kansas", in *American Historical Review*, VI, 38-48 (October, 1900). Charles Robinson, *The Kansas Conflict*, chap. ii.

¹⁰ The numbers born in the New England states and living in Kansas in 1860 were: from Massachusetts, 1,282; from Vermont, 902; from Maine, 750; from Connecticut, 650; from New Hampshire, 466; from Rhode Island, 180. The numbers born in the states of the lower South and living in Kansas in 1860 were: from Alabama, 240; from South Carolina, 215; from Georgia, 179; from Mississippi, 128; from Louisiana, 114; from Texas, 108; from Florida, 23.

¹¹ The contributions of the seaboard states lying between New England and South Carolina to Kansas were: from Pennsylvania, 6,463; from New York, 6,331; from Virginia, 3,487; from North Carolina, 1,234; from Maryland, 620; from New Jersey, 499; from Delaware, 91.

¹² The total population of the six New England states in 1850 was 2,728,987; that of Virginia and North Carolina together, 1,988,987. The two southern states, tho the smaller population included many slaves, furnished more colonists to Kansas Territory than did New England.

of words. In accordance with the principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and under the terms of the English Compromise, the question was settled by the voters who were on the ground in Kansas Territory in 1858. The conditions that caused more colonists to emigrate to Kansas from the area made up of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois than from all the slaveholding states together were the most potent in deciding the issue at stake. Large numbers of southerners in the Territory voted against slavery, and the number of free-state men was increased by foreigners and by colonists from Iowa and from the old northern states, yet the fact remains that, if all the southerners in Kansas had stood together for the Lecompton constitution, they could not have measured up in numbers to those who had come from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

Tho the more mature states of the Old Northwest furnished a greater number of colonists to Kansas than did any other section, it should not be inferred that emigrants from these states were principally interested in Kansas. By 1860, there were 11,617 persons living in Kansas who had been born in Ohio, this being the largest contingent furnished by any state. Nevertheless, the movement from Ohio to other new areas was far greater. The number of persons born in Ohio and living in Wisconsin in 1860 was greater than in 1850 by 12,899; in Missouri, by 22,652; in Indiana, by 51,052; in Illinois, by 67,668; in Iowa, by 68,527. The figures for the flow of colonists away from Indiana and Illinois are, of course, not so startling as for Ohio, but are very interesting:

BORN IN	Living in Kansas in 1860	Increase in Missouri from 1850 to 1860	Increase in Illinois	Increase in Iowa
Indiana.....	9,945	17,711	31,057	37,630
Illinois.	9,367	19,221	.....	19,449

The meager showing of the New England states in the peopling of Kansas Territory before 1860 has already been pointed out. The efforts of her antislavery leaders and the activities of the Emigrant Aid Society bore little fruit. This

does not mean that New England was not participating in the westward movement. On the contrary, hordes of pioneers from that section streamed westward during the contest for Kansas, but their faces were not turned toward that portion of the frontier belt. Instead they sought the vacant lands and beckoning opportunities of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. The number of persons born in New England and living in these four states in 1860 was greater by nearly 100,000 than in 1850.¹³ It is even true that the New England states contributed more people to Missouri, a slaveholding state, than they furnished to save Kansas to freedom, the figures being, respectively, 4,793 and 4,208. There is no good reason why New England should be condemned for this showing. The number in each case is about what should be expected from the operation of the natural forces of the time. The nativity tables of 1850 and 1860 tell a like story for New York and Pennsylvania, the difference being that the part played by these states in western colonization was more extensive than that of the New England area. New York's contingent in Kansas numbered only 6,331 in 1860. She had, however, poured a multitude of her citizens into Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota, the aggregate increase in these five areas being more than 220,000 for the decade closing in 1860.¹⁴ If one-eighth of the people leaving New York for the newer areas of the West in this period had responded to the vigorous and incessant appeals of the antislavery agitators, the entire contribution of the South to Kansas would have been outnumbered. As it turned out, where one individual or family of New York decided to go to Kansas, more than forty were impelled to migrate to competing western areas.

If there was any southern area that could have won Kansas for slavery under the principle of popular sovereignty, it was the area made up of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. For Kentucky and Tennessee the situation was much the same as for New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. These

¹³ The increases were distributed as follows: in Illinois, 28,551; in Wisconsin, 27,309; in Iowa, 20,305; in Minnesota, 18,167.

¹⁴ The increases were distributed as follows: in Michigan, 57,372; in Illinois, 53,328; in Wisconsin, 52,042; in Iowa, 37,819; in Minnesota, 21,086; in Missouri, 9,545. The westward migration from Pennsylvania was also large. The contingent from this state in Kansas in 1860 numbered 6,463. The number of persons born in Pennsylvania and living in Illinois in 1860 was greater than in 1850 by 45,646; in Iowa, by 37,412; in Indiana, by 12,965; in Wisconsin, by 12,572; in Missouri, by 9,638.

mature, western, slaveholding states were sending forth many colonists, not to Kansas but to competing frontier areas. For them, the beckoning opportunities and cheap vacant lands were in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas. The aggregate increase in the number of persons born in Tennessee and living in these three states, between 1850 and 1860, was more than 85,000. Living in Kansas in 1860 were only 2,569 persons who had been born in Tennessee.¹⁵ Kentucky did more for Kansas and less for Arkansas and Texas than did Tennessee, but her story is in general the same. The number of Kentuckians in Kansas in 1860 was 6,556, but the total increase between 1850 and 1860 in the number of persons giving Kentucky as their birthplace and living in Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas was over 40,000. Kentucky and Tennessee each furnished about twice as many people to Illinois as to Kansas during the decade.¹⁶

Of all the states in the Union, Missouri seemed to be the one with the best opportunities for throwing colonists into Kansas. No other state was so strategically situated. No other seemed to have such vital interests at stake. It was widely believed, that, with reasonable support from the remainder of the South, Missouri could furnish enough settlers to thwart the designs of the Abolitionists. The number of Missourians in Kansas in 1860 was 11,356. This very small showing demands explanation.

The process of peopling Missouri was only well begun at the time of her admission to the Union. Except for a portion of the lands along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the state was still an extensive area of undeveloped resources and unoccupied land. For some years after admission to the Union, colonists continued to come mainly from Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee, the sources of the greater portion of the colonists of the territorial period. As Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois became more mature, a considerable portion of the migrating elements of these states found its way to Missouri. At the same time the number of foreigners arriving in the state increased from year to year. More and more the southern stream was paralleled by northern

¹⁵ The number of persons born in Tennessee and living in Arkansas in 1860 was greater than in 1850 by 32,802; in Missouri, by 28,624; in Texas, by 24,579.

¹⁶ Kentucky was represented in Kansas by a contingent of 6,556 in 1860; the increase of her citizens in Illinois between 1850 and 1860 was 10,605. The corresponding figures for Tennessee, in Kansas and Illinois, respectively, were 2,569 and 6,709.

and foreign elements. The greatest change came between 1850 and 1860. In that decade there poured into Missouri a larger number of foreigners and northern colonists than ever before, while the flow of southerners continued, the tides from Kentucky and Tennessee, as has been pointed out, being especially high. So varied a flood of incoming population greatly changed the character of the population, and produced a more complex society. The new Missouri that was being created was thoroly divided on the slavery question and very far from unity in regard to the Kansas conflict.

With a population of 700,000 in 1850, Missouri added a half-million during the following decade. St. Louis, with a population of 160,773 in 1860, was more than twice as large as ten years before. Of the more than 40,000,000 acres of land in Missouri, about 10,000,000 were included in the farms of 1850. By 1860 another 10,000,000 acres had been added to this total.¹⁷ New towns sprang up over the state, while old ones expanded to meet the demands of an increasing agricultural population. It was in this decade that Kansas City, St. Joseph, and Hannibal first became important commercial centers. A great part of Missouri's growth in population was due to the settlement of her vacant lands and to the exploitation of her undeveloped natural resources. Her growth was also due to her unparalleled river connections that gave rise to an enormous steamboat traffic in every direction; to the railroad connections established during the decade; to the fact that her strategic location gave her a control of the trade that passed over the Oregon and Santa Fé routes; to the fact that a great part of the migration, traffic, and travel connected with the settlement of Kansas was dependent on the Missouri River; and to the fact that parties of gold-seekers, bound for California or Colorado, used St. Louis and other points in the state as centers for the purchase of outfits and from which to make their departures.¹⁸

The truth is that the most strenuous stage in the peopling of Missouri came while the struggle for Kansas was on, and herein is to be found the main reason for the failure of Miss-

¹⁷ Census of 1850, *Compendium*, 169; Census of 1860, *Agriculture*, 222.

¹⁸ DeBow's *Review*, XXI, 87-89 (1856); *ibid.*, XXIV, 213-216 (1858); Philip E. Chappell, "A History of the Missouri River", in *Kansas State Historical Society Transactions*, IX, 273-294; Harrison A. Trexler, "Missouri-Montana Highways", in *Missouri Historical Review*, XII, 67 ff. and 145 ff.; Eugene M. Violette, *History of Missouri* (Boston, 1918), chaps. ix, xi; *Herald of Freedom*, April 26, 1856.

ourians to settle in Kansas in numbers sufficient to count. At least 300,000 people came to Missouri between 1850 and 1860 to locate in St. Louis or to find homes in the towns and on the available agricultural lands.¹⁹ The state was too immature, before the Civil War, to send forth many colonists to any frontier area, no matter how intense might be her interest in its settlement. The flow of Missourians into Kansas was about normal for the stage of development which Missouri herself had reached. Lafayette County, the county with the greatest number of slaves, a committee of whose citizens drafted an impassioned appeal to the other southern states to come to the aid of Missouri in her efforts to save Kansas for the South, increased in population by almost 7,000 between 1850 and 1860. The increase in this county alone was equal to about 60 per cent of Missouri's total contribution to Kansas.²⁰ The obvious conclusion is, that, even in a Missouri district where the people were extremely anxious concerning the outcome in Kansas, they were too favorably situated, in most cases, to migrate to that Territory. It is interesting to reflect on the outcome of the Kansas struggle, had Missouri reached the stage of development by 1850 at which she had arrived in 1860. Possibly the result would not have been different, owing to the complexity of Missouri's population. One thing is certain, however, that Missouri could have furnished, under the supposed conditions, a greater portion of the colonists than any other state. As it was, she could only keep up with a state so remote as Ohio, whose part in the peopling of Kansas Territory was but an incident in the enormous movement of her surplus population to new frontier areas.

It would have been strange indeed had the important facts revealed by a comparison of the census figures of 1850 with those of 1860 escaped the notice of reflecting observers of the period of the Kansas struggle. It is true that the agitation of the slavery question and the passions aroused by the multiplied reports concerning the atrocities and violence at-

¹⁹ See nativity tables in the Census volumes for 1850 and 1860. The total number of free persons born elsewhere and living in Missouri in 1850 was 317,018; in 1860, the number was 591,835, an increase of 274,817. The number coming into the state to settle was greater than this as a portion of those counted in 1850 had died while others had left the state before 1860. The estimate that 300,000 colonists, exclusive of the slaves brought in, came to Missouri between 1850 and 1860 is probably a safe one.

²⁰ The population of Lafayette County in 1850 was 13,690; in 1860, it was 20,098. For the appeal, "To the People of the South", sent out from this county, see *DeBow's Review*, XX, 635-637 (1855).

tending the conflict in Kansas tended to overshadow the importance of less exciting news. Nevertheless, there existed a great interest in railroad building, in the influx of foreigners, and in the great tide of pioneers flowing toward the different frontier areas. Thoughtful persons did not fail to appreciate the profound significance of the great changes that were taking place simultaneously with the contest over slavery, and there is abundant evidence that observers in every part of the country noticed many facts concerning the westward movement of population in relation to the Kansas conflict that few writers on that period since have recorded.

A moderate correspondent, sent to Kansas by the *New York Herald* in 1856, evaluated the results of the organized efforts in the East and South to determine the destiny of the Territory:

In sober earnest, we really think that Kansas may take up the cry "preserve me from my friends", for even at the risk of pleasing nobody, we feel justified in saying that southern Fillibusterism and northern interference, have in no respect done Kansas any good.²¹

A writer, signing himself "A Western Man", declared in a letter to the *Kansas Free State*:

Any person that knows anything of Kansas, knows that five out of six of the inhabitants are from the western States, and four-fifths of them are Free State men, and are opposed to the Eastern Emigrant Aid Company from the fact that they look upon it as the primary cause of our troubles. . . . We could have done as well without the Aid Company as with it. . . . It is time to speak out and let the facts be known.²²

As early as April, 1855, the editor of the *Kansas Free State* had noted that most of the incoming colonists were from the western states. At that time he wrote:

The tide of emigration continues to flow into the Territory. A great portion of that which is permanent is from the western States. They come with good teams and wagons, seeds and agricultural implements all ready to go to work, being principally from the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri.²³

The editor of the *Free State* became dissatisfied with the accomplishments of the New England Aid Company, and was afterwards prone to place more blame on its members than they deserved.²⁴ The *Herald of Freedom* was more radical

²¹ Brewerton, *The War in Kansas*, 259.

²² *Kansas Free State* (Lawrence, Kan.), March 3, 1856.

²³ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1855.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 9, 1855, and March 3 and 24, 1856.

than the *Free State*, but the editor of this paper, William G. Brown, also recognized the small part played by the East in the Kansas struggle in the matter of numbers. "Our western people", he wrote, "understand pioneer life, and know how to prepare for it. They come to remain, and are rarely seen beating an inglorious retreat."²⁵ The failure of eastern emigrants to arrive in great numbers as expected was offset by "the daily arrivals overland of large covered wagons from Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, etc.", in which were "packed all the paraphernalia of the farm and fireside, ready for distribution in their proper places as soon as a claim is selected".²⁶

In the spring of 1857, the following indirect tribute to colonists from the West appeared in the *Herald of Freedom*:

Two years ago when emigrants came to Kansas they lived mostly in wagons and tents, till they had time to build a cabin. . . . The people who stood the tents, the sod houses, wigwams, fever and ague, and the Missouri invasion are here yet, but the fancy emigrants are gone. They generally came as far as Kansas City, or Lawrence, stayed over night, and returned. This class of immigrants generally had the credit of coming from Massachusetts. But last week we saw a veritable live Hoosier, homesick, and returning after one night's stay in Lawrence because he could get no cream for his coffee.²⁷

Persons from both sections who were in the Territory and who were greatly interested in the outcome not only made strong appeals for more colonists, but condemned those who were always ready to agitate, or who could be stirred up by agitators, but who failed to do anything for Kansas. Early in the contest the *Kansas Free State* asserted:

We have never yet known of anything connected with the extension of slavery that aroused the North, especially if it was attended with a little pecuniary expense. . . . The wealthy and distinguished lovers of freedom at the North can not be aroused if it is going to cost them a quarter; whereas, a poor Missourian, not worth \$100 in all, will spend one half that in coming to Kansas to vote the proslavery ticket. It is the part of the North to *boast*, it is that of the South to *act*. . . . If they [people of the North] can make anything pecuniarily by making Kansas free, they are in favor of it but not otherwise.²⁸

The editor concluded his sermon to the North by the following challenge:

²⁵ *Herald of Freedom*, May 12, 1855.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1857.

²⁸ *Kansas Free State*, April 7, 1855.

Say nothing about what you are going to do, but go to work and do it. Send us the right kind of men and let us have less of your braggadocio.²⁹

A southern clergyman, who served as a missionary in Kansas, wrote to Bishop George F. Pierce of Nashville, Tenn., in December, 1856:

The south has every advantage but is slow to occupy the ground. The capital invested in the Territory is, I think, mostly Northern. And what Southern capital is here is principally on the rivers, where it can turn it to a heavy per centum. And the South with reference to Kansas seems to have "curled" itself up and concentrated itself morally, politically and religiously into these words: "Will it pay?"³⁰

Asserting that this policy would result in the South being rebuked by the loss of the Territory, the writer uttered the following warning appeal:

We want good *bona fide* settlers here, not such samples as were sent by some from the South. . . . The South has good men; and these we want or none. The capitalists of the South seem desirous that young men bred in the school of adversity should settle the country, improve the soil, drive back the wolves, and fight the battles, while they enjoy the ease and luxury of their Southern homes. Most of the toil and burden, thus far, has been borne by poor young men—men who are not personally interested in Southern property, and whose pecuniary interest would suffer nothing by the North obtaining the ascendancy here. Yet they have engaged in their work from principle, believing that the country requires sacrifices at their hands. . . . The days of this burden bearing are well nigh numbered unless men of capital and means pursue a different course.³¹

The all-important thing in the long run for either North or South, under the principle of popular sovereignty, was to get settlers into Kansas who would remain. Only a small part of the great westward-moving current reached Kansas. There were those in the South who realized that if Kansas should ever be peopled by southerners, the colonists could not be furnished by the lower South. There were people in both sections who were indifferent to the fate of Kansas. There were large numbers who were tremendously interested in competing areas. There were persons in New

²⁹ *Kansas Free State*, April 7, 1855.

³⁰ George F. Pierce, *Incidents of Western Travel* (Nashville, 1857), 187-188. (Contains a long quotation from the letter from which the above excerpt is taken.) Bishop Pierce, a moderate proslavery man, visited Kansas in 1856, and published his book after returning to Nashville.

³¹ *Ibid.*

England and in the older South who, realizing the effects of loss of population, opposed migration to the West.

It was clearly to the interest of Tennesseans to migrate to Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas between 1850 and 1860, rather than to Kansas. Colonists of the lower South had even less incentive or necessity to migrate to any area so far away and so different as to climatic and soil conditions. The slavery question was involved, but it is hard to see how the movement of population would have been very different had there been no slaves in the country. The regular forces that have played a part in determining the direction and destination of colonists thruout our history were effective during the Kansas struggle. Agitation never ceased, but the lower South left it to the people of the upper South to win Kansas for slavery. Indeed the task was boldly put up to them at the beginning by a Mobile journal:

The border States were quite anxious for the bill [Kansas-Nebraska bill], and the planting States yielded to their solicitations and aided its passage; let then the former which are nearer to the territories and can better spare citizens, pour into Kansas as many friendly to the South as possible, either with or without slaves, and if money is necessary for the work let it be raised by associations as in the North. . . . What say Missouri, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia?³²

A South Carolina paper opposed migration to Kansas from that state:

We negative the idea that South Carolina should send men to Kansas—and why? Simply because she cannot spare them. . . . For a few years past our State has been decreasing in political power because she has been severely taxed by the loss of citizens to populate other States; but this diminution in number is of far less importance than that occasioned by the emigration to Kansas, because the former carried with them their slaves to settle slave States, and the latter are lessening our tax paying voters who emigrate to populate a government territory, whose future admission as a State is so wrapped in doubt as to make it prudent not to carry slaves there at any rate.³³

The *Charleston Standard* took the position that the South was not populous enough to compete with the North in the

³² *Mobile (Ala.) Advertiser*, 1854, clipping in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, I, 93. For valuable contributions dealing with the Kansas struggle, see: Elmer LeRoy Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858", in *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society* (Topeka, 1923), XV, 334-450; James C. Malin, "The Proslavery Background of the Kansas Struggle", in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, X, 285-305 (December, 1923).

³³ *Winnsborough (S.C.) Register*, quoted in the *Daily Republic* (Buffalo, N.Y.), April 24, 1856, clipping in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, XI, 153.

peopling of a Territory, and argued that the effort would weaken the South at home.³⁴

The *Boston Journal* complained that one of the most prominent administration papers had sneered at the idea of settlers being induced to go to Kansas for any other reason than self-interest, and predicted greater results in free-state emigration than ever took place before.³⁵ The predicted migration never occurred. The scheme of Eli Thayer and his associates to place large numbers of easterners in Kansas failed.³⁶ While the Aid Society was supported by many New England journals, there were those that failed to mention Kansas when setting forth the advantages of young West. Said one of these:

In the New England States it now requires a great mental and physical effort to gain a comfortable subsistence. Our population is dense. We stand in each other's way. All the existing employments, agriculture, commerce, and the learned professions are overflowing. Our young men are placed in that peculiar condition when emigration to a country or vicinity less occupied is imperative. . . . It seems obvious that the great field to which our young men should emigrate, is what we term the northwestern states.³⁷

Another paper, tho mentioning Kansas as a "new land of promise", set forth the advantages of Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota, encouraging the "long caravan" moving to the prairies in search of fortunes with a friendly expression of good-will:

We sympathize with prosperity, let it come in what form it may in a whale-ship or an Illinois farm, and we trust no disastrous revolution may tread in the path of the western army.³⁸

After surveying the entire westward movement of population, North and South, the *Newburyport Herald*, in April, 1855, summed up the situation in a paragraph that reveals a rather keen comprehension of the meaning of the extensive migration and of the significance of the frontier:

³⁴ *Charleston (S.C.) Standard*, quoted in the *Daily Republic*, April 24, 1856, clipping in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, XI, 153.

³⁵ *Boston Journal*, June 22, 1854, clipping in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, I, 28.

³⁶ *Hampshire (N.H.) Gazette*, February 13, 1855; and *Northampton (Mass.) Courier*, February 13, 1855, clippings in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, II, 249-250.

³⁷ *Vermont (Vt.) Journal*, April 27, 1855, clipping in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, III, 188.

³⁸ *New Bedford (Mass.) Mercury*, April 10, 1856, clipping in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, XI, 60.

Without going further into details, all must see that these are remarkable changes and cannot fail to produce remarkable effects. The East contributes to the West, when already we are being outgrown and politically outweighed; but the intermixture of populations will be favorable to the nation, and the implantation of eastern sentiments and institutions of great advantage to the West. We shall be relieved of what, in "hard times" such as the past winter [1854-1855], is a surplus of population, and better will it be for those who go and those who remain. . . . This is our advantage over old countries. When financial embarrassments come, and trade stagnates, and the poor suffer, they have no outlet for the unemployed but in distant colonies; and the starving show the banner mottoed "bread or blood". Here a continent gives labor that affords the comforts of life, and wages are never so low that ten days work will not carry them to the frontier, where lands are free and laborers always needed. We do not regret this outpouring—this swarming; it must result in the common good.³⁹

A St. Louis editor commenting on the flow of colonists to Kansas, in the fall of 1855, stated conclusions that are generally sound not only when applied to the situation at that time, but when applied to the remaining years of the contest as well:

Emigrants from northern or free States will not go to Kansas because they can get as good lands elsewhere, not cursed by mob law, nor ruled by non-resident bullies. Emigrants from Southern States do not go to Kansas, because they will not put their slave property in peril by taking it into a Territory where there is a strong Free Soil element threatening the security of slaves. . . . Alabama and Georgia may hold public meetings, and resolve to sustain the slaveholders in Missouri in making Kansas a slave State. But their resolutions comprise all their aid, which is not material enough for the crisis. When slaveholders of Alabama and Georgia emigrate, they go to Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas.

The result is, Kansas, the fairest land under the sun is neglected and idle; occupied by a few honest and earnest, but disheartened pioneers.

The fifty thousand emigrants that ought, this season, to have poured into Kansas are not there. The prairie sod remains unbroken. The sound of the axe and the whoop of the woodman is [sic] not heard. Western Missouri towns are not thronged with settlers buying their outfits and their equipments of husbandry. The farmers find no market for their horses, mules and cows. There is no new trade springing up in Kansas. The much vaunted Kansas towns lie neglected, a mockery to their owners and a laughing stock for all men. "Dead-dead-dead"

³⁹ *Newburyport* (Mass.) *Herald*, April 3, 1855, clipping in Webb, *Kansas Scrapbook*, III, 80-81.

may be written on all the country, so deep and disastrous has been the fall from the high hopes of the past year.⁴⁰

What this observer noticed at the end of the summer of 1855 was in general true of the entire period from 1854 to 1860. The expectations in regard to Kansas were not realized. The number of colonists reaching the Territory was comparatively very small. Northern pioneers went elsewhere for the most part, while southern pioneers failed to respond to appeals to go to Kansas. Even emigrants from the upper South, including Missouri, failed to arrive in numbers sufficient to balance the limited number of northerners and foreigners who reached the Territory.

The struggle for Kansas had great political significance. The birth of the Republican party was an outcome of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The growth of the party was partly due to the championship of a homestead policy and to the support of a protective tariff policy, but it was tremendously stimulated in almost every part of the North by the constant agitation of the Kansas question. The belief that the Kansas conflict proved the necessity for a general application of the Wilmot Proviso principle to all federal Territories took thoro possession of the minds of a majority of the people of the North. Even after Kansas had decided against slavery, the demand for the prohibition of slavery in the Territories by Congress remained the leading issue and served to attract voters as well as before.

Except for a brief period of confusion during and following the Lecompton contest in Congress in which Stephen A. Douglas played such a conspicuous rôle, Republican leaders were generally in favor of clinging to the Wilmot Proviso principle. It is true that the party was much disturbed over the friendliness of Horace Greeley and other leaders for

⁴⁰ *St. Louis Intelligencer*, quoted in the *Wabash Courier* (Terre Haute, Ind.), September 1, 1855. Many of the "much vaunted Kansas towns" mentioned were mainly on paper. An editor of a territorial newspaper, writing in 1858, presented the following facetious argument as proof that a correspondent, who had asserted that Kansas was not populous enough to become a state, was in error: "Our correspondent is misinformed. We have population enough to entitle us to admission to the Union. Assuming that every city in Kansas has a population of two persons, that alone (as there are at least 50,000 cities in the Territory) would give 100,000 souls. Besides that, we have a man or two in the rural districts. Leavenworth, Lawrence, and Atchison, if they have not the population above stated as an average for our cities, are abundantly counterbalanced by the populous and mighty municipalities of Oxford, Minneola, and Sacramento." *Freedom's Champion* (Atchison, Kas.), June 5, 1858.

Douglas in 1858,⁴¹ and that the fear remained that the party might be disrupted by the success of the antislavery cause under the operation of the principle of popular sovereignty. Writing to Schuyler Colfax in July, 1860, Lincoln states clearly his belief in the necessity of keeping the party united and his views concerning the danger from the results attained in Kansas. Avowing his main object to be the avoidance of divisions in the Republican ranks, particularly in relation to the coming presidential contest, he instanced the opposition to foreigners in Massachusetts, attacks on the Fugitive Slave Law in New Hampshire and Ohio, and support of squatter sovereignty in Kansas as containing "explosive matter enough to blow up half a dozen national conventions". Massachusetts Republicans by "tilting against foreigners" could ruin the party in the Northwest. New Hampshire and Ohio by their methods of opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law could overwhelm the Republicans of Illinois on the issue of enmity to the Constitution itself. Concerning popular sovereignty, he said:

Kansas, in her confidence that she can be saved to freedom on "squatter sovereignty", ought not to forget that to prevent the spread and nationalization of slavery is a national concern, and must be attended to by the nation.⁴²

The people of Kansas having voted against slavery by an overwhelming majority on August 2, 1858, and, there being no other Territory then belonging to the United States where a bitter conflict was likely to occur, it is difficult to demonstrate the necessity or the wisdom of a further advocacy of the Wilmot Proviso principle. The only defense for the

⁴¹ Lincoln to Charles L. Wilson (Springfield), June 1, 1858, in John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1894), I, 238-239. In this letter Lincoln expresses his concern over the friendliness of the *New York Tribune* to Douglas, mentioning that Greeley's paper was extensively read in Illinois. See *New York Times* of March 5, 1858, for an editorial concerning the attitude of William H. Seward at the time which also reveals the strong bias of the *Times* toward Douglas.

James W. Sheahan argued in 1860 that the Republican party "was preparing for its demise" after Douglas had taken his stand against the Lecompton constitution, and that the party was saved only by the unexpected position assumed by President Buchanan. Sheahan declared: "There is no use disguising the fact, even if it were possible to do so, that, had the administration, in December, 1857, remained true to its previously maintained policy, and urged upon Congress the duty of disregarding any and all propositions for the admission of Kansas tainted with fraud, and not approved by the free and deliberate choice of the people, the Republican party would virtually have ceased to exist as an organization in the Northwestern States." James W. Sheahan, *The Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (New York, 1860), 388.

⁴² Lincoln to Schuyler Colfax (Springfield), July 6, 1859, in Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, I, 535.

continuation of this demand for the prohibition of slavery in the Territories by Congress, accompanied as it was by the danger that the control of the government by its supporters might bring secession and possibly war, is that nothing short of the application of this principle would enable the people of the North to "rest in the belief" that slavery was "in the course of ultimate extinction".⁴³ That the public mind of the North should be unable to rest in this belief without actual prohibitive legislation by Congress seems to imply that the meaning of the decision by the people of Kansas was not understood.

Whether the significance of the Kansas referendum of August 2, 1858, was grasped or not, it is certain that the Republican party and its leaders felt obliged to minimize or ignore its importance. The returns from this election, held under the terms of the English Compromise, came to the public at an inopportune time for Lincoln. In the "House Divided" speech, which was delivered several weeks before the Kansas election, he had said:

We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed.⁴⁴

It is the broad general sweep of this passage that makes it a profound and prophetic utterance. Applied to affairs in Kansas, it was not entirely sound, since the conditions there had greatly improved and the contest was soon to end. Even after the great victory of the free-state party, Lincoln evidently could not believe that the situation had changed. During the Charleston debate, speaking of the Kansas conflict, he said:

Now he [Douglas] tells us again that it is all over, and the people of Kansas have voted down the Lecompton constitution. How is it all over? That was only one of the attempts at putting an end to the

⁴³ Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, I, 240. See opening passage of the "House Divided" speech (Springfield), June 16, 1858. Lincoln believed the two great principles of the Republican party to be the Wilmot Proviso principle and the "ultimate extinction of slavery". By "ultimate extinction", he explained in the debate at Charleston that he did not mean a short period, saying: "I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races in God's own good time, I have no doubt." *Ibid.*, I, 408. Rejoinder (Charleston), September 18, 1858.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 240.

slavery agitation—one of these “final settlements”. Is Kansas in the Union? Has she formed a constitution that she is likely to come in under? Is not the slavery agitation still open in the Territory? Has the voting down of that constitution put an end to all of the trouble? Is that more likely to settle it than every one of these previous attempts to settle the slavery agitation? Now, at this day in the history of the world we can no more foretell where the end of this slavery agitation will be than we can see the end of the world itself. The Nebraska-Kansas bill was introduced four years and a half ago, and if the agitation is ever to come to an end, we may say that we are four years and a half nearer the end. So too we can say we are four years and a half nearer the end of the world; and we can just as clearly see the end of the world as we can see the end of this agitation. The Kansas settlement did not conclude it. If Kansas should sink today, and leave a great vacant space in the earth’s surface, this vexed question would still be among us. I say then, there is no way of putting an end to the slavery agitation amongst us but to put it back upon the basis where our fathers placed it, no way but to keep it out of our new Territories—to restrict it forever to the Old States where it now exists. Then the public mind will rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction. This is one way of putting an end to the slavery agitation.⁴⁵

It is true that the application of the principle of popular sovereignty had not brought to an end the agitation of the slavery question. It had, however, settled the slavery question for Kansas, and, under the existing conditions, the further advocacy of the Wilmot Proviso principle was to lead straight to secession and war. Douglas had not foreseen the Kansas conflict. Lincoln did not now foresee the Civil War.

It is not surprising that Lincoln and his party did not comprehend the fact that popular sovereignty had proved to be an antislavery principle, when the intensity of the feelings aroused by the struggle for Kansas are considered. The rapid growth and the many successes of the Republican party thruout the North were also factors in the situation. It was only natural that a new and powerful party, born out of the agitation produced by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and developed in the midst of the passions growing out of the Kansas conflict, the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the conflicting opinions regarding the Dred Scott decision should resist the influence of the outcome of the Lecompton contest and the triumph of the free-state element in Kansas. Nevertheless, these developments were very significant and influenced the course of events in the South

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 407-408. Rejoinder (Charleston), September 18, 1858.

almost as profoundly as did the policy of the Republican party toward slavery in the Territories and the election of Lincoln to the presidency.⁴⁶

Not many people reached Kansas during 1854, but a considerable number arrived during the spring and summer of 1855. The process of building a civilization began, and also a conflict between the free-state and proslavery elements. The year was a disappointment because of the failure of the expected numbers to appear, because of the bitter political warfare that arose, and because of the long and severe drouth that prevailed during the summer.

The year 1856 was one in which the incoming tide of settlers was greater, and the climatic and crop conditions better than in 1855.⁴⁷ It was the year of the most bitter conflict in the Territory, of the most intense agitation in the country, and of the most angry debates in Congress. The defeat of James Buchanan by the new Republican party was almost accomplished.

In 1857, the people of the new Territory were really prosperous. There was much greater freedom from violence and lawlessness than in 1856. More colonists arrived than in any other year before the Civil War. Towns grew, speculation was rife, and many people looked forward with high hopes to the future. Political strife continued. Constitution-making absorbed the energies of leaders and attracted the attention of Congress and the country. However, these activities did not interfere greatly with economic and social progress.⁴⁸

The year 1858 was disastrous.⁴⁹ It was then that the effects of the panic of 1857 reached Kansas in full force. Fewer colonists arrived. Prices of property dropped. Business declined, and farmers could not sell their crops. The people became discouraged, and many left the Territory. Conditions did not improve much if any until the period of the War.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See William O. Lynch, "The Convergence of Lincoln and Douglas", in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Springfield, 1925).

⁴⁷ These statements concerning the years 1854, 1855, and 1856 are based on the reading of newspapers of the Territory of Kansas, especially the files of the *Kansas Free State* and the *Herald of Freedom* for the years mentioned.

⁴⁸ *Kansas Weekly Herald* (Leavenworth, Kan.), April 11, 1857; *Herald of Freedom*, April 11 and 18, 1857; Richard Cordley, *A History of Lawrence, Kansas* (Lawrence, 1895), 143.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 162; *Herald of Freedom*, June 5, July 10 and 24, 1858.

⁵⁰ *Topcka* (Kan.) *Tribune*, September 3, 1859; *ibid.*, July 21, 1860; *Weekly Western Argus* (Wyandott City, Kan.), March 21, 1860.

In 1860 there was another extensive drouth.⁵¹ As the nation stood on the threshold of a great civil war, Kansas was as yet a remote, frontier province with only a modest population, without prosperity, and without statehood.

The federal census of 1860 revealed a total population for Kansas Territory of 107,204.⁵² This was not a great showing; but considering the remoteness of the Territory and the attractiveness, to pioneers and adventurers, of vast, fertile, competing areas that were easier of access, it is easily explained. The Territory was very young at the opening of the War, but its history had been filled with stirring events, and the problems connected with its origin and development had profoundly influenced the history of the entire country. The passions aroused by the conflict that raged within and over the Territory helped to make war a possibility. The issues that arose made and unmade parties, lifted numerous leaders from obscurity to fame, helped many already conspicuous to greater careers, and dimmed or blighted the fortunes of others.

In the midst of all the political turmoil, the tide of pioneers flowed westward, most of the people included in its mighty current being influenced by the simple desire to reach some new area where land was cheap and opportunities for economic and social improvement present. To a startling degree the appeals of neither antislavery nor proslavery agitators were heeded. A limited number of those who migrated to Kansas went for the express purpose of struggling for or against slavery. Many colonists must have avoided the Territory because of the strife that prevailed. The great mass of those who migrated to the frontier during that period sought other areas than Kansas, because, for a variety of reasons, they were more attractive. The decision of Kansas concerning slavery was finally made as it was, mainly because the conditions of the period were such that the natural flow of

⁵¹ *Topeka* (Kan.) *Tribune*, July 21, 1860.

⁵² The following figures based on the nativity tables of the census of 1860 (*Population*, 616-618) show the relative numbers from different areas:

Place of birth	Living in Kansas in 1860
The New England states.....	4,208
The Middle Atlantic states (N.Y., Pa., N.J.).....	13,293
Slaveholding states	27,440
Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.....	30,429
Iowa	4,008
Foreign countries	12,691
Kansas Territory	10,997

colonists to Kansas from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois was greater than that from the entire slaveholding area.⁵³ The conclusion is inescapable, that, even in a period of increasing sectional conflict marked by stirring events, violent emotions, and passionate utterances, the plans of the great majority of the individuals and families who sought the frontier were determined by ordinary, everyday considerations and motives.

⁵³ It must be assumed that few of the voters in the Territory who had been born in the non-slaveholding states supported the Lecompton constitution on August 2, 1858. Granting this assumption, at least half the voters in Kansas Territory from slaveholding states also voted against the Lecompton constitution. However, had all southerners voted for it, there were enough voters resident in the Territory from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to have defeated the constitution, with no aid from any other quarter.

THE POLITICAL BALANCE IN THE OLD
NORTHWEST, 1820-1860

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THE POLITICAL BALANCE IN THE OLD NORTHWEST, 1820-1860

THE first three states created from the Old Northwest Territory came into the Union after the overthrow of the Federalist party. Their political history from the second election of James Monroe until the organization of an opposition party in the middle thirties was characterized by Democratic solidarity and personal politics. Then for almost two decades ensued a struggle for political supremacy between Whigs and Democrats, a struggle complicated by newer immigration, economic sectionalism, and the rising slavery question. Michigan and Wisconsin, admitted under Democratic control, eventually threw their weight into the balance with northern Ohio and Illinois against the old Democracy and, with the organization of the Republican party, brought the section as a unit to the side of Lincoln in 1860.

In 1820 there were about 792,000 inhabitants in the Old Northwest. Excepting the 8,765 persons in Michigan Territory, the rest were included in the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The frontier line extended from the lower Illinois River east halfway across the state, south in a sharp loop, north and east across central Indiana to Ohio, then across northwestern Ohio in a broad curve to meet Lake Erie not far from its western end. The population south and east of this line was of varied origin, but southern and middle states elements predominated. Ohio, due to its location and earlier settlement, presented the most varied population. There were Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky, Germans from Pennsylvania, and Quakers from Virginia and North Carolina. New Englanders settled around Marietta and on the Western Reserve, and people from New Jersey and Kentucky around Cincinnati. In Indiana and Illinois the main streams of settlement flowed in from the South, and, excepting the old French communities, there were no parts of southern Indiana and Illinois which were not dominated by the advancing army of Carolinians, Virginians, and Kentuckians.

Jeffersonian Democracy represented the prevailing politics of this section. Territorial days in Ohio had witnessed conflicts between a Federalist governor and the followers of Jefferson, and there had been significant differences in the ideas and practices of the New Englanders and the Pennsylvania and southern frontiersmen, but it was the Republicans who urged statehood, made a democratic constitution, organized the new state government, and continued to control it for over two decades. The voting population, either from conviction or expediency, was Republican, and altho a number of Federalists were elected to office, as a party they were never a factor of importance in the state.

The noise of battle between Federalists and Republicans never reached Indiana and Illinois.¹ Until the late twenties politics was factional and local.² Practically everyone in Indiana in 1816 was a Republican and for Monroe; Federalists were held in contempt, and no one would admit being one. The followings of James Noble, Jonathan Jennings, and William Hendricks had all been represented in the constitutional convention, and in the first election the state and national offices were distributed among the leaders. Early state politics centered around the policy of the national government on public lands and internal improvements.

The factional and personal strife of the territorial period carried over into the early years of statehood in Illinois. Whatever issues there were, centered around or were created by the leaders of the Ninian Edwards or McLean-Kane-Thomas factions. The apparent truce which settled all the important leaders into the various offices of state and Congress did not last long, for the rivalry of the two factions was soon revived, and lasted with variations until the opposition to the Democrats took form in the Whig party in 1834.³

The Missouri question in 1819-1820 brought up the slavery question in the Northwest and for a time served to connect

¹ Thomas Ford, *History of Illinois from its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (Chicago, 1854), 74; Adam A. Leonard, "Personal Politics in Indiana, 1816-1840", *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIX, 1.

² Theodore Calvin Pease, *Illinois Election Returns to 1848*, Illinois State Historical Collections, XVIII, Introduction, xix; Charles Manfred Thompson, *Illinois Whigs before 1846*, University of Illinois Studies in Social Science (Urbana, 1915), IV, 9.

³ Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833 and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards* (Springfield, Ill., 1870) contains many of the Edwards letters. E.B. Washburne (Ed.), *The Papers of Ninian Edwards*, and Ford, *History of Illinois* throw further light on this confusing period.

local and national politics. When John McLean and Daniel Pope Cook made the race for Congress in Illinois in 1819 the slavery question played a part, and tended in a way to realign the factional groups. The Ohio legislature instructed the Congressmen of the state to exert their best efforts against the introduction of slavery into any of the Territories or new states.⁴ But in the final vote in the House which inserted the Senate line of 36°-30' and passed the bill, none of the representatives of the Northwest voted against it.⁵ The attitude of the Northwest at this time foreshadowed the future drift from its connection with the Old South to a closer agreement with the East. It was left for economic ties to consolidate the connection at a later period. With the settlement of the Missouri problem the slavery issue as an influence on political parties was replaced for many years by economic questions.

The presidential election of 1820 received very little attention in the Northwest. "There appears no great excitement in any quarter, concerning the next presidential election. . . . In most of the states the elections occur with great quietness, too great, perhaps, for the general safety of the Republic." After the election, the editor of the *Ohio Monitor*, then state printer, merely published this notice: "We have received from authority the following list of electors of President and Vice-President chosen by the people of the state."⁶ The Indiana legislature selected the electors while the voters of the state knew nothing of what was being done.⁷ The Governor of Illinois divided the state into three electoral districts, and one Edwards man and two of the opposition were elected. The congressional delegation for the 3 states in 1820 consisted of 8 representatives and 6 senators, all Jeffer-

⁴ Ohio, *Senate Journal*, 1820, p. 169.

⁵ *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., I Sess., II, 1587. In the vote in the Senate on the Thomas amendment only Noble and Taylor of Indiana voted nay, and with 8 southerners constituted the minority of 10 to 34. *Ibid.*, I, 428. On the passage of the whole bill to engrossment and third reading, Thomas and Edwards of Illinois voted for, while Noble, Taylor, and the two Ohio senators, Ruggles and Trimble, voted against it.

On the adoption of the compromise: "Much to our grief and some to our astonishment, Missouri has been admitted into the Union with permission to hold slaves . . . It is more our desire, than our hope, that the period will never come, when this nation will have to take up her lamentation, and say of this foul deed, 'Let the day be darkness, let no light shine upon it', in which the United States Senate forced the passage of this impious act." *Ohio Monitor*, Columbus, March 21, 1820.

⁶ November 18, 1820. The vote was: Monroe, 7,164; Adams, 2,215. *Ohio Statistics*, 1914. Report of Secretary of State (Springfield, Ohio, 1915), 254.

⁷ Oliver H. Smith, *Early Trials and Sketches* (Cincinnati, 1858), 85.

sonian Republicans. Only in the campaign in the first Ohio district was there any sign of any other party ever having existed.

Altho the slavery question, as far as the constitution was concerned, had been settled by the Indiana convention of 1816, there was still some division of sentiment, and Jennings in the campaign for governor in 1819 kept the issue well to the front. In Illinois the whole question remained to be settled. Cook, who had voted against striking out the slavery restriction on Missouri, lost many proslavery votes in 1822, but carried all the northern and central counties except one and was elected by a comfortable majority.⁸ Slavery was the issue in the election of governor also, and Edward Coles, opposed to slavery in principle, was elected by a plurality vote over three other candidates. Factional divisions frequently obscured the main issue, however, and only in the northern counties which formed a sectional third party was the slavery question paramount to the old party groups. Agitation for another state constitutional convention began in this campaign, and the question was submitted to the voters with the general understanding that a convention meant the introduction of slavery into the state. The campaign for the convention lasted eighteen months and attracted national attention. The majority of the pro-convention leaders were natives of the South, but the prominent anti-convention men were about evenly divided as to place of birth. It is probable that the northern element was stronger than has been generally thought, and that it furnished leaders in high proportion to its numerical strength.⁹ In the vote on the convention August 3, 1824,¹⁰ sectional division was prominent. Eleven southern counties which cast 3,788 votes gave 62 per cent for the convention, while 19 northern counties with 7,814 votes gave only 33 per cent. After this election the question was regarded as settled. Most of the antislavery men dropped out of politics, while the leaders of the convention party won prominent position in public office.¹¹

⁸ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 11.

⁹ Solon J. Buck, "The New England Element in Illinois Politics before 1833", in Mississippi Valley History Society *Proceedings*, VI, 49.

¹⁰ 6,640 against; 4,972 for.

¹¹ Five-sixths of the legislature of 1824 was elected at the same time that the people voted so decidedly against the convention, yet it elected two of slavery's most zealous advocates, Elias Kent Kane and John McLean, to the United States Senate. "There is nothing stranger than this in our political history." C.B. Washburne, *Sketch of Edward Coles, Second Governor of Illinois, and the Slavery Struggle of 1823-24* (Chicago, 1882), 194.

Two years before the presidential election of 1824, Crawford, Clay, Clinton, Adams, Calhoun, and Jackson movements were on foot in the Northwest.¹² The Jackson candidacy did not get well under way until the spring of 1824 when the *National Republican* (Cincinnati) left Clinton for Jackson, and the *Western Sun* (Vincennes) changed its advocacy of Crawford to ardent support for Jackson. Adams electors had been named by members of the Ohio legislature in February, and he received the support of many who favored a northern, non-slaveholding candidate. Altho the slavery issue threatened for a time to play an important part in the campaign, it was soon overshadowed by the tariff, internal improvements, and Andrew Jackson. In 1824 it was the hero of New Orleans and the Indian fighter, the champion of the uncontaminated frontier democracy, the man with "a character for honor, integrity, and purity of motive, sacred to Americans and spotless in the rolls of fame" who rose above principles and issues. In Indiana and Illinois it seemed to be Jackson against the field, but in Ohio, Clay, personally popular and strong because of his tariff and internal improvements program, offered a contest. In the election Clay carried that state by a plurality of 766 votes.¹³ The Jackson counties consisted largely of those in the corner between Indiana and the Ohio River, and a group in the eastern part of the state settled largely by Pennsylvanians. Adams won counties on the Reserve and Washington, Meigs, and Athens on the Ohio,—those settled by New Englanders. Clay carried 4 counties on the Reserve, probably on the internal improvements issue, and counties scattered over the state.¹⁴ Indiana went for Jackson,¹⁵ but Illinois, voting by districts, returned 2 electors for Jackson and 1 for Adams.¹⁶ The popular vote for the three states was Jackson, 27,104; Clay 25,617; Adams, 16,913; Crawford, 219; with 629 votes not counted in the first district of Illinois. Ohio returned 14 representatives to

¹² *Western Sun and General Advertiser* (Vincennes, Ind.), February 2, April 27, November 20 and 23, 1822; *National Republican* (Cincinnati, Ohio), January 14, September 19, 1823, January 23, 1824; *Niles' Register*, December 20, 1823.

¹³ Clay, 19,255; Jackson, 18,489; Adams, 12,280. *National Republican*, November 19, 1824; *Cincinnati Emporium*, December 16, 1824.

¹⁴ See map and articles by E.H. Roseboom, "Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824", *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, XXVI, 167.

¹⁵ Jackson, 7,343; Clay, 5,315; Adams, 3,093. *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, December 4, 1824.

¹⁶ Adams, 1,540; Jackson, 1,272; Clay, 1,047; Crawford, 219, and 629 for the "Jackson or Clay" elector in the first.

Congress, Indiana 3, and Illinois 1. All of the 18 representatives and 6 senators were Jeffersonian Republicans.

The election of John Q. Adams by the House of Representatives in 1825 led to the formation of the Jacksonian party in the Northwest, and created party alignments which lasted for many years. In 1828 there was no issue beyond the "wrong" done to Jackson, a man of the people, and the rugged westerner to exonerate his hero organized a personal prejudice into a political force that was positive, aggressive, and effective. Sharp as the resulting warfare became, state politics in the Northwest frequently refused to be dominated by national affairs.¹⁷ As a result of the convention struggle and the Jackson issue, the factional groupings in Illinois politics were further complicated. Eventually there emerged three parties: the "Whole Hog" Jackson party; the "Milk and Cider" men, also for Jackson; and the Anti-Jackson group composed largely of the northern antislavery elements. The first and last of these represented in embryonic form the later Democratic party and the National-Republican-Whig party, while the "milk and cider" men divided, going both ways.¹⁸ From 1826 to 1828 many changes took place in state politics which in turn affected national politics. The Crawford men went over to Jackson as did a majority of the Clay and Calhoun leaders.

The advantage which the Jackson party had over its opponents lay chiefly in its organization, which extended from the township assessors to state committees of general superintendence. It was this organization that made it possible for the Jackson men to carry nearly all of the elections in Indiana regardless of the fact that the state, on national issues, was opposed to them. The Adams forces depended rather upon their platform, the eloquence of their speakers, and their appeal to the "better classes". The interest of the Northwest in internal improvements and the tariff was so great that discussion of these issues was carried into the state legislature. On these questions the Adams men had felt that they had the advantage, and their reiterated cry was "measures,

¹⁷ This is well demonstrated in the Indiana election of 1825. James B. Ray, who had been a Clay partisan in 1824, then *pro-tem* speaker of the Senate, filled out the term of Governor William Hendricks, and became a candidate for election. In the August election, he received 13,040 votes to 10,218 for Isaac Blackford, who had been an Adams elector. *Indiana House Journal*, 1825, p. 23.

¹⁸ Thompson, *Illinois Whigs before 1846*, 31.

not men". But when in answer to Governor Ray's letter to Jackson concerning his tariff views, the General referred him to the Coleman letter of 1824 and his advocacy of a "judicious tariff", many Adams men, satisfied with this term, whatever it meant, came over to Jackson. The Adams attack on Jackson centered around his rough character. His tyranny as a military chieftain, his rowdyism, cock-fighting, gambling, and duelist propensities were duly advertised.

In 1828 state politics began to be affected by the presidential contest. In Ohio J. W. Campbell was nominated by members of the Jackson convention after adjournment.¹⁹ Indiana party lines were drawn much closer than in 1825, and Governor Ray in his attempt to be re-elected as an independent candidate escaped defeat only because newspapers circulated slowly.²⁰

The November election found the tide so definitely turned in favor of Jackson that even the Adams strength in the Western Reserve counties could not hold Ohio for the administration.²¹ The vote of the three states was Jackson, 99,454, and Adams, 85,135. In the congressional election, Ohio, which in 1826 had returned 12 administration men to 2 Jackson men, elected 8 Jackson men and 6 Adams men.²² Party lines were also reaching into the state legislature where they were fairly well established from this time on.²³

The spirit which led to the triumph of Jackson in 1828 contained in itself the makings of a political party, but the policies which came with his election made possible the birth of an organized opposition. The removals policy and the neglect of tariff and internal improvements issues which had been so prominently displayed in the campaign gave the Clay and Adams men an opening for attack. Interest in these

¹⁹ In the election his opponent, Allen Trimble, administration candidate, received 53,971 votes to 51,951 for Campbell. *Ohio Statistics*, 1914, p. 255.

²⁰ Governor Ray attempted to ride two horses and just before the election muddled things very badly. Newspaper ridicule put the Governor in an impossible situation, but the knowledge of his double dealing did not become general by the day of the election. The result was: Ray, 15,141; Canby (Jackson), 12,305; Moore (administration), 10,904. *Indiana Journal* (Indianapolis), July 10 and 17; *Western Sun*, July 19; *Indiana Palladium* (Richmond, Ind.), July 19, 1828.

²¹ Ohio: Jackson, 67,597; Adams, 63,396. Indiana: Jackson, 22,257; Adams, 17,052. Illinois: Jackson, 9,600; Adams, 4,687.

²² *Niles' Register*, November 4, 1826.

²³ The Edwards forces supported George Forquer, an administration man, but he received only 6,158 votes to 10,447 for Joseph Duncan. Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 54.

questions had existed side by side with interest in Jackson in 1828, and Jackson's strength varied inversely with the importance attached to them. Ohio, most populous and nearest to the eastern markets and farthest advanced economically, gave the smallest percentage of majority; and Illinois, least populous and most frontier-like, the highest. In Illinois the cohesion resulting from the spirit of enthusiasm for Jackson the man, combined with the change in policies on the part of Jackson as political leader, seriously affected party divisions. After 1828 the inherent strict constructionism of Jackson came prominently into play. From the "judicious tariff" and internal improvements stand of 1824, he came around to the Maysville veto and war on the Bank. Most of the Crawford following in the Northwest, that is in Illinois, took with it into the Jackson party the ideals of 1798 and were recognized as regular Jackson men. Since the Jackson spirit would tolerate no halfway position this following fitted in better than the "Milk and Cider" men.

The Ohio state elections of 1830 indicated that the hold of the Jackson party on the state was none too secure. Duncan McArthur, former scout and Indian fighter, defeated Robert Lucas, the Jackson candidate, in a close election. The administration lost three more Congressmen. Governor Ray of Indiana in attempting to maintain his independent position became involved in a struggle with the partisan legislature which lasted for three years and cut short his political career.²⁴ In 1831 General Noah Noble, one of the most popular men in the state, tho posing as a no-party candidate, was in reality the candidate of the Anti-Jackson forces for governor. The pleas of the party press were unavailing, and altho Indiana was safely Jacksonian in the national elections, Noble was elected over James G. Read by over 2,500 votes. The vote indicated little beyond the fact that Noble was the more popular candidate, for both men had supported Jackson and were internal improvements men. In the congressional election, the first under the new law, all three Jackson candidates were successful in spite of the fact that the party polled less than

²⁴ By 1831 the newspapers and party organizations tried to maintain strong party division, and the candidates for governor were judged largely on their stand on national issues, yet the party alignment did not yet extend sufficiently far down among the voters to make the national issue the determining one, nor did the candidates run strictly and avowedly on party tickets. Leonard, "Personal Politics in Indiana, 1816-1840", *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIX, 257.

half of the votes cast. This was due to superior organization and greater harmony within the ranks.²⁵

Concerted opposition to the National Democrats began in 1831 when on November 7 and 8 a convention of Clay men, now calling themselves National Republicans and claiming to be the party of Jefferson, met in state convention at Indianapolis. The spoils appointments, Indian policy, attacks on the Bank, and failure of retrenchment of the administration were condemned. Resolutions favoring a protective tariff and internal improvements were passed and committees of correspondence appointed. The Ohio opposition met in general meeting at Columbus in February, and the state central committee, there appointed, in July issued its letter to the "Free and Independent Electors of the State". Jackson's proposed direct election amendment was attacked as contrary to the spirit of the Constitution, the spoils system and tampering with the courts were condemned, and the early retirement of Jackson recommended as a "consummation devoutly to be wished".²⁶

Democrats in the Northwest did not enter into the campaign of 1832 with overconfidence. Since 1828 the opposition had elected the governors of both Ohio and Indiana, and the legislatures of these states were in their control, while in Illinois the contest between the adherents of Martin Van Buren and Richard M. Johnson for the vice-presidency, which was carried into the national convention, threatened to split the party.²⁷

²⁵ In the second district there were four independent candidates including ex-Governor Ray, ex-Governor Jonathan Jennings (Clay man on national issues), John H. Thompson, and Isaac Howk. William W. Wick, a well known and popular campaigner, was the Anti-Jackson candidate, tho he became a Jackson man in 1835, and General John Carr was the Jacksonian candidate. These two fought it out on national issues while the others adhered largely to local issues. The vote was: Carr, 4,855; Wick, 4,610; Ray, 1,732; Jennings, 1,681; Thompson, 1,486; Howk, 454. *Niles' Register*, September 17, 1831.

In the third the opposition was divided between O.H. Smith and John Test, while the Jackson party gave its vote to Jonathan McCarthy, who received 6,243 votes to 5,289 for Smith and 3,107 for Test. *Niles' Register*, September 17, 1831; Madison (Ind.) *Republican*, October 13, 1831.

²⁶ *Scioto Gazette* (Chillicothe, Ohio), February 15, 1832.

²⁷ Many extreme Jackson men such as A.P. Field, John Dement, Zadoc Casey, and Joseph Duncan were for Johnson, while W.L.D. Ewing, Samuel McRoberts, and other "Whole Hog" Jacksonians were for Van Buren. At a Jackson meeting at Vandalia, January 2 and 3, 1832, McRoberts and Ewing withdrew with their followers, and left the Johnson men in control. The latter supported by Edwards and Reynolds' declared against instructed delegates to the Baltimore convention. Warning from the *Illinois Advocate* (Edwardsville, Ill.), that indorsement of Johnson would give Clay the state went unheeded, and a Johnson convention met at Vandalia to select Jackson and John-

The effects of the removal policy, the influence of the United States Bank with its great wealth, and the efficacy of the newly established organization of the National Republicans could not be foreseen with certainty. Moreover, the race would have to be made against Henry Clay, a western man, a most skilful politician and a campaigner with a personal following second only to that of Jackson. In Illinois the Clay men drew together in an attack against Jackson, tariff, internal improvements, and Bank policies, and mere personal loyalty to Jackson on the part of Democratic candidates was not enough to satisfy the voters. Yet it was not easy for the Jackson forces to stand solidly on a platform for there were many diverging views on leading questions.

The Anti-Masons appeared as a third party in 1831 and selected electors in Ohio and Illinois, and a committee in Indiana to sound the candidates.²⁸ The Ohio Anti-Masons withdrew their state ticket and united with the National Republicans in support of Darius Lyman for governor, but Robert Lucas carried the election by about 8,000 votes.

The Democratic organization stood the party in good stead, and in spite of the strength of their platform, leaders, and newspapers, the National Republicans labored at a disadvantage. The Democrats held most of the federal offices, and hence had all the advantages of easy access to the voters, while their opponents had to carry on their electioneering at a greater sacrifice of time and effort. The November election showed a solid Democratic Northwest, at least on national affairs. In Ohio the vote stood, Jackson, 81,346; Clay, 76,539; and Wirt, 509;²⁹ in Indiana, 31,552 to 25,472;³⁰ and in Illinois, 14,617 to 6,754 with 97 for Wirt.³¹ As in 1828 the percentage

son electors. In the national convention the vote of the Illinois delegation was divided. After Van Buren's nomination the majority of Johnson supporters came over to the regular ticket, but the differences were not forgotten and threatened serious consequences in 1836. Some of the members of the Johnson convention became Whigs. See Thompson, *Illinois Whigs before 1846*, 38; *Illinois Intelligencer* (Vandalia, Ill.), cited in Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State* (Springfield, Ill., 1918), 140; Washburne (Ed.), *The Papers of Ninian Edwards*, 579-580.

²⁸ The committee wrote to Clay in September to find out whether he was a Mason. Clay replied that the subject was one with which a United States officer had no business to meddle and refused to express his personal opinion. Before the election the *Indiana Journal* dropped Wirt and Ellmaker from its list of candidates, and most of the Anti-Masons voted for Clay electors. *Western Sun*, December 3, 1831; *Indiana Journal*, December 3, 1831; *Niles' Register*, XLI, 260; *Indiana Journal*, October 4, 1832.

²⁹ *Indiana Journal*, December 1, 1832; *Ohio Statistics*, 1914, p. 255.

³⁰ Lawrenceburg (Ind.) *Palladium*, December 8, 1832; *Vevay* (Ind.) *Messenger*, December 15, 1832; *Niles' Register*, October 27, 1832.

³¹ Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 80-81.

of the Democratic majority increased from east to west. In Ohio in addition to the Western Reserve counties Clay practically doubled the vote of Jackson in Champaign, Clark, Logan, Medina, Meigs, Miami, Portage, and Ross.

Clay carried 19 of the 66 counties of Indiana. The vote was uniformly Jacksonian excepting in the third and sixth congressional districts in the eastern and southeastern parts of the state, which, with the Wabash Valley, constituted the commercial sections. The heaviest Clay vote and the largest majority in any county was in Wayne in the Whitewater Valley, later to be a center of Quaker slavery opposition. The influence of Jackson's veto of the Wabash Improvements Bill in the early autumn was felt in the vote of the river counties of Cass, Fountain, Tippecanoe, Vigo, and Knox.³² Jackson received his best support from the territory south of Indianapolis and between Madison and Evansville, a district that has remained faithful to the Jacksonian Democracy to the present time. Of the 53 counties in Illinois, Clay carried 8, and 5 of these were newer northern counties with a total vote of only 529 for all candidates.³³ The returns showed the state

³² This veto did not seriously affect the state vote in 1832, but was of considerable importance in determining the result in 1836.

³³ The congressional elections of 1832 in Ohio and Illinois took place under new apportionments, Ohio having been given 19 districts by special session of the legislature in June, and Illinois having become entitled to 3 Congressmen under the census of 1830. The Anti-Jackson forces were able to carry only 8 of the 19 districts, altho they lost another by only 2 votes, and had a total vote of 66,956 to 61,588 for the Democrats. The discrepancy between the vote and the results is hardly due to any gerrymander, or at least not a successful one, for the legislature and Governor were both Anti-Jackson. It is due rather to the exceedingly large majorities given the Clay men in the third, fourth, tenth, fifteen, and sixteenth districts. In 3 of these there were 2 candidates against the Jackson man, and their total majorities over the Democrat ran from 1,200 to 3,300 votes. The Clay districts almost encircled the state; in the Reserve territory were the fifteenth and sixteenth; the eleventh and long Ohio River side carried almost over to the fourth, tenth, and third, which ran up the western side. Only the thirteenth projected into central Ohio. All the rest of the state, including the fringe of counties next the Ohio River and Indiana boundaries from Scioto to Darke, was in Democratic districts.

The Indiana reapportionment increased the congressional districts from 3 to 7, and the campaign, coming as it did after the excitement of the election of 1832, saw some relaxation in the strict party alignment. The opposition tried especially to break down party ties and emphasize the merits of the candidates. They could not get away from the two national questions of the Bank and the public lands, however, and 6 of the 7 Congressmen elected were "died-in-the-wool Jacksonians". John Ewing was elected in the second district by a majority of 2 votes. Whig organization was again lacking; in the first district there were 4 candidates and an Anti-Mason against the Democrat. The Democratic hold on the congressional delegation of the Northwest was still secure, 20 of 29 representatives being Jacksonians, and 4 of the 6 senators. Senators Morris of Ohio, Tipton of Indiana, and Robinson and Kane of Illinois were Democrats; Ewing of Ohio and William Hendricks of Indiana were Clay men.

thoroly Jacksonian, with just a faint trace of the location of some of the later strongholds of opposition.

The second election of Andrew Jackson in 1832 marked the high tide of Jacksonian democracy. The old hero had been completely vindicated. The Bank struggle, failure to support internal improvements, removals, back stairs Cabinet influences, and the attempt to will Van Buren upon an unwilling West brought out differences and served to dampen the enthusiasm of part of the presidential following. No longer did personal popularity of the candidate and mere party organization suffice. The old leaders in the Northwest were dropping out, and with the passing of the politicians of the pioneer period came new men, new emphasis on local issues, and new party divisions and alliances. With the growth in population of the northern territories, the expulsion of the Indians from northern Indiana and Illinois, and the flow of new settlers, largely from New England and New York, to these sections, came a corresponding shifting of the center of population. Development of surer and quicker transportation, a common school system, colleges, churches, and of the press brought changed political ideas and different methods. Economic and social life were in transition and politics in more or less disturbed condition. From this period of milling around of issues and factions emerged an organized Democratic party and a more or less organized opposition, that confronted each other in national and local politics for the next two decades.

The internal improvements movement which swept Ohio in the twenties reached Indiana and Illinois in force in the thirties. In Ohio after 1824 and in Indiana after 1828 the internal improvements party controlled local politics by overwhelming majorities.³⁴ The period from 1825 to 1827 was one of prosperity, expansion, and unbounded optimism stimulated somewhat by inflation, by bank notes, and speculation. Prominent internal improvement advocates were to be found both among the Jackson and Adams men. The Bank veto brought the currency question before the states, and it soon took its place in importance alongside that of internal improvements. Indiana in 1834 re-elected Governor Noble, who was one of the most consistent workers for internal

³⁴ The voters of Ohio and Indiana "went for" a United States Bank, internal improvements, and high tariff, yet always supported Andrew Jackson.

improvements and a state bank. He held members of both parties within his following. The following year all 7 Congressmen elected were Jackson men, but in the legislature party division was lacking. The keen enthusiasm and high party feeling of the past ten years were subsiding somewhat. With Jackson vindicated, no big issue in sight, and hard times in the offing, there came a halt in the Democratic advance, to be followed by a period of defensive warfare after the break in 1836 and the reaction following the panic.

Ohio, never so thoroly Jacksonian as Indiana and Illinois, was also feeling the conflict of forces which was to swing the balance to the opposition. National Republicans, Anti-Masons, and factious Democrats had worked together against Robert Lucas with fair success in 1832, and what became the Whig party in Ohio may be said to date from that time. The legislature of 1832-1833 was Democratic and approved of Jackson's policies, but a reversal took place in 1834 and the resolutions were rescinded. In 1834 the Whigs gained 2 Congressmen, which gave them 10 of the 19. The listless legislative election of the following year gave another Democratic assembly, which spent most of its time fighting with Michigan over the boundary between the two states.

Illinois politics from 1830 to 1835 were in chaos. No longer was it possible to explain things on the basis of the two-faction division of the twenties. Instead existed numerous cliques, most of whose leaders professed allegiance to Jackson but felt in no way bound to support his measures. Only when ideals of party regularity appeared did there develop two real political parties. When Jackson began to take a decided stand on various questions, and demanded that his followers support his measures as well as his name, the "Milk and Cider" or moderate Jackson group in Illinois found itself in an anomalous position. It could maintain itself as an independent organization only by alliance with Anti-Jackson men. The changing political personnel, increasing importance of state problems, and influence of the growing population of the northern counties resulted in the crystallization of Anti-Jackson sentiment. The "Milk and Cider" group furnished recruits to both sides, and while many became National Republicans and later Whigs, the rest were drawn into the Democratic party and served to tone down the views of the ultra-Jackson or "Whole Hog" wing. The Whig party was

at first nothing more than a collection of various anti-administration elements and included some who were friends of the United States Bank, unsuccessful office-seekers, and followers of Henry Clay. General agreement was not possible on the Bank, tariff, federal aid to internal improvements, or a national leader; the only item common to all elements was opposition to Van Buren. For this reason the Whig party was slower to become an organized political force than was its rival, and during the formative years it was hard to judge with any accuracy the strength of either party.³⁵

The population of the Northwest, which in 1820 had been 792,400, was, in 1830, 1,470,018, and the frontier line had in Illinois curved north at its westward end to include the heart of the north central part of the state.³⁶ Aside from this change the line held the general configuration of 1820, but had moved northward 30 or 40 miles thruout its length. In Indiana 29 new counties had been created by law by 1830, but in each case those with over 10,000 population were still south of the settlement line of 1820, and their political ascendancy was in no wise threatened. During the next decade the drift to the new lands in the north was felt in the shifting center of population, but Indiana, unlike Ohio and Illinois, was but little affected by the New York-New England element of immigration. Illinois by 1830 had grown to 157,445 people, and 34 new counties had been erected since 1820. After 1830 the settlers turned to the newer lands in the north and frequently came in organized groups, largely from New York and New England. The decade between 1830 and 1840 was one of rapid growth and expansion in the Northwest. Land sales were booming and speculation was rife. Michigan Territory by 1834 claimed over 87,000 people in its limits, and the two lower tiers of counties were almost completed. A constitution was made at Detroit in May, but the struggle

³⁵ The shifting of individuals in groups from one party to another is illustrated by the elections of 1834. Joseph Duncan, formerly a "Whole Hog" man at home but after 1831 opposed to Jackson policies, ran against William Kenny and Robert K. McLaughlin for governor. He received votes from the Anti-Jackson forces as well as the "Milk and Cider" remnants and ultra-Jackson men and was elected by a majority over his 3 opponents. James Adams, Anti-Jackson man, received only a handful of votes. *Chicago Democrat*, July 3, 1824; *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield, Ill.), October 4, December 6, 1834; *Chicago American*, July 23, 1834; Pease, *Illinois Election Returns*, 86-87.

³⁶ See map in Frederick L. Paxson, *History of American Frontier* (New York, 1924), 60.

over the boundary question with Ohio and Congress held up the admission of the new state for over two years.

The first campaign between Whigs and Democrats began in 1834 and continued with hardly a break until the apparent victory of the newly organized opposition in 1840. The Whigs possessed neither a formidable organization, a coherent platform, nor an outstanding available candidate, but the attempt to bring Van Buren into the presidency presented the opening for attack, and after a period of unsuccessful experimenting with candidates the Whigs found a man whose appeal to the West struck familiar chords, and beat the Democrats at their own game as played in 1828. Among those considered in the Northwest as possible candidates for the new party were Judge John McLean of Ohio, and Hugh L. White of Tennessee, nominated respectively by the Ohio and Illinois legislatures. William Henry Harrison, around whose name the Whigs and Anti-Van Buren Democrats rallied and ultimately marched to victory, did not develop a real boom until the appeal of a military record, obscured and belittled by too ambitious politicians, had had time to get a hold on the people.³⁷ When the false pretenses of Colonel Johnson's friends were brought to light General Harrison came into his own in the Northwest.

The Harrison movement was represented as coming entirely from the people without respect to former political preference. "The ostensible as well as real object of the Whig party is to check, if possible, the present rapid concentration of all power in the person of the President, and restore in reality as well as in name the government to its original purity and simplicity in management." Party names were hardly used nor were pointedly partisan subjects discussed by the speakers at the earlier meetings. The support of the church people of the Northwest, which had never been given to Clay, was thrown to Harrison. Only in Illinois did Harrison fail to unite the opposition, and the followers of White claimed still to be members of the Democratic party. The policy of the Whigs was to take advantage of the split within the Democratic ranks rather than unite upon a candidate of their own.

³⁷ For the expanding of the military popularity of Colonel Richard M. Johnson for political purposes and the vigorous letter of W. H. Harrison see *Niles' Register*, November 18, 1834.

The abundance of Whig candidates, which made the opposition to Van Buren formidable, on the other hand made the election of any one of them almost impossible. Democrats credited the Whigs with trying to throw the election into the House by running Webster in the North, White in the South, and Harrison in the West. But the wiser of the Whig leaders saw that as long as they had 4 candidates in the field it would be possible for the "Humbugs" to overwhelm them in detail.³⁸ Political arguments and personal attacks upon Van Buren were the order of the day. "A flame of political delusion has passed over the land and Martin Van Buren is decreed to be the Phoenix that is to rise out of it. The mountain of Jacksonism has been in labor and this cunning mouse is brought forth."³⁹ The two fundamental principles of Van Burenism were declared to be: first, that the government of the people should be carried on by a party organization; and, second, that the benefits of government belonged not to the people but to the party. Democrats countered with abuse and built up their organization. The organization which had been established in Ohio and Indiana before 1835 was now extended to Illinois. No efforts were spared to overwhelm this "loose compound of Hartford Convention Federalism, and Royal Arch Masonry".⁴⁰

Illinois did not take so readily to the Democratic system of organization and expressed disapproval of any convention system being forced upon the American people by the Van Buren party, such being destructive of the freedom of the elective franchise, opposed to representative institutions, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.⁴¹ Aside from personalities and review of the respective records of the two candidates, the campaign of 1836 centered around the discussion of the specie circular and Land Distribution Bill. The hero worship and wild enthusiasm which played such an important part in the campaign of 1840 had not yet been aroused to any great extent.⁴² The Democrats were eager

³⁸ *Western Sun*, November 21, 1835; *Scioto Gazette*, August 5, 1835.

³⁹ From address of Ross County Whigs, *Scioto Gazette*, September 9, 1835.

⁴⁰ For party work in Ohio and Indiana see *Western Hemisphere* (Cincinnati, Ohio), September 16, 1835; *Indiana Democrat* (Indianapolis), November 21, 1835.

⁴¹ Ford, *History of Illinois*, 206.

⁴² Still, when a young man at Columbus, Ohio, said that the ladies of Chillicothe had voted Harrison a petticoat as the most suitable emblem of his military prowess, and while the story went the rounds of the Democratic papers, there was no lack of valiant defense for the General. The author of the story was stigmatized as a "liar

to have Michigan admitted in time to count her electoral votes, so Michigan, altho not yet a state, participated in the election of 1836. The Democratic party was in full control in Michigan and had been organized, under New York methods, for several years.⁴³ The Whigs tried to show that the Van Burenites were taking Michigan Territory and giving it to Ohio so as to get the Ohio electoral vote. In the state election in October, 1835, the entire Democratic ticket was elected without opposition, and the constitution overwhelmingly adopted. Only 3 members of the state legislature were not Democrats.⁴⁴ The Democratic party, which remained in control in Michigan until 1840, constituted the majority of the poor and radical element. It advocated equal rights, equal privileges, and was hostile to monopolies, vested interest, and moneyed men in politics. It pretended to see the Whigs only as "the legitimate progeny of federalism". As in the other states of the Northwest, the Whigs, generally speaking, represented the more well-to-do, conservative, and commercial classes, and many of the settlers from New York and New England, who had the advantages of education and some wealth, belonged to that party. It was strongest in east central Michigan, and especially in Detroit.

In Ohio the attacks upon the records of the Democrats had not been in vain, and Governor Joseph Vance received a majority of over 6,000 in the October election, but the Democrats by aid of their apportionment bill succeeded in winning a majority of the legislature.

It is probable that the determination to make Harrison the official candidate of the Whig party in Illinois cost enough votes from among the White following to lose the state. Had Illinois Whigs supported White and secured all the Anti-Van Buren votes, Illinois might have joined Ohio and Indiana in the decision against Van Buren in 1836. The presidential election came in Ohio on November 4 and in Indiana and Illinois on November 7. The vote in Ohio was 104,958 for

and a scoundrel". When the Democrats revived the old story that Harrison had voted to sell the poor debtors, the reply was that the hell-hounds of a rotten and sinking party had dug up a stale slander from the grave of bygone years. From *Ohio People's Press*, in *Scioto Gazette*, October 6, 1836.

⁴³ Homer Webster, *History of Democratic Party Organization in the Northwest, 1824-1840*, p. 81, in *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, XXIV, 1-120.

⁴⁴ The Whig ticket was placed in the field by a convention held in Oakland County. The vote for governor was: Mason, 7,508; Biddle, 814. Biddle received 536 of his votes from Oakland County. Michigan, *Senate Journal*, 1835-1836, Document 2.

Harrison, and 96,238 for Van Buren. The voters of Indiana, hero-worshippers before they were partisans, gave the General 41,283 votes and 32,772 to Van Buren. The change from a decisive Democratic victory in 1832 to a Whig success in 1836 by 8,500 votes was remarkable but not hard to explain. The spell of the name of one hero had been broken and that of another had taken its place. The Democrats were put on the defensive, and with few exceptions have remained in that position since. In Illinois, Van Buren polled 18,459 and the opposition ticket 15,240 votes. It is hard to determine the Harrison vote in Illinois for there were both a Harrison and Tyler and a White and Tyler ticket and a variety of ways of voting. Sometimes the county clerks indicated the intentions of the voters in their returns, more often not. In Michigan the Harrison vote made a surprising showing but totalled only 4,045 to 7,332 for the Van Buren electors. Michigan was not officially admitted until January 26, 1837, but Congress added a resolution on the counting of the votes which disposed of her 3 votes in the same manner that was applied to those of Missouri in 1821. The total Whig vote in the Northwest in 1836 was 165,526 compared to 154,801 for the Democrats, and by the electors 30 to 8. The vote of Ohio and Indiana represented in part personal sentiment for Harrison, but this does not explain the majority of Whig votes in state and congressional elections. The two frontier states of Illinois and Michigan did not yet possess enough of the class of people who constituted the backbone of the Whig party, and the more popular doctrines and better organizations of the Van Buren party still prevailed.

Congressmen were elected in Ohio and Illinois. In the former state the Whigs elected 11 of the 19 representatives, but in Illinois all 3 of the Democratic candidates were successful. The Indiana election took place in 1837, and a clear party distinction in all districts was made for the first time. The Democratic party, which had slipped in 1836, in the following year met with disaster. From a unanimous election of 7 Congressmen in the Twenty-fourth Congress, the Democrats were able to return but 1 to the next Congress.⁴⁵ With the representatives from Michigan the Democrats of the North-

⁴⁵ Ratliff Boone in the second district. "Indiana now commences a new era in Congress. Her delegation will find themselves natural allies of the destructive nullifiers of the South and Bare Bones' puritans of the North." *Ohio Statesman* (Columbus, Ohio), July 12, 1836.

west had 13 representatives in Congress to 17 for the Whigs. The Ohio legislature selected William Allen, a Democrat, to the United States Senate, and the Indiana legislature, thru the influence of Jacksonian members who refused a vote for Noble, selected Oliver H. Smith. Smith was the only Whig senator from the Northwest.⁴⁶ The Whigs of the Northwest took consolation in the fact that Harrison had made a better showing than had Jackson in his first campaign, and that Van Buren's popularity was only borrowed.

The panic of 1837 brought the administration around to the Sub-Treasury Plan, and the one big topic of discussion was banking. The issue had been found on which Democrats and Whigs could draw the line. Except in Illinois the Democrats of the Northwest accepted Van Buren and his policies, and even in that state they were forced into line. To the Democrats the question resolved itself into this: Shall we have a BANK GOVERNMENT, or a GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE? Gold and silver were the national currency of the world, and all other must be based upon them. "The power and vengeance of mercenary monopolies are upon us—the iron grasp of pandulent and irresponsible shavers must be broken."⁴⁷ In spite of such reasoning, however, the voters of Ohio returned a Whig legislature in 1837, but the next year, playing to the German vote by opposing the English language clause in the Common School Bill, the Democrats succeeded in electing Wilson Shannon governor over Joseph Vance.⁴⁸ Judge Benjamin Tappen was elected by the Democratic legislature to the United States Senate. The Whigs saw no other way of accounting for the defeat but by accusing the Abolitionists and States Rights men of throwing them over.⁴⁹

The Democrats of Indiana were so dispirited by the loss of the state in 1836 that they did not bring out a candidate for governor the following year. David Wallace and John Dumont fought it out over the classification issue, and Wallace became

⁴⁶ Democrats: Morris and Allen of Ohio, Tipton of Indiana, Robinson and Young of Illinois, Norvel and Lyon of Michigan.

⁴⁷ *Ohio Statesman*, October 4, 1837.

⁴⁸ Shannon, 107,884; Vance, 102,146. Eleven Democrats were returned to Congress and 8 Whigs. Official vote by counties in *Ohio Statesman*, December 11, 1838, gives Vance 102,156; *Ohio Statistics*, 255. For congressional returns by counties see *Ohio Statesman*, December 18, 1838. Among the counties polling the heaviest Whig vote were Ashtabula (2,048 to 738), Champaign, Clark, Cuyahoga, Franklin, Muskingum, Ross, and Warren. Democrats were elected in the first, second, fifth, ninth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth.

⁴⁹ *Green County (Ohio) Torchlight*, October 20; *Ohio Statesman*, October 30, 1838.

the next governor. The Whigs elected all but 1 of the 7 Congressmen and the state legislature as well. In 1840 the Democrats ran General Tilghman Howard, who stood for classification and contraction of internal improvements projects until the financial conditions of the state improved. The hold of the internal improvements idea proved stronger than the fear of hard times, however, and in the August election Samuel Bigger, the Whig candidate, was elected by a plurality of over 8,000 votes.

The Illinois Whigs had not yet consolidated into a coherent party by 1838, nor had they achieved real party organization or come around to the convention system. Clear-cut principles were still lacking, but in general they believed that the legislative power was above the executive, "went for" a United States Bank and tariff, and were generally prejudiced against foreigners especially if Roman Catholics. Many foreign laborers were working on the canals and affiliating with the Democratic party. Thomas Carlin, the Democratic candidate, an honest but ignorant man, defeated Cyrus Edwards, who lost votes because of his activity in the Lovejoy disturbances.

The Whigs of Michigan, an almost hopeless minority in 1836, made important gains in the next few years. A period of hard times had brought many of the more prosperous Democrats over into the Whig ranks, and by 1839 the Whigs were able to elect Judge Woodbridge to the governorship and secure the legislature as well.

With an even chance for victories in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, the Whigs of the Northwest eagerly awaited the presidential campaign in 1840. The campaign of 1840 was no doubt the most enjoyable political battle ever staged in the Northwest. It began as a movement against Van Burenism but developed into a frenzy of hero-worship and social jollification. Newspapers had never been so prolific of interesting political articles nor stump orators quite so entrancing, nor had audiences possessed quite so much endurance. For the first time special campaign newspapers were printed in numbers and wood-cut cartoons widely used; handbills were scattered in profusion, and the talents of the poet and songmaster recruited for all occasions. Tippecanoe clubs with their log cabin raisings and free service, barbecues, torch

light processions, floats, transparencies, orgies of protracted spellbinding and the coon skin and inevitable barrel of cider ceased almost to be a means and became an end in themselves. Well might the Democrats regard their opponents as madmen.

Whatever the reasons which influenced the national Whig convention against a declaration of policy, there was no lack of platforms among the Whigs of the Northwest. The Sub-Treasury System was denounced, executive usurpation and governmental extravagance attacked, and Van Buren assailed as an "artful politician and selfish experimenter".⁵⁰

In the minds of the Democrats there was no lack of definiteness about Whig principles. They were opposed to universal suffrage, naturalization of foreigners, and the doctrine of instructions to representatives. They favored legislating for property and not for men. When asked for General Harrison's views on a National Bank they quoted doggerel and sang songs to obscure the issues, interest the illiterate and ignorant, and deceive the people. The Bank aristocracy, treasonably allied with the bankers of Europe, furnished the funds for these doings. In striking contrast to Blue Light Federalism and such political tomfoolery stood the time-tested doctrines of Thomas Jefferson: "equality of men; acquiescence in the decision of the majority; no special favors to banks or merchants; banks to be founded on substance and not on shadow; bank and state to be separated; economy in government; diffusion of information and freedom of religion".

For the first time the abolition movement played an important part in the national election in the Northwest. Ohio with its New England Western Reserve felt the influence most, and it was in that state that the Democratic attacks against Whiggery and abolition were most common. When Thomas Corwin was nominated for governor, the *Ohio Statesman*, official Democratic organ, said that Wade, Morris, and King had put him across in an assembly of bankers, swindlers, gentlemen of leisure, and office-holders. "Whiggery and abolition are wedded in bonds indissoluble."⁵¹

In addition to attacks on political views the candidates were

⁵⁰ For state declaration of policy, see *Saugamo Journal*, August 9, 1839; *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, July 14 and 17, 1840.

⁵¹ *Ohio Statesman*, February 25, April 3, 1840.

submitted to a liberal portion of personal abuse.⁵² It was a year of conventions and meetings, county, district, and state; first voters' conventions, young men's conventions, and great barbecue assemblies.⁵³ The picturesque military record of General Harrison made him an ideal newspaper and stump orator candidate, and the appeal both to the gregarious instinct and hero-worship propensities of the frontier was too much for the Democrats. In their efforts to belittle such outrageous tactics the Democrats almost hit upon the temperance issue. In their competition for the rough and simple life the Whigs had gained the jump,⁵⁴ so Democratic campaign orators and papers attacked the federal brawls, and the corruption of the youth of the land was denounced and ministers of the gospel appealed to.⁵⁵

⁵² Harrison was said to believe in property qualification for voters, in selling poor white men into slavery, imprisonment for debt, and favoring the placing of foreigners on a level with negroes and mulattoes. He was a defaulter, a seducer, and a Black Cockade Federalist in favor of alien and sedition laws and a standing army. While Wellington lost 60,000 to become the hero of Waterloo, Napoleon 1,000,000 to gain his title, and General Jackson 2,000 to win lasting fame, General Harrison to become the great hero of the land had killed, 000,038 of the enemy in a skirmish and lost twice as many of his own men. He didn't have sense enough to answer his own correspondence or make speeches, so had to be closely guarded by a committee of conscience-keepers. When the caged hero or "General Mum" got loose in part he always let some kind of a cat out of the bag. He had drawn \$200,000 from the public treasury and been elected to fewer offices than any public man; he held a \$6,000 sinecure obtained by influence, lived in a white mansion on a thousand-acre farm, and called it a log cabin.

As for Van Buren, he was said to be also a Blue Light Federalist in 1812, an enemy of Jackson in 1824, an Abolitionist, supporter of negro suffrage, unfriendly to the West, to free labor, opposed to internal improvements, and, worst of all, a pampered, snobbish aristocrat, who lived like a king and spent lavishly the money of the people, whom he despised, for curtains, foreign mirrors, roses, lamps, footstools, silk cord, gilt, satin, chairs, and gold spoons. While Adams' yearly expenditures had averaged \$12,000,000 and Jackson's \$18,000,000, Van Buren and his defaulters had averaged \$37,000,000.

Ohio Statesman (semi-weekly), May 13, July 5, 7, 10, 22, and 28, 1840, etc. *Illinois State Register* (Springfield, Ill.), October 30, 1840; *Western Sun*, July 11, 25, August 1, September 19, 1840; Madison (Ind.) *Courier*, July 25, 1840; *Green County* (Ohio) *Torchlight*, April 16, 1840.

⁵³ For an account of the great meetings at Columbus, Fort Meigs, Detroit, Springfield, and Tippecanoe Battleground see *Green County* (Ohio) *Torchlight*, April 16, March 5, 1840. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, June 13, June 17, September 22, 1840.

⁵⁴ 'The latest and most convincing argument for General Mum is that he intends to sleep on a bundle of straw in the White House. When Foreign Ministers and his cabinet council visit him he will turn up a half bushel or peck measure and an old barn bucket for them to sit upon. To sleep on a pile of straw with a stable door for covering, would be the prettiest thing imaginable. Oh for a Whig president and an 'east room' of cider barrels and coon skins, and owls, and bank rags. . . . We Democrats do these things out of necessity. . . . But when the 'shade covered' lawyers and bankers do it to catch our votes, surely their sufferings are sufficiently intolerable to tap our tearful sympathies, as a Tippecanoe committeeman would tap a fresh cider cask.'

⁵⁵ See *Ohio Statesman*, July 14, July 22, 1840.

The struggle for votes was more complicated than in any preceding election. The Whigs were striving to hold in line the various elements which constituted their following, and for the first time the abolition vote, the temperance vote, and the foreign vote were important enough to affect results. The Whigs had the closest hold on the abolition vote, not because their principles were more favorable, but because a majority of the Abolitionists had been Whigs. The temperance and foreign votes were largely Democratic, for the Democratic party was first to see the moral and social questions as great non-sectional issues, and had always stood for quick citizenship and an easy franchise. The August elections in Indiana and Illinois were followed with great interest thruout the Northwest, and when Bigger as well as a Whig legislature were elected in Indiana it was clear that national politics was responsible. The Illinois legislature went Democratic but the rapidly growing northern counties had not received a new apportionment. The Ohio State and congressional election in October was a Whig triumph, and altho Shannon had carried the state in 1838 by almost 6,000 votes, Thomas Corwin was elected by 16,000 votes. Twelve of the 19 Congressmen were Whigs.

The last month before the presidential election was one of feverish political activity which culminated in an outburst of personalities and mutual charges of most horrible fraud. The Northwest proved loyal to the old general, and only in Illinois was the Democratic tradition strong enough to stave off defeat.⁵⁶ To the heavy Harrison majorities of the Western Reserve and other dependable Whig counties were added substantial Whig majorities from all over the state. In Indiana Harrison drew heavily from the old Jackson following as well as from the commercial centers, and only a part of the strong Democratic territory of the south central part of the state was left intact. The 11 Democratic counties of Michigan were scattered but included Wayne and the city of Detroit. In Illinois the vote was more strictly sectional. Excepting the 11 counties along the Wabash and in the old American

⁵⁶ Ohio gave Harrison 148,157, Van Buren 124,782, and Birney 892 votes. The vote in Indiana was 65,276 to 51,695, and in Michigan 22,933 to 21,131, with 294 for Birney. Van Buren carried Illinois by 1,867 votes in a total vote of 93,179. The vote was: Van Buren, 47,443; Harrison, 45,576; and Birney, 160. The 33 electoral votes of Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan were cast for Harrison and the 5 votes of Illinois for Van Buren.

bottom, the southern half of the state returned Van Buren majorities, and in each of 11 of the counties the Whig vote was about one-third of the total. Van Buren's unpopularity caused considerable defection from the Democratic following of earlier days, but this loss was more than balanced by the vote of the foreigners, especially along the lines of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The Mormons supported Harrison, but the political controversy over the ousting of A. P. Field from the office of secretary of state had handicapped the Whigs in the election.

The Democratic party, so long dominant, found it difficult to take defeat gracefully. It tried to make believe that it had been assailed with unusual virulence, and that bankers' gold, perjury, slander, falsehood, moral debasement, corruption, and the new-fangled paraphernalia of coon skins, cider, and "pipe laying" attacks had proved too much for an honest party fighting for its dearly-bought principles with argument and reason. It wasn't the defeat but the degradation and violation of the people by the Whigs that hurt. It was ridiculous to suppose that the people preferred the principles of federalism to those of democracy. They had merely been cheated out of their rights and misled. They had passed upon no great measure or issue, but were stimulated by promises of a golden harvest and desire for a change. The charm of novelty and fancy of the imagination had eclipsed the understanding and overwhelmed reason and judgment. The moneyed monopolies had prevailed, and if the Democrats had in the past skirmished against the Bank, it would now be war to the knife and the knife to the hilt. It remained only to organize for a long fight and the final prostration of the infernal system would be achieved.⁵⁷

The Whig victory of 1840 in the Northwest was one of sentiment over issues. The pageantry and feasts exemplified the spirit of an era of conquest in the West; they commemorated the hardship and sacrifices of the past and hopefully heralded the return of the good pioneer virtues to politics. It marked the overthrow of the Democratic party of Jefferson and Jackson in the West, for it was the last election over

⁵⁷ "In the meantime let us sit as quietly under the national disgrace of an old granny president as possible. Sad and sickening as is the fact, that an old dotard, a man almost drivelling with age, and besotted with vanity has by the most foul and disgraceful means attained to the elevated office of President of this republic, let us bear it patiently." *Cleveland Advertiser*, in *Ohio Statesman* (semi-weekly), November 17, 1840.

which the slave issue did not cast its shadow and southern politicians hold the helm.

The defeat of 1840 left the Democrats in the Northwest in a state of temporary bewilderment. After forty years in office they found their enemies in control not only of the national government but of three-fourths of the states. After such a period of peace, prosperity, and security of rights the country would now see a \$100,000,000 bank controlled by Great Britain, a \$100,000,000 debt, a protective tariff to grind to dust the workingman and "the monster Abolition struggling thru the land and severing the bond of fraternal feeling and love which now unites the people of the different states". Poor, crawling, creeping Whiggery would bow itself in the dust to lick the spittle from its master's feet.

But for the Whigs the victory of 1840 availed but little. Tyler's acts placed the party in a ridiculous position. The dash for spoils, increasing independence of the Abolitionists, failure of internal improvements, and factional fights within the party prepared the way for a Democratic recovery. The President was burned in effigy. After the veto of the Fiscal Corporation Bill there was no attempt to justify the acts of "His Accidency" and soon the Whig party was split several ways. In addition to such troubles came reverses in state politics. In 1841 the Democrats regained the Ohio legislature, but when in extra session they reapportioned the state, 18 Whigs senators and 27 members of the House resigned. Democrats cried "treason and revolution" but the Whigs declared it less so than the work of the "tin pan" caucus of the Democratic party. In 1842 Democrats again secured the legislature and returned Wilson Shannon to the governorship. The Whigs credited their undoing to the unholy alliance of Loco-Focoism, Tylerism, and Abolitionism.⁵⁸ The next year, altho the Democrats elected 12 of the 21 Congressmen and the legislature was a tie on joint ballot, the Whigs considered it a moral victory due to the handicap of the Democratic Apportionment Bill.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ The Liberty party had nominated Leister King of Trumbull County for governor in December, 1841.

⁵⁹ Seven districts in the south had a population of 460,000, while 7 in the north had 58,369. Nineteen Whig counties of 1840 were sunk in Democratic districts and not one Democratic county had been sacrificed. Had the apportionment of 1842 been made before 1840, the Whigs in 1840, with 16,000 majority in the state, would have elected 10 Congressmen to 11 for the Democrats, while in 1842 the Democrats, with a majority of only 3,217, would have elected 15 to 6 for the Whigs.

The election of 1840 closed the period of personal politics in Indiana. When the voters came back to earth after the spree of speeches and cider they were confronted with a hard fact that the internal improvements system had failed and that the state was on the verge of bankruptcy. The bills for the reorganization of the government and finances were stubbornly opposed by the Democratic minority. Altho the plan was sound, the voters associated the internal improvements failure, bankruptcy, and high tariff with the Whig party, which had controlled the state governments since 1834. The Whigs were never again given complete control of the state. Whatever their program or arguments, the Democrats cried, "internal improvements", and this bogey sufficed.⁶⁰ The Whig party lost its spirit and became "a vast unorganized host, reposing on its arms, its commanders fallen or deserted". Many active Whigs, "soured with disappointment", retired from politics.⁶¹

The Whigs of Illinois never again reached their peak strength of 1840. During the five years from 1840 to 1845 Illinois politics were occupied mainly with local issues; in the south it was the state debt, in the north the canal, and in central and western parts the Mormon question. Each party was shifting the blame for the sad state of finances; neither would advocate repudiation, yet neither would propose adequate taxation to pay even the interest on the public debt.⁶² In 1842 aided by the support of the Mormon vote, the Democrats elected Thomas Ford governor and secured a majority in the legislature, but were able to accomplish little. By the new apportionment, Illinois was entitled to 7 Congressmen, but in spite of the increase in population in the north and central part of the state, John J. Hardin in the seventh district was the only Whig elected.

Michigan Whigs became engaged in factional fights after the victory of 1840, and split into radical and conservative

⁶⁰ Logan Esarey, *Internal Improvements in Early Indiana*, Indiana Historical Society Publications (Indianapolis, 1912), V, 2. Robert Dale Owen, "To Citizens of Posey County", in *Indiana Sentinel* (Indianapolis), October 11, and in *Western Sun*, November 13, 1841, sets forth the indictment of the Whig party.

⁶¹ For discussion of the condition of the Whig party in Indiana see *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, January 5 and 7, 1842.

⁶² The Democrats were split into conservatives and radicals. Those in southern Illinois as well as on the military tract were generally opposed to taxation of the people for paying the interest on the debt. Ford, *History of Illinois*, 305; *Illinois State Register*, December, 1843.

groups. In 1841 conservative Whigs combined with the Democrats to elect the senator and a governor. Thruout the forties factional fights within the party kept the Michigan Whigs out of office.

After the elections of 1842-1843 the two parties began preparations for the presidential campaign. The Whig committee of Illinois in 1843 laid down six articles of faith including the tariff, Bank, and Clay land policy.⁶³ The Ohio convention of January, 1844, resolved against the Sub-Treasury and for a protective tariff, a currency of national character, and the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands to the states as a matter of right.⁶⁴ Neither party possessed outstanding leaders capable of taking the country by storm as had Jackson or Harrison. The Whigs gave little consideration to any other candidate than Henry Clay, but the old issues which he had promoted so steadily since 1824 had lost much of their appeal,⁶⁵ and the Whigs could not well use the only new one that presented itself. The Democrats, with a group of younger men in the lead, found new interests to hold the people. In Indiana, Joseph A. Wright, Andrew Kennedy, Robert Dale Owen, John W. Davis, and James Whitcomb were busy arousing interest in human rights, individual liberty, and private initiative. They felt that the efforts and finances of the state should be expended in caring for the unfortunate and the feeble, educating the children, and fostering individual development rather than promoting industry, banking, and transportation.

The Whigs assumed that Van Buren would again be the Democratic candidate and from him they had little to fear on the annexation question, but with Polk annexation of Texas was no idle dream. Since Polk had often acted with the Whigs on the tariff, Bank, and internal improvements questions, it was difficult to advance effective arguments against

⁶³ "Address to the People of Illinois", by A. Lincoln, S. T. Logan, and A. T. Bledsoe, in J. G. Nicolay and John Hay (eds.), *Lincoln, Complete Works* (New York, 1920), I, 72 ff.

⁶⁴ *Scioto Gazette*, January 18, 1844. The Democrats called this the "lawyers' convention".

⁶⁵ Internal Improvements had proved a sad and costly experiment, and the Democrats were convincing the farmers that the tariff was not in their interest. Interest in the state bank had supplanted that of the Bank of the United States in the minds of many Whigs, especially in Indiana. They feared the competition of a national Bank. Besides there was the opposition of the churches to Clay's life and morals. For tariff discussions see *Indiana State Journal* (Indianapolis), April 11, May 12, 19, 23, and 28, 1843. On Clay and the Methodists, *Ohio Statesman*, October 30, 1844.

him. On the other hand, many of the Democrats of the Northwest had been opposed to annexation.⁶⁶ To join successfully the issue the Democrats had to be brought around to Polk and annexation and the Whigs to a position of out-and-out opposition. Clay saw the danger of this, and in his efforts to steer clear of the question he became badly entangled and lost votes in both sections. The Liberty vote was much coveted by both Whigs and Democrats, yet at the same time each tried to place on the other the onus of being in coalition with the Abolitionists.⁶⁷ If the Whigs seemed to have the best claims to the Free Soil vote, the Democrats had an advantage in their bids for the immigrant and foreign votes, especially the German and Irish.⁶⁸ The campaign tactics of 1840 were again tried by the Whigs, but the novelty had worn off. The cartoons which had appeared in 1840 now became common, and county newspapers could break the monotony of their closely packed political discussions with cuts and drawing of coons, roosters, horses, jackasses, and double-faced Henry Clays. British gold and Polk votes and the never-ending discussion of Clay's morals filled many columns when other news was lacking.

The August elections in Indiana and Illinois disclosed opposite tendencies. The Whigs elected the majority of the legislators in Indiana, but, in Illinois, only 1 of the 7 Congressmen. In the Ohio October election the Whigs elected the

⁶⁶ See Resolutions of Central Democratic Club of Indianapolis, *Whig Rifle* (Indianapolis), June 13, 1844. The radical Democratic faction in Michigan was opposed to slave extension and annexation. The conservative faction led by Cass and Lucius Lyon were in control in 1844 and gave their best efforts for Polk. The *Daily Free Press* (Detroit, Mich.), *Michigan Argus* (Detroit), and *Grand Rapids Enquirer* reasoned that annexation would cause slavery to move southward and thus hasten its decease in the border states. *Daily Free Press*, April 17, June 28, 1844. The anti-English argument was also used.

⁶⁷ The *Ohio Statesman* was always associating Whiggery and Abolitionism. The *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio) alternately wooed and threatened the Abolitionists. Just before the election Birney's "Garland" letter was published, and the Ohio Whig central committee had it sent to all corners of the state so as to scare Liberty men into voting the Whig ticket. O. H. Smith, Indiana chairman, published a two-column appeal to the Free Soilers to support Clay. The Michigan Abolitionists, however, had been working with great zeal against Clay. *Ohio Statesman*, November 6; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, November 1; *Indiana State Journal*, November 2, 1844.

⁶⁸ "We sympathize with all mankind struggling for liberty, whether in Canada, South America, Greece, Ireland, England, France, Germany, or any other portion of God's earth. And we are free, willing, ready to bear the scurrility of upstart fanatics, the miserable remnants of coon skins and cider barrels, the bastard imitators of a haughty, bigoted, fire and faggot aristocracy, for the glory, honor, and heart-felt consolation of doing right, of wishing the oppressors' iron bands broken asunder, whether here or anywhere else." *Ohio Statesman*, May 8, 1844.

governor, legislature, and consequently Thomas Corwin to the United States Senate. In the November election the Democrats carried all of the Northwest except Ohio, where the Liberty vote held the balance.⁶⁹ The Democrats claimed that the Birney letter lie gave 3,000 Democratic votes to Clay in November. Some Abolitionists who voted for King, as well as many Democrats who voted for Tod, in October, voted for Clay in November. The Democratic increase in Ohio since 1840 was 24,279, while the Whig increase was 6,956.⁷⁰ In Indiana Polk had a majority of 208 over Clay and Birney and carried 50 of the 89 counties.⁷¹ Clay carried only 27 of the 99 counties of Illinois, and only 3 of these were south of the mouth of the Illinois River and none was within 60 miles of Chicago.⁷² The Abolitionist vote was important but not decisive. In Michigan the Liberty vote held the balance and Polk carried 23 of the 31 counties.⁷³ Democrats elected all the state senators and all but 8 representatives.

The total vote of the four states of the Northwest stood: Polk, 305,941; Clay, 293,186; Birney, 17,589. The defeat of Clay hit many of the Whigs as a keen personal disappointment, for to his followers "Harry of the West" was the most able statesman as well as the most attractive personality in public life. It was felt that his aspirations for the presidency were now permanently crushed. Many grew bitter in their denunciations and predictions. The "Great Statesman of the Age" had been deserted for the "Automaton of a coalition of factionists". They declared Polk's success due to the foreign vote, and that Clay had received a majority at the hands of those to whom the Constitution had intended giving the right to elect presidents. Free trade, nullification, extension of slavery, and disunion were predicted as the logical result. Others merely accepted the inevitable "with fervent prayers that the new administration may be pure and useful".

The campaign of 1844 was a forerunner of the impending storm. The slavery issue had for the first time played an im-

⁶⁹ Ohio gave Clay 155,113, Polk 149,061, and Birney 8,050. Polk received 2,728 more votes than Bartley, Whig candidate for governor.

⁷⁰ *Ohio Statistics*, 255. *Ohio Statesman*, November 20, 1844.

⁷¹ *Indiana State Journal*, November 30, 1844.

⁷² The vote was: Polk, 58,982; Clay, 45,931; Birney, 3,433. *Illinois Election Returns*, 149.

⁷³ The vote was: Polk, 27,737; Clay, 24,275; Birney, 3,639. *Michigan Manual* (Lansing, Mich.), 1913, p. 692.

portant part and had been influential in determining the result. For the next twenty years it was to dominate the political drama. It was to give the Whig party one more brief taste of victory, then break it on the rocks. Ohio remained the only Whig state of the Northwest, and the Whigs, who secured the legislature in 1844, retained control until 1848. Indiana during the forties passed thru a period of political demoralization. The Whig party was staggered by the cross of internal improvements, and now internal friction and general apathy increased the burden. A clique of ex-office-holders tried to dominate party councils, but when they failed they nominated independent candidates and thus insured Democratic success.⁷⁴ The Democrats of the state were confronted by the Hunker-Barnburner division, the Bright-Whitcomb jealousy, and the Wright-Hannegan feud, but succeeded in electing their first governor in 1843 in the person of James Whitcomb and in re-electing him in 1846. Party strife in Illinois continued to be influenced largely by local issues, with the Democrats in control. The Michigan Democracy held undisputed sway, and their factions were kept united under Governors Berry and Felch.

Before the election of 1848 the center of political gravity was to be moved still farther north by the admission of Wisconsin. Territorial Wisconsin, as had been Territorial Michigan, was Democratic, but the striking dissimilarity between the habits and customs of the settlers from the Mississippi Valley and those from the eastern states came to issue in the constitutional convention. The constitution which forbade the establishment of a state bank of issue was defeated by the vote of eastern settlers. In 1847 J. H. Tweedy was elected congressional delegate over Moses Strong, Democrat, who was opposed by the Abolitionists. Democrats were afraid that Wisconsin, "the brightest and last of the five states of the old Northwest Territory, would be the first to come into the Union under the flag of federalism".⁷⁵ But the party which had made the defeated constitution claimed two-thirds of the members of the second convention, and the second constitution with a provision for bank by referendum vote was adopted in March, 1848. May 29, Wisconsin, as had each of the other

⁷⁴ For discussion of the condition of the Whig party in Indiana see *Indiana State Journal*, October 8, 15, and 29, 1845.

⁷⁵ *Wisconsin Democrat* (Madison, Wis.), August 28, 1847.

four states, came into the Union under Democratic sponsorship.

The three centers of political interest from the election of Polk to that of Taylor were Texas and Oregon, the Mexican War, and the extension of slavery. Texas annexation was fought by the Whigs to the time it was an accomplished fact. Oregon claims were not so flatly opposed, but an honorable settlement was advocated. At the beginning of the Mexican War the Whigs could do little but accept it.⁷⁶ As Polk's "Little War" progressed Whig opposition became outspoken. The Whigs felt that part of the Democratic war plans dealt with president-making and some foresaw the slavery struggle and its consequences.⁷⁷ But with the possibility of a war candidate of their own, the Whigs were careful to distinguish between the administration and the soldiers, and bolstered up their own war record while finding fault with Democratic stay-at-home politicians. Both parties were hard pressed for candidates. Polk's proslavery sentiments, his blundering war policies, and his own desires worked against re-election. But the Whigs needed more than negative campaign material. Their inclination toward Taylor, a slave-owner, placed them in an embarrassing position. Taylor was unpopular in Indiana due to his criticism of the Indiana volunteers in his Buena Vista report. In Ohio the Western Reserve refused the slaveholding nominee, and, at the Whig national convention, the Ohio delegates voted for Scott on all four ballots. The press of the state was divided as was that of Illinois.

Cass was not popular in the Northwest; his platform was attacked as proslavery, and his military record was made to look ridiculous.⁷⁸ He had in addition the handicap of Polk's

⁷⁶ "The first care is to meet the emergency brought about by the government; to prosecute this war with unanimity and vigor, that it may be the sooner ended, yet not to suffer it to absorb all our attention, so as to forget the account which we have to settle with those who have wantonly brought it upon the country."

⁷⁷ "Sir, the only ground of safety, the only ground which will secure the peace and harmony of the country, the welfare and prosperity of the Union, is to keep the territory, with all the distracting questions connected with it, out of the Union." Caleb B. Smith of Indiana in speech in Congress. *Indiana State Journal*, February 12, 1847.

⁷⁸ The old story of Cass having run his sword into a stump at Hull's surrender was retold. "General Cass ran his sword into a stump and Colonel Weller ran his nose into a brandy bottle." *Ohio State Journal* copied in *Campaign Statesman* (a campaign paper issued from the *Ohio Statesman* office, Columbus, Ohio), September 2, 1848. Editor John Defrees of the *Indiana State Journal*, perhaps the most brilliant Whig editor in the Northwest, showered upon Cass his outbursts. "Cass, cockade federalist of olden time, a defamer of Thomas Jefferson, a courtier of Louis Philippe, enemy to western improvements, advocate of the extension of slavery over free territory acquired

veto of the Rivers and Harbors Bill, which was one of the things which began to loosen Democrats of the Northwest from old party ties and prepare them for the events of 1854-1856.⁷⁹

In 1848 the Whigs of the Northwest found the tactical advantage in their possession. Were it to be a battle of party against party, their success seemed assured. The determining factor, however, had slipped beyond the power of control of either Whigs or Democrats. The result of the election would depend on the Free Soil vote. The conduct of the campaign was patterned after that of 1840 and 1844.

In May, Wisconsin elected Nelson Dewey, the Democratic candidate for governor, and the Congressman and Senators chosen were also Democrats. In Ohio, politics were again in an uproar, as a result of the bolt of 15 Democratic Senators, which prevented the new Whig apportionment law from going into effect. The Whigs were trying to win the Free Soil vote in the state election by remaining silent on the slavery question hoping thereby to gain the state for Taylor in November. The result of the gubernatorial election remained in doubt for a time after the state election, but it seemed that Seabury Ford, the Whig candidate, was successful by a scant margin. The Democrats carried the legislature and elected 11 of the 21 Congressmen. In Indiana, the Democrats broke the seven-year Whig rule and secured a majority of the legislature, while in Illinois where the Whigs had been hurt by their attack on the war, the Democrats suffered no serious opposition.

For the first time the presidential election was held in all the states on the same day. The predictions of the Democrats proved correct, and Cass carried the Northwest by a plurality vote. In Ohio the Democrats gained about 5,600 votes while the Whig loss was over 16,000.⁸⁰ The Free Soil

from Mexico, a political demagogue who has sought office at the sacrifice of principle upon almost every measure, and pledged to exercise the veto power against the voice of the people as expressed through their representatives in Congress, . . . there he stands, all steeped in political corruption, an aristocrat in feeling and practice, . . . and here is Old Rough and Ready, whom the people know to be an honest man—the noblest work of God—think you that they can be brought to support the former in preference to the latter? Man, thou art beside thyself.”

⁷⁹ Long John Wentworth and his *Chicago Democrat*, with great influence in northern Illinois, waged battle until the end, and his position as a loyal Democrat was made difficult. Democrats as well as Whigs had promoted the Rivers and Harbors Convention at Chicago in 1847.

⁸⁰ Cass, 154,862; Taylor, 138,396; Van Buren, 35,456. *Weekly Statesman* (Columbus, Ohio), November 28, 1848.

vote, which had gained over 27,000, cut in heavily on both parties, but especially on the Whigs in what had been strong Whig counties. In Indiana where the total increase of votes since 1844 had been over 11,000, the Free Soilers gained 6,000. Indiana, least affected by the northern immigration of the past two decades, polled the lowest Free Soil vote of the five states. Only in Wayne County did the Free Soilers get one-third of the votes, and in only 14 counties did they get 10 per cent of the total.⁸¹ The Buena Vista controversy and state pride in its volunteers in all probability lost the state to Taylor. In Illinois the Free Soil party carried Chicago, Cook County, and 5 neighboring counties by pluralities and received a majority in Lake and Henry. Taylor received 7,500 more votes than Clay in 1844 and Cass 2,600 fewer than Polk.⁸² The gain had been largely absorbed by the third party which had arisen from 3,433 to 15,774. Wisconsin was the banner Free Soil state of the West. Van Buren won 6 counties and 26 per cent of the total vote of the state.⁸³ The Free Soil counties, with one exception, lay within the area of eastern settlement. Only in Michigan, his home state, was Cass's showing impressive, and in spite of the fact that he carried all but 2 counties of the state, he did not get a majority of the votes.⁸⁴ The Democrats had gained about 3,000, Free Soilers 6,700, and the Whigs lost 300 votes since 1844.

The Whig strength in the Northwest in 1848 was greater than would appear by the amount of territory carried, for much of the Democratic area was thinly settled. Altho the Democrats won the Northwest, the Whigs received the spoils of victory and celebrated the national success. Yet this success was, like that of 1840, to be ephemeral; the enemies of the party if not its members read its significance aright.⁸⁵

⁸¹ The vote was: Cass, 74,745; Taylor, 70,207; Van Buren, 8,100. *Indiana State Journal*, December 4 and 19, 1848.

⁸² The vote was: Cass, 56,300; Taylor, 53,047; Van Buren, 15,774. *Whig Almanac* (New York), 1845, p. 62.

⁸³ Cass, 15,201; Taylor, 13,747; Van Buren, 10,418. *Sentinel and Gazette* (Milwaukee, Wis.), December 7, 1848.

⁸⁴ Cass, 30,687; Taylor, 23,940; Van Buren, 10,389. *Detroit Free Press*, January 9, 1848.

⁸⁵ "What is this triumph after all? It transfers place and power from one party to the other. That is all. The measures and policy of the Democratic party are bound to prevail—they cannot be supplanted with bank, taxation for protection, and what not, without a civil revolution. And the cheat of this election, as between North and South, is bound to come to the test—a test and a detection before which the party will inevitably go down. The accident by which the Whigs have gained the spoils of office, nothing else, in this contest, is a calamity to them, as complete as certain, for years hence." From *Cincinnati Enquirer*, in *Cincinnati Chronicle*, November 23, 1848.

The year following the election of Taylor was spent by both parties in trying to get straightened out on the Wilmot Proviso. Both Whigs and Democrats indorsed it in principle, but what action would be taken? Events led first to the collapse of the Free Soil party, then of the Whigs. After the election of Chase to the Senate by the Democratic legislature of Ohio the tendency was for the Free Soil party to coalesce with the Democracy.⁸⁶ The same tendency was at work in Indiana, and by the time of the August elections the term "Free Soil" as a party ceased to have any meaning in the state. Not only the Whigs but most of the Democratic candidates claimed to be antislavery. The Illinois Free Soil elements, which had shown such strength in 1848, were also destined to lose their identity as a separate party. The year 1849 was an off year due to the new constitutional changes, and the voters of Long John Wentworth's district had found time to think things over. By 1850 the Van Buren following was split into three irreconcilable elements: Abolitionists of the Lovejoy type, Barnburner politicians, and Free Soil Whigs. The Illinois Free Soil party died peacefully, as did the party in Indiana, for the Democratic disaffection on slavery in 1850 in these two states was not so deeply rooted as in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan. Cass had a struggle with the Michigan Democracy, but put thru his candidate for governor, while the Free Soilers and Whigs, late bedfellows, indulged in many recriminations. In Wisconsin, the third party which in 1848 had polled one-fourth of the votes had by 1849 ceased to control even the balance. The Democrats ran Nelson Dewey for governor on a platform opposing the extension of slavery, and in the election the Free Soilers lost over 6,000 votes.

The debate on the compromise measures of 1850 was closely followed in the Northwest. The legislatures of all 5 states had resolved and instructed in favor of the principle of the Wilmot Proviso. With the measure passed, the Democrats on the whole accepted the settlement, but at once there began on the part of the antislavery elements a questioning of Whigs on the Fugitive Slave Law. Most of the Whig papers had to be content with protesting against the wisdom of the law, but thought that since it was the law of the land it would have

⁸⁶ For reasons, see Theodore Clark Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties of the Northwest* (New York, 1907), 178-179.

to be enforced and obeyed. The state elections which took place during the midst of the slavery and disunion excitement represented Democratic successes. The Democracy elected the governor in Ohio in 1850 and again in 1851, under the new constitution. Illinois Free Soilers were returning to their respective parties, and in the congressional election Richard Yates from the Springfield district was the only Whig returned to Congress. In Wisconsin, with old party alignments broken down, it seemed impossible to restore them, but the Democrats remained in control of the legislature. The Wisconsin Democracy under the leadership of the Madison *Argus* stood out strongly against the Fugitive Slave Law as "a monument of tyranny and a libel on civilization". Division of the opposition into Whigs and Free Soilers in Michigan left the legislature in control of the Democrats, but coalition candidates carried 2 of the 3 congressional districts. When in 1851 the Democrats made some concessions, they secured the support of the radicals and many of the Free Soilers as well, and elected the governor by a large majority.

The nomination of General Scott for president was a triumph of the northern Free Soil wing of the Whig party. It was an attempt once more to carry an election on the strength of a military reputation. With the Democrats "finality" was the order of the day; the compromise had been made and no one expected to disturb the measures that had been included. Many Whigs were not convinced that the "finality" resolution of their national platform was the proper thing. They had swallowed the bitter dose, but did not see why the process had to be repeated every week or two. Illinois Democrats were almost unanimous in their choice of Douglas as the leader of "Young America", and Indiana had a favorite son, Joseph Lane, "that gallant general" tried alike "in the tented field and the executive chair", but old leaders still held the reins, and tho western Democrats might ask "Who is Franklin Pierce?" they accepted him.

Both candidates were silent on the "finality" question. There was no real issue between the two parties and even "finality" disappeared long before the election. The campaign was a listless one, and mutual accusations of harboring Nativism filled the papers. Three of the states of the Northwest held elections in 1852. The election by the Democrats of the governor, state ticket, legislature, and 10 of 11 Con-

gressmen in Indiana showed that the Whig ship was lost. The Free Soil sympathizers within the Democratic party had been overridden. The same was true in Illinois where to the ear of "Egypt" Free Soilism and banks were equally anathema. A brief revival of the Free Soil party was staged in Michigan in 1852 under the name of the Free Democracy, but the Democrats elected the governor by a majority over both Whig and Free Democracy candidates.

As the presidential returns slowly came in they revealed the fate of the Whig party in Ohio. The Democrats even captured 4 counties of the Western Reserve, and in Illinois the Whigs retained only the district in central Illinois and the river counties in the North. In no state was the Whig débâcle more pronounced than in Wisconsin. The party carried but 1 county and the Free Soil territory shrank to 2 counties carried by pluralities. In Michigan but 4 counties were left to them.

The campaign of 1852 drew the curtain on the Whig party. It carried no state in the Northwest, and the vote against it was 420,556 to 354,561. The defection of Fillmore's friends and the "isms" of the times were blamed for the result,⁸⁷ but these explanations did not hide the fact of the party's decease. The complaint of not being able to get out the Whig vote was pathetic; the Whig votes were not there to get out. When a few weeks later the extent of the calamity was apparent, and Whigs were being advised to abandon the sinking ship, the advice was resented.⁸⁸ The Democratic party mourned little over the disappearance of its old opponent.

Died on the eve of 2nd of November inst. Sir Whig Party, aged 18 years. The deceased died insolvent and left no heirs in the line of collateral consanguinity, except a profligate cousin, of easy virtues by the name

⁸⁷ "Every ism was against them—Free Soilism, Abolitionism, Native Americanism, Secessionism, anti-Rentism, Free Public Landism, Interventionism, Filibusterism—in a word, all the little factions in the country." *Illinois Journal* (Springfield, Ill.), November 19, 1852.

⁸⁸ "We trust that the time is not far off, when the American people will choose party attitudes more distinctly representing the opposite views which vitally concern them. But surely it is not in awe of the motley political aggregation which now confronts us, or with a view to 'going over' to any of the isms or ologies of which that aggregation is composed, that the old Whig guard can have need, or find it expedient, either to disband or surrender." *Ohio State Journal*, November 29, 1852. The editor spoke more prophetically when he said: "Party names therefore, are of but little real importance. When the great battle shall come between conservatism and radicalism, as it chooses to style itself, the Whig party, with or without reference to old party names on one side or the other will be in that battle on the side of conservatism."

of Free Soil Abolition. Whatever chattel the deceased may have possessed at its demise, either of principles, "picture books" or banners will be entailed upon Miss Free Soil Abolition.⁸⁹

The Whig party was dead, altho a few fitful efforts were made to resuscitate it. Many of its members were indifferent to its end, and likewise not many Democrats of the Northwest got any real joy out of the election of Franklin Pierce. They pretended to gloat over the prostrate form of their ancient foe and seemed little to realize that the Jacksonian Democracy was also making its last stand, and that in battles to come the Jacksonians and Whigs would be fighting side by side in a common cause. With the disappearance of the Whig party went the only force which held the Democrats together, and in annihilating it they but plotted their own undoing. The *Indiana State Journal* spoke truer than it knew when on election day Defrees wrote:

The result of the election today is of vast consequence to the future of this country. The triumph of the Democracy would see the destruction of the little protection now existing Then would the slavery question, which so recently threatened to destroy our country, and is now so happily settled, be opened again, not to be closed otherwise than by a dissolution of the Union.⁹⁰

The year following the election of 1852 was one of general political calm. The slavery question was apparently settled as far as Democrats were concerned; "finality" prevailed. Only minor struggles over the patronage and the increasingly important questions of temperance, women's rights, and Know-Nothingism kept the Democratic party from monopolizing the stage as had the Jeffersonian Republicans after the overthrow of the Federalists. But behind the scenes were being prepared new lines which, when revealed, were to rally the scattered forces of Whigs and Free Soilers and break the party of Jefferson and Jackson. Temperance, women's rights, and Know-Nothingism all had to yield to the more pressing slavery question. The Ohio Democracy carried the state in 1853 by a large majority over Whigs and Free Soilers and interpreted the result as an approval of the Pierce administration. In their contentment they little dreamed that Medill was the last governor they were to elect for twenty years. Indiana Whigs and Democrats fought over the temperance

⁸⁹ *Argus and Democrat* (Madison, Wis.), November 16, 1852.

⁹⁰ *Indiana State Journal*, November 2, 1852.

issue, and Illinois continued its sectional quarrels over railroad development. Only in Wisconsin had the opposition saved enough from the disaster of 1852 to afford the Democrats a real contest. In 1853 the remnants of the Whig party backed the "People's Ticket", in opposition to William A. Barstow, but were unable to prevent a Democratic victory. The "People's Ticket" as a fusion effort had come too late, but it gave Wisconsin the advantage of a start which proved effective before another year had passed. In Michigan the increasing tendency for radical Whigs and Free Soilers to unite had indicated the diminishing strength of the barrier between them. Whenever a sufficient force should draw closer to them the radical faction of the Democrats, in Michigan as well as in Wisconsin, would they be able to overthrow the old Democrats.

Between the breakdown of the Free Soil and Whig parties and the birth of the Republican party, many groups and men were at political loose end. Such a condition made possible the short but interesting career of the Know-Nothing party in the Northwest. The Democrats, who had profited so largely by the Irish and German votes, vigorously attacked the new organization as an insidious conspiracy. It was into this flux of parties and fusions that Douglas threw the bomb which jarred the loose elements into a united organization, split the Democracy along sectional lines, and led to civil war. The bill which repealed the Missouri Compromise was presented in January, 1854, and by February the hue and cry had been raised by Whig and neutral papers, to be followed shortly by many old Democratic faithfuls. Mass meetings were held in all sections. The pulpit thundered forth its condemnation and Douglas was burned in effigy.⁹¹ On the final vote for the bill 16 Democrats of the Northwest, influenced largely by pressure from bosses back home or by the administration, voted for the bill. For weeks the names of these men were run in a black box in many of the papers as the "roll of infamy".

From newspaper protest and mass meetings to political action was but a step. Indiana Anti-Nebraska men got to-

⁹¹ For expression of opinion on the bill, see list of meetings, extracts, etc., in Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870* (Springfield, 1919), 116 ff.; Floyd B. Streeter, *Political Parties in Michigan, 1837-1860* (Lansing, 1918), 182 ff.; Charles Zimmerman, "The Origin and Rise of the Republican Party in Indiana from 1854 to 1860", in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII, 220 ff.

gether in Indianapolis in March, but the regular Democratic state convention, under the influence of Senator Bright, favored the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and opposed the formation of a political party based on slavery.⁹² The organization of the new party which shortly became known as a Republican party took place almost simultaneously in all of the 5 states of the Northwest. Wisconsin fusion between Whigs and Free Soilers had been more complete in 1853 than in any of the states, and perhaps the credit for the first meeting which contemplated the formation of a new party goes to Ripon.⁹³ Mass meetings at Rockford and Freeport in March looked to the same end, but Illinois, most Democratic of the five states, waited until action had been taken elsewhere. The first state convention of the new movement assembled at Jackson, Mich., July 6, but July 13, the anniversary of the Ordinance of 1787, was the real birthday of the Republican party, for on that day state conventions met in Ohio, Indiana, and Wisconsin.

The new party variously styled the "People's party" or the "Republican party" met with a warm reception at the hands of the Democrats. It was clear that its success meant a split in Democratic ranks, and from fun-poking the Democracy turned to bitter attacks. The movement was characterized as a fusion of all the odds and ends of everything.⁹⁴ Even the *Ohio Statesman* and *Indianapolis Sentinel*, two of the foremost Democratic papers in the Northwest that had shown antislavery tendencies for several years, heaped dire predictions and bitter attacks upon the new party "composed of all the odds and ends of society, politics, and religion . . . Abolitionists, Know-Nothingism, hypocrisy and bad liquor. . . ."

The Republican party received its first test in the autumn elections of 1854. Since Michigan was the only state to elect a governor, the battle centered around the congressional elections. Exciting mass meetings and demonstrations were conspicuously lacking, yet the vote testified to the great interest taken. Fusion and confusion prevailed in the canvass. In

⁹² *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, May 27 and 30, June 3, 1854.

⁹³ Ripon meeting was held February 28, 1854. Gordon S. P. Kleeberg, *The Formation of the Republican Party as a National Political Organization* (New York, 1911), 14. Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power* (Boston, 1872), II, 410. G. M. Harvey, "The Origin of the Republican Party", in *The Chautauquan*, XXV, 643 (1897).

⁹⁴ "We look daily for a Union between the rappers, bloomers and Whigs—the spirits and short dresses voting the Whig ticket and the Whigs appointing ghosts and old ladies in pantalets to office." *Daily Argus and Democrat* (Madison, Wis.), July 12, 1854.

Illinois the Anti-Nebraska Democrats occupied the position corresponding to the old Whig leadership in the other states. The elections resulted everywhere in victories for the fusion forces. Ohio, that in 1852 elected 12 Democratic Congressmen, now returned 21 Anti-Nebraska men with pluralities from 2,000 to 7,000 votes. The loss of the Democrats since the election of 1853 was nearly 90,000 votes. In Indiana 9 of the 11 Congressmen were Fusionists, and the Illinois Democracy was given its first real defeat. Wisconsin Fusionists elected 2 Congressmen and carried the legislature.⁹⁵ Kinsley Bingham, Republican candidate, was elected governor of Michigan, and 3 of the 4 Congressmen were Republicans. The decision in favor of the Republicans could hardly have been more decisive. "Truly the day of Pentecost has come, for the lion and the lamb, or rather the jackass in lion's skin and the wolf in sheep's clothing have lain down together."⁹⁶ The Democrats blamed their defeat upon the Anti-Nebraska "humbug", the temperance issue, and Know-Nothingism. The Know-Nothing element, which played such an important part in the fusion movement of 1854, was in many ways, however, a white elephant on the hands of the Republicans, too important to be alienated and yet, if cultivated, hardly important enough to compensate for the German element which the new party hoped to attract on the antislavery extension issue.⁹⁷ Nor was the Democratic party accustomed to stand idle and assume the defensive indefinitely. To counteract the Know-Nothings they organized among the foreign voters the "Sag Nichts", whose third-degree members were sworn to stand guard at the polls to make sure that Catholics and foreigners were allowed to vote.

The year 1855 was an off year except in Ohio and Wisconsin. Illinois Republicanism made but little progress, for the futility of the attempt to organize around the Know-Nothing party had first to be made evident. Wisconsin Republicans hoped to take advantage of local political scandals and overthrow "Barstow and the balance" but the Know-Nothing ques-

⁹⁵ The Democrats elected Wells in the first district, due to the 2,200 majority which he received from the foreign vote in Milwaukee County.

⁹⁶ Lew Wallace, *Autobiography* (New York, 1906), I, 237.

⁹⁷ Richard Yates in the Springfield district in Illinois, Archibald Williams in the Quincy district, and W. Spooner in the first Wisconsin district are examples of candidates who failed to reach Congress in 1854 because of the opposition of the German vote.

tion as well as temperance continued to alienate many German voters. The elections of 1855 resulted in Republican victories in the 2 states which elected state tickets, but compared with 1854 the results were not encouraging.⁹⁸ The outcome in Wisconsin was long in doubt, and, tho Barstow took office, when the Supreme Court entered a decision against him, he resigned.⁹⁹

The presidential and congressional elections of 1856, and the election of state tickets in 3 of the 5 states, gave the Republican party of the Northwest the first chance to show its real strength. After local reverses in Indiana in 1855 the bulk of the Fusionists of 1854 joined the Republican party. The Know-Nothings split on slavery and rapidly disintegrated. The campaign of 1856 welded the various elements of Illinois Republicanism into a party. A few old-line Whigs were lost in the process, and a number of important Anti-Nebraska Democrats remained loyal to their party until the Kansas-Nebraska Law was made a test of Democratic orthodoxy. A few of the old conservative Whigs of Michigan went over to the Democratic party as the only organization capable of preventing the dissolution of the union.¹⁰⁰ Issues, not men, were the center of interest in the campaign of 1856, and of the issues slavery overshadowed all others. But temperance, naturalization, Nativism, rivers and harbors, and, in Wisconsin, state political scandals, had their influence as well. Kansas and her trouble furnished the most powerful arguments for the Republicans. Kansas bled not only in the newspapers and in Congress, but in the minds of men as well. The campaign was seriously and closely contested and feeling ran high and bitter. The Republican motto of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Men, and Fremont" was amended by the Democrats to read "Free Niggers, Free Dirt, Free Fight, Free Whiskey, Fremont, and Freedom".¹⁰¹ "Buchanan and Breckenridge, the Union now and forever" was the motto of the Democrats. Local talent was not enough to satisfy the

⁹⁸ Chase's vote in Ohio was 146,770 as against 131,019 for Medill and 24,276 for Trumbull, American party candidate.

⁹⁹ The official vote as tabulated in the *Argus* (Madison, Wis.), December 25, was: Barstow, 36,355; Bashford, 36,198. The court was silent on the subject of fraud, but decided that the State Board of Canvassers had no power to go back of the county returns and count the precinct and supplementary returns.

¹⁰⁰ Appeal of 69 Whigs of Detroit to the Whigs of Michigan. *Detroit Free Press*, August 23, 1856.

¹⁰¹ *Democratic Herald* (Chicago, Ill.), March 29, 1860.

campaign managers of the Northwest, and big guns from outside were imported for speech-making purposes. Torch-light bearers, transparencies, banners, and music, in fact a repetition of 1840 with more elaborate facilities, helped hold attention and win votes. Neither party was as unified as it would have desired. Democrats were divided over slavery, church members were unable to follow both the dictates of their ministers and political leaders, and, while the Irish remained good Democrats, the Germans of Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois were inclined to affiliate with the Republican party. Within the Republican organization the ex-Whigs and Know-Nothings stood on the wrong side of the temperance question to win the Germans.

The Indiana state election in October indicated a Democratic victory.¹⁰² The presidential vote became more sectional than ever before,¹⁰³ and Buchanan's majority was explained by the Republicans as due to the "double-cross" executed by the Know-Nothings in the southern part of the state.¹⁰⁴ Fremont carried Ohio by another sectional division within the state. Only 4 Republican counties fell outside of the 2 districts of the old Western Reserve and the Whig river counties in the southeast, and the former Whig area of western central Ohio.¹⁰⁵ Democrats elected 8 of the 21 Congressmen whereas in 1854 they had elected none. Nowhere was the conflict of forces more complicated nor the sectional divisions within a state so clearly marked as in Illinois. Buchanan won the state by a plurality, but the Republican state ticket was elected by about 4,700 votes.¹⁰⁶ The Republicans elected the Congressmen in the 4 northern districts and the Democrats the 5 in the southern districts. "Egypt", the land of the "unterrified Democracy", remained faithful, and by the aid of the American vote the Democrats encroached far into the old Whig counties of the Springfield region. Many there were who could vote for Buchanan who could not support Douglas and his repeal of the Missouri Compromise.¹⁰⁷ Wisconsin,

¹⁰² The Democrats also elected 6 of 11 Congressmen, a gain of 4 since 1854.

¹⁰³ Buchanan, 118,672; Fremont, 94,376; Fillmore, 22,386. *Washington (Ind.) Democrat*, December 5, 1856.

¹⁰⁴ The Know-Nothing defection no doubt had a noticeable effect on the results, but in 46 northern counties, where there were hardly 500 American votes, Republicans suffered a loss of about 7,000 votes over 1854.

¹⁰⁵ The vote was: Fremont, 187,497; Buchanan, 170,874; Fillmore, 28,126.

¹⁰⁶ Buchanan, 105,348; Fremont, 96,189; Fillmore, 38,444.

¹⁰⁷ In 25 of the counties south of the middle of the state, the Fremont ticket received 10 per cent or less of the total vote, and in 20 other counties it ran third.

aside from the German counties, was practically a unit for Fremont.¹⁰⁸ Only 3 counties outside of the foreign areas went Democratic, making a total of 11. All 3 successful Congressmen were Republicans, and for the first time Wisconsin had a real Anti-Democratic legislature.¹⁰⁹ Michigan's decision was the same as Wisconsin's,¹¹⁰ but the vote was not complicated by either the American question or the presence of Germans in preponderant groups. All 4 Congressmen and the legislature fell to the Republicans.

The Republican party had won the Northwest, but at a cost of sectional division within the area. The total vote was Fremont, 515,914; Buchanan, 499,876; Fillmore, 90,195. In 3 of the states the Democrats had been reduced to a minority, while Indiana gave a majority for Buchanan and Illinois a substantial plurality. The American vote in these two states constituted 9 and 15 per cent respectively, of the total,¹¹¹ and represented not so much a belief in the principles of the American party as an inability on the part of many former Whigs to follow the Republican party in its change from mere opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise to active opposition to slavery extension, and of the unwillingness of many Democrats, tho disgusted with the new Democracy, to go over to the Republican side. The American party also included most of those who deprecated the agitation of the slavery question and feared to witness the victory of a sectional party.¹¹² Maps of the presidential election returns show the sectionalism within the Northwest roughly outlined, while those of the Congressional election show it as it was to be when finally consolidated. Ohio, with the more varied elements of population and diverse paths of settlement, presented the most confused pattern, but on the whole the different sections of the state ran true to their inheritance. The same was true of Indiana. The dividing line was distinct in Illinois and changed but little during the next four years. The Republican party was sectional and sectional within a section,

¹⁰⁸ Fremont, 66,090; Buchanan, 52,843; Fillmore, 579.

¹⁰⁹ "We have been much deceived", wrote the *Argus* after the election, "We have met the enemy and we are theirs."

¹¹⁰ Fremont, 71,762; Buchanan, 52,139; Fillmore, 16,660.

¹¹¹ In Ohio it was 7 per cent; in Wisconsin, 11 1/3 per cent; and in Michigan, less than 1/2 of 1 per cent.

¹¹² The *Louisville Journal*, a southern "American" paper, held that the Fillmore party in Indiana performed a service in defeating a sectional party, and many Americans in Indiana agreed. *Indianapolis Daily Journal*, November 14, 1856.

but the ties of statehood, commerce, and sentiment were strongest to the north, and the Ohio Valley, when pulled between political allegiance on the one side and economic and governmental ties on the other, went with the latter, protesting the while.

Following the Democratic victory of 1856, the right for slavery to expand into the territories received its sanction in the Dred Scott decision. The effect of the decision in the Northwest was immediate and profound. While the Republican outcry against it was spontaneous, the Democrats received the decision in silence and uncertainty. It was left to the agile Douglas to find a way out.

The struggle for dominance on the part of the Republican party between 1857 and 1860 centered in Indiana, the last and most reliable Democratic stronghold in the North,¹¹³ and Illinois, where fought the two great leaders of the opposing parties. Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan were already won by Republicans and, in spite of local issues and influences which produced temporary setbacks and disappointments, to be depended upon.¹¹⁴

The break of the Douglas Democrats with the administration over the Lecompton constitution produced notable results in all 5 states, but especially bitter was the struggle in Indiana and Illinois where enough administration following remained to put up a fight. All 8 Democratic Congressmen from Indiana voted for the Lecompton constitution, but the majority of the Democrats of the state were followers of Douglas.¹¹⁵ Under the leadership of Senator Jessie D. Bright,¹¹⁶ the state Democratic convention in 1858 excluded the Douglas Democrats. In spite of internal division, the

¹¹³ Pennsylvania and Indiana were the only northern states in 1856 that gave Buchanan clear majorities. Pennsylvania later went over to the new party before Indiana.

¹¹⁴ Republicans succeeded in electing Chase governor of Ohio in 1857 by the very small plurality of 1,503 votes, whereas the plurality in 1855 had been 15,751.

¹¹⁵ All the leading Democratic papers of the state, 30 in number, excepting only the *Indianapolis State Sentinel*, condemned the Lecompton fraud in no uncertain terms. *Logansport (Ind.) Democratic Pharos*, April 28, 1858. For partial list see Zimmerman, "The Republican Party in Indiana, 1854-1860", in *Indiana Magazine of History*, XIII, 354.

¹¹⁶ A trick election by the legislature in February, 1857, had sent Jessie D. Bright and G. W. Fitch to United States Senate. The special session of 1858 later elected Henry S. Lane, Republican, and William M. McCarty, Anti-Lecompton Democrat, to the seats occupied by the two proslavery men, but they were refused admission by the United States Senate.

Democrats elected the state ticket by small majorities, but secured only 4 Congressmen, while they lost the legislature.

In the Illinois elections of 1857 Chicago, Cook County, and most of the counties of central and northern Illinois went Republican. After receiving news of the Kansas referendum of 1857 on the Lecompton constitution, Douglas took his stand against the administration. Some Republican leaders viewed this move with suspicion and were a bit disconcerted. When it became obvious that Douglas was not splitting the Illinois Democracy but taking it over bodily with him and threatening to win over Anti-Nebraska Democrats as well, Republican strategy demanded that the administration Democrats should be bolstered that it might be possible to make use of them. In endeavoring to encourage the Buchanan followers and at the same time agree with the principles of Douglas, but not his motives, Republicans were stepping on slippery ground.

The votes at stake in the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858 were in central Illinois. The debate among the newspapers was no less exciting and probably as influential as that between the giants of the stump. Republicans warned of the invasion of the Irish whom Douglas, working with the railroad interests, was said to have thrown into strategic counties as railroad workers until election day.¹¹⁷ Douglas Democrats won the legislature and the 5 southern congressional districts.¹¹⁸ Buchanan Democrats made little impression on the results.¹¹⁹ The population of the four Republican districts by the 1855 state census was 697,334 while that of the 5 Democratic districts was 609,205. "It took 1,000 inhabitants in Canaan to balance 770 in Egypt." The Republicans carried 25 legislative districts and elected 35 members. The Democrats carried 33 and elected 40. Douglas won the senatorship, but Illinois had become a Republican state by a small margin.

¹¹⁷ Charges in the *Weekly Press and Tribune* (Chicago), October 28, 1858. Letters to the *Peoria* (Ill.) *Union*, *Prairie Beacon* (Edgar County, Ill.), etc. The charges also appeared in the *Illinois Journal*. G. A. Tracy, *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln* (Boston, 1917), 93-94. The Illinois Central, Douglas, Governor Matteson, and Tammany were all accused of being privy to the scheme.

¹¹⁸ The total Republican vote for Congress was 126,084 to 121,940 for the Democrats and 4,047 for Buchanan candidates. The Republicans carried the 4 northern districts and also elected their state ticket.

¹¹⁹ In Johnson County, where Republicanism was regarded as a more serious crime than horse-stealing, the Republicans got 10 votes and the Democrats none; in Williamson County, 47 votes to their 13.

While Indiana and Illinois Republicans were being fused into harmonious working unity, their Michigan neighbors were beset with problems of internal dissent and having difficulty in holding their own. Hard times in the state, increasing expenditures under a Republican legislature, and lack of enough offices to satisfy Whigs, Free Soilers, and ex-Democrats, with resulting jealousy, all tended to weaken the party. In the state election of 1858, the Republicans elected Moses Wisner governor but lost over 6,000 votes from their majority of 1856. In Wisconsin the Republicans were embarrassed by the rumor of Governor Bashford's acceptance of \$50,000 from the Milwaukee and La Crosse Railroad, and his name was withdrawn from before the Republican convention and A. W. Randall nominated instead. Randall was elected by a very narrow margin, his vote being over 20,000 short of Fremont's vote of 1856. In 1858 the Lecompton question and the Democratic split were overshadowed by scandals in the state government. The legislature in 1858 uncovered a condition of extensive corruption, one of the most wholesale in the history of state government. The majority of the legislature, the Governor, at least one judge of the supreme court, and many of the leading newspapers of the state had been involved in the bribery scheme of the Milwaukee and La Crosse Railroad. This amazing affair attracted national attention. The Republicans took the stand that they had fearlessly investigated corruption and thrown out their tainted members while the Democrats had shielded their culprits and were now trying to confer offices and honors upon them. The congressional elections of 1858 returned 2 Republicans and 1 Democratic Congressman. Randall was renominated in 1859, and the election of that year put all branches of the state government into Republican hands for the first time. In the Ohio election there was no American party ticket in the field, and the Republicans elected William Dennison with a majority which again approached that of 1854.

From 1858 to 1860, the leaders of the rival parties were perfecting their plans for the coming struggle. Douglas had read the public mind of the Northwest better than his opponents and was stronger in 1859 than in 1858. Men of property and those of Whig instincts as well as many of the churches began to weigh the dangers of radicalism. Douglas took the Illinois organization with him, and in Indiana the

party machinery built up by the old Democratic leaders and now dominated by the slave-owning Bright also began to go over to Douglas. During the last weeks of 1859 county after county declared for popular sovereignty, denounced the Harper's Ferry incident, and came out for Douglas. The Indiana Know-Nothings were still giving the Republicans a lot of trouble for they felt that they held the balance of power and insisted that no antislavery man be nominated for office.¹²⁰

Lincoln's strength in Illinois increased from the time it became felt that Seward, Greeley, and other Republican leaders outside of Illinois had contributed to his defeat in 1858. The fear of Seward's radicalism, a desire to win more votes in "Egypt", and his acceptance by the Germans were factors which brought Illinois to back Lincoln. The Illinois Republican convention of May 9 instructed the delegates to secure his nomination at Chicago. Wisconsin was favoring Seward for the Republican nomination, and the state convention instructed the delegates to vote for him as first choice. The Ohio convention indicated that the first choice of the party was for Salmon P. Chase. The split in the Michigan Democracy over the Lecompton question was not so wide as in Indiana and Illinois, yet more serious than in Wisconsin.

The presidential campaign of 1860 was begun in the Northwest, and the outcome was decided there. Lincoln's nomination was the result of the sentiment and organized enthusiasm of Illinois. His campaign tactics were adapted to the wider vision of the party after four years of experience. It was as a conservative Republican and former Henry Clay Whig, rather than as a radical Republican, that Lincoln made his appeal to all sections of the North. The idealism of the first Republican national platform was modified with planks advertising homesteads, fair wages, fair prices, and a tariff. There had never before been such a campaign as that of 1860. The crisis at hand aroused the minds and stirred the souls of men. In the Northwest all four parties placed tickets before the voters. Conservatives who felt no appeal in either the Democratic or Republican platform supported the Constitutional Unionist candidates. Many of the Know-Nothings of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan found their way into

¹²⁰ *Indiana Sentinel*, January 31, February 28, 1860. *New Albany (Ind.) Tribune*, January 6, 1860.

this party, which had purloined the whole Constitution and revised statutes of the United States as its platform. Douglas Democrats tried hard for an alliance with the Constitutional Unionists but on the whole without success.

The Ohio state election came October 9. Republicans elected their candidate to the supreme court, but the Democrats elected 8 of the 21 Congressmen. The Republicans of Indiana elected Lane and Morton and 7 of the 11 Congressmen as well as a majority of the legislature. The November election held true to the October prediction. Ohio gave Lincoln a plurality of 44,388 and a majority of 20,655. The Democratic areas of 1856 had been cut into and surrounded and the largest remaining Democratic region was that in the north-west corner of the state which probably represented a majority more akin to "Egypt" and the "Pocket" of Indiana than to any other part of the state.¹²¹ Indiana went for Lincoln by a plurality, and Warrick County in the "Pocket" gave Breckenridge a plurality, the only county in the Northwest not to go for either Lincoln or Douglas.¹²² The Republicans broke into the "Pocket" and carried 4 of the counties by pluralities and also Floyd County which had not been other than Democratic since 1840. In "Egypt", as in the "Pocket" of Indiana, Republicans found their new tactics successful, and in the region south of Alton the party vote increased fourfold over 1856. Lincoln's majority in the state was almost 5,000.¹²³ "Egypt" remained faithful to Douglas, piling up large majorities in his favor. Douglas ran well in the old Whig counties of central Illinois, and Lincoln's home county of Sangamon, as well as Morgan, Macoupin, Menard, Cass, and Macon each gave him either a majority or a plurality. This Democratic invasion of the Whig country aided in the election of 5 Democratic Congressmen to 4 for the Republicans. Wisconsin gave Lincoln 86,110 votes to 65,021 for Douglas. Bell received 188 and Breckenridge 888. All 3 Republican Congressmen were elected. The Germans in Milwaukee and Ozaukee piled up large majorities for Douglas. Michigan was the banner Republican state in the Northwest.

¹²¹ The vote in Ohio was: Lincoln, 231,809; Douglas, 187,421; Bell, 12,194; Breckenridge, 11,403; Smith, 136.

¹²² The vote in Indiana was: Lincoln, 139,003; Douglas, 115,509; Breckenridge, 12,294; Bell, 5,306.

¹²³ The vote in Illinois: Lincoln, 172,545; Douglas, 160,549; Bell, 4,846; Breckenridge, 2,272.

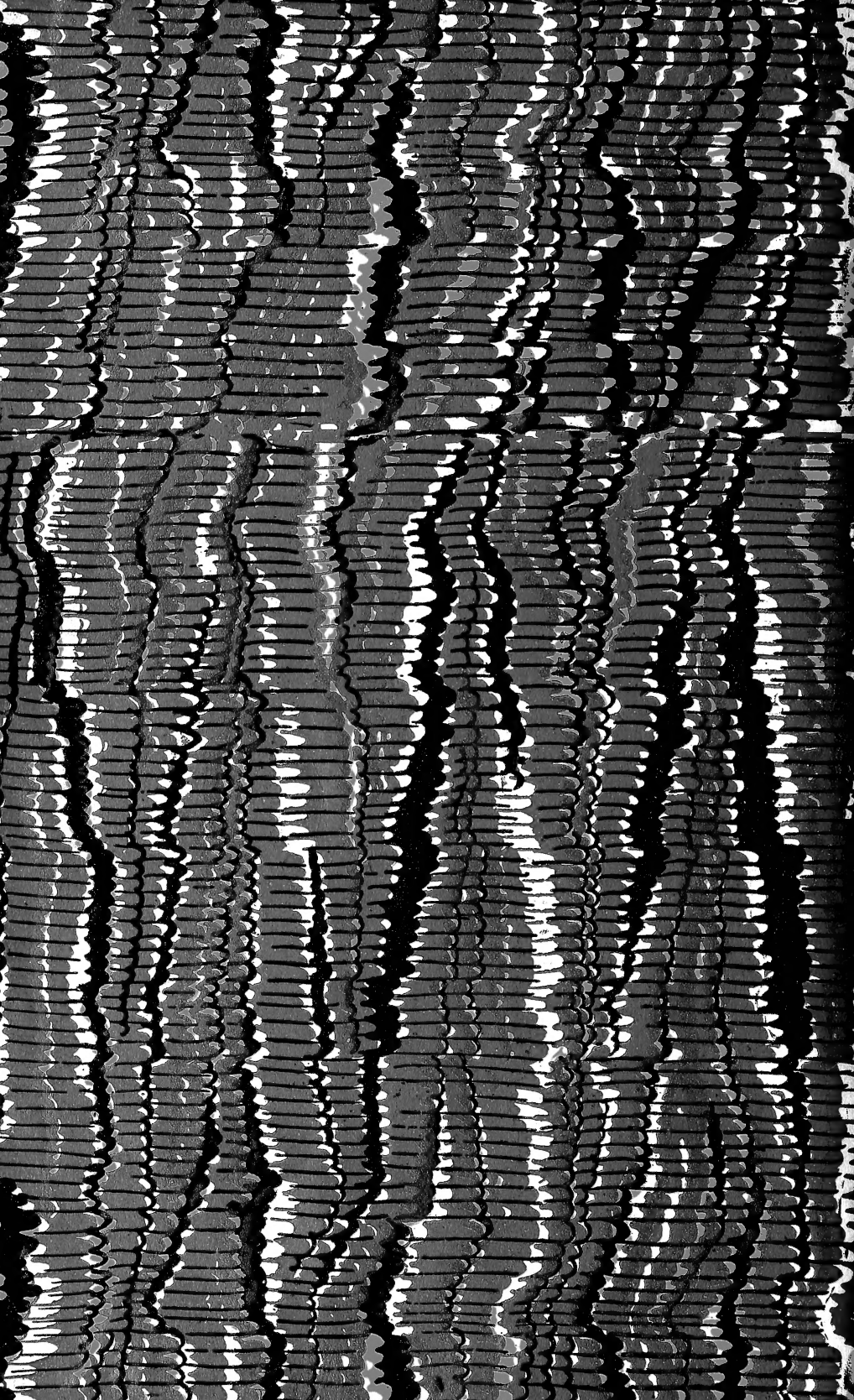
Eight of the newer counties with a total vote of only 1,650 gave Douglas majorities. The rest of the state was Republican.¹²⁴ Blair was elected Governor by 20,000 votes and the combined majorities of the 4 Republican Congressmen amounted to over 22,000.

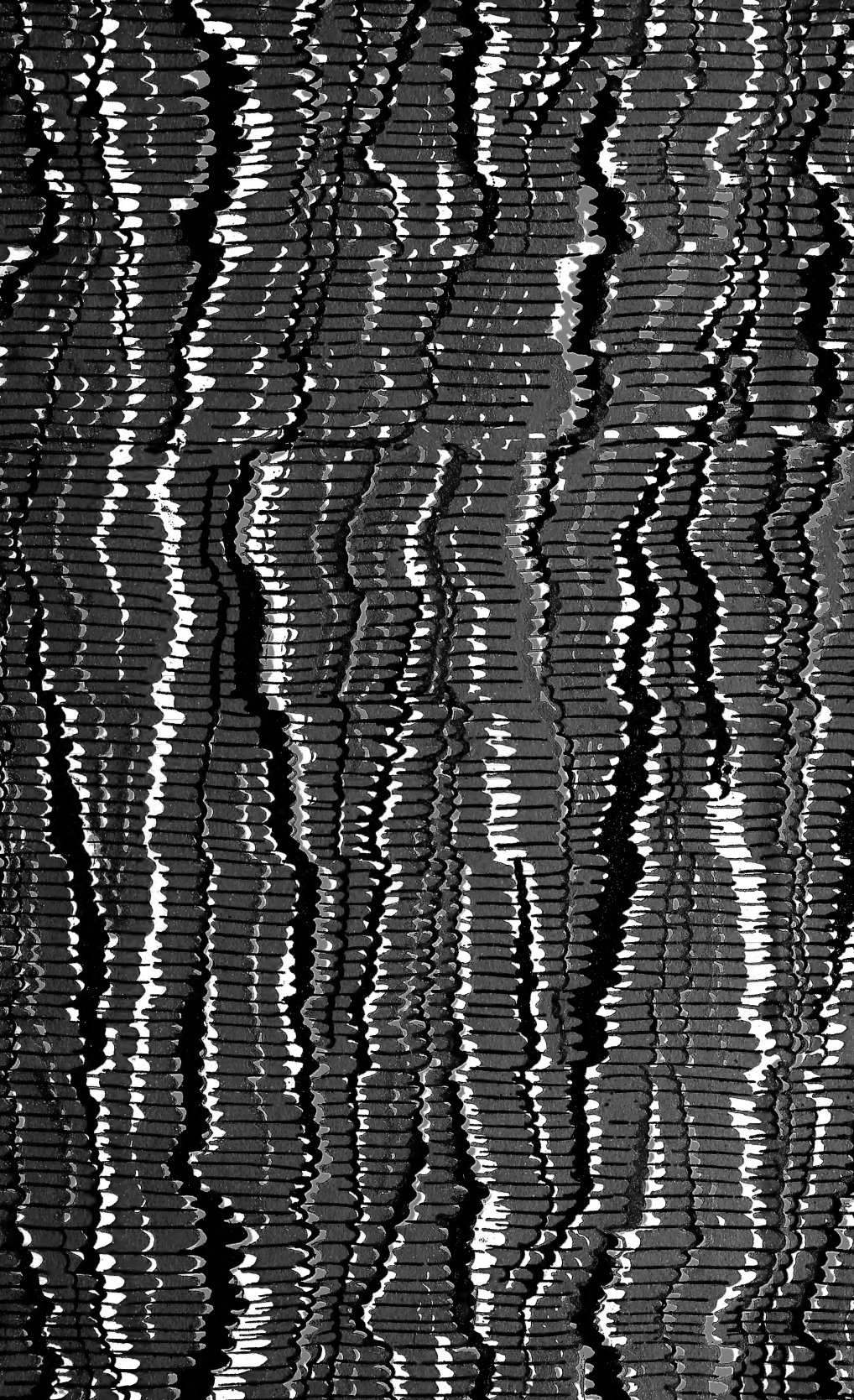
The total vote for Lincoln in the Northwest was 716,954 and for Douglas 594,663. Lincoln's majority over all candidates was 71,722. Southern Indiana and Illinois, Democratic since the organization of the party, remained so until the end of the period. The population of "Egypt" and the "Pocket" was homogeneous, being composed largely of southern settlers, or descendants of such, and tho the Republicans claimed that the people of these districts were crowded out of southern states by the slave system and were more ignorant and slave-loving than citizens of slave states, it was not love of slavery so much as it was the Democratic tradition which held these sections true to Douglas. Tariffs, homesteads, and slavery interested them but little and they distrusted Republicanism and its consequences even more than they had the party of "all the talents" in the preceding period. The very interests which were aligned with Douglas aided in his defeat, for the Illinois Central had materially aided in the building up of northern Illinois and Wisconsin, and these regions, dominated by the northern and eastern elements which came in the thirties and forties, expressed their faith in the Republican party, to which, on the whole, they have remained faithful to the present time.

¹²⁴ The vote in Michigan was: Lincoln, 87,457; Douglas, 66,163; Bell, 373; Breckenridge, 805. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, December 31, 1860.

John







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